

From Socio- Political Violence (1985 – 1997) to
community and Economic Development: Analysis
of Richmond , KwaZulu – Natal . A Pan – African
centered Perspective Approach

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
CONTENTS	i-v
MAPS ILLUSTRATION	vi
DEDICATION	viii
IN MEMORY	ix
QUOTATION	x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi-xiii
ACRONYMS	xiv
INTRODUCTION	xv-xxv
METHODOLOGY	xxvi-xxxiii

PART 1

CHAPTER 1

RICHMOND ON THE MIDLANDS	1-8
COLONIZATION	9-11
CHARLES JOSEPH BYRNE SCHEME.....	12-17

CHAPTER 2

CHRISTIANITY A POWERFUL TOOL OF MIND CONTROL	18-32
--	-------

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL CONFLICT TURNED VIOLENT JUSTIFYING VIOLENCE	33-34
CRITICS OF VIOLENCE	35-36
ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL CRITICS ON VIOLENCE	37-48

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL VIOLENCE REGIONS IN RICHMOND	49-59
--	-------

CHAPTER 5

THE PEACE INITIATIVE	60
THE ANC VIEW	60
THE IFP VIEW	61
VIEWS ON THIS POSITIONS	61
PEACE ACCORD	62-65
ENFORCING THE PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES..	66-67
SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURTS	68-74

CHAPTER 6

SECRET STATE FUNDING	75-77
SECRET FORCES ACTIVITIES UNDER THE MANDATE OF THE THEN GOVERNMENT	78-86
SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE TRAINING	87-88
METHODS OF TRAINING AT MLABA CAMP	89-95
SECURITY FORCES WERE COMPENSATED AFTER MURDERING PEOPLE	96-99

CHAPTER 7

WAS THERE A THIRD FORCE?	100
WHAT IS THIRD FORCE?	100-110
EVIDENCE OF SECURITY FORCES INVOLVEMENT IN THE “THIRD FORCE” ACTIVITIES.....	111-117

CHAPTER 8

THE LATEST VIOLENCE	118-130
SIFISO NKABINDE IS ARRESTED.....	131-136
THE TRIAL OF SIFISO NKABINDE	137-139
SIFISO NKABINDE	140-151
RICHMOND IN AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1998	152
RICHMOND IN SEPTEMBER 1998	153-154
SIFISO NKABINDE IS ASSASSINATED	155
WHO IS MBONGELENI MTOLO?	155-156
ARMS CACHE ARE DISCOVERED	157-159

CHAPTER 9

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION	160-164
---	---------

PART 2: COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 10

AMAZING TURN OF AFFAIRS 165
BUSINESS CORRUPTION AND RUINING OF RICHMOND
COMMUNITY 166-168
POWER AND POWER RELATION IN THAT COMMUNITY 169
THE FALL OF A RAND CURRENCY 170
CAPITALISM IN DISGUISE 171-173
MASS MEDIA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MANIPULATION 174-177
THE CONSEQUENCE 178-180

CHAPTER 11

RESOLVING POLITICAL VIOLENCE 181-182
PEACEFUL APPROACH 183-186

CHAPTER 12

LEVELS OF TRANSFORMATION 187-188
CONSCIOUSNESS 189-190
AWARENESS 191-192

CHAPTER 13

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT 193-196
SOCIAL POLICY MAKERS OF RICHMOND 197
HOW TO BEGIN 198-200
SOCIAL POLICY AND ELIMINATION OF POVERTY 201-203

CHAPTER 14

HOUSING PEOPLE 204-217

CHAPTER 15

EDUCATION AS AN IMPERATIVE WILL OF THE COMMUNITY ... 218-223
CREATIVE FINE ARTS AND DRAMA 224-225
AFRICAN MUSIC 226-230

CHAPTER 16

THE COLLEGE OF ART, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	231
COLLEGE DIVISION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES	232
COLLEGE BOARD AND EXAMINATIONS	233
COLLEGE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL...	234-237

CHAPTER 17

ROLE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS	238-245
--------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER 18

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPING RICHMOND	246-258
--	---------

CHAPTER 19

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN RICHMOND	259-263
CHALLENGES FOR THE YOUTH OF RICHMOND	264-265

CHAPTER 20

TRANSFORMING OF JUDICIAL SYSTEM	266-270
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF RICHMOND PEOPLE	271-276
CITING THE TRADITIONAL AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE MIDLANDS COMMUNITY	277-279

CHAPTER 21

TRANSFORMING SECURITY APPARATUS	280
TRANSFORMING THE POLICE	281-293
THE SADF IN RICHMOND	294-295
DIVISION OF INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY	296
COMMUNITY POLICING	297-298

CHAPTER 22

SOLVING THE HIGH RATE OF CRIME	299-301
COMBATING CORRUPTION AS COMMUNITY	302-321

CHAPTER 23

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS A WAY FORWARD	322
THE FIRST ECONOMIC FOUNDATION	323-333
SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	334-337
AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES	338
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS AS AN ALTERNATIVE FOR SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	339
THE COMMUNITY-BASED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME.....	340
CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME	341
EMERGING CONTRACTOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (ECDP)	342-344

CHAPTER 24

UPLIFTING HEALTH SERVICES DEVASTATED BY POLITICAL VIOLENCE	345
HOW THEY GOT AFFECTED?	345
IMPACT ON HEALTH SERVICES AND SYSTEMS	346
ACCESS TO SERVICES	346
INFRASTRUCTURE	347
EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES	348
HUMAN RESOURCES	348
REMEDY FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES	349-350
IMPROVING HEALTH SERVICE AND SYSTEM	351-353

CHAPTER 25

HIV/AIDS AWARENESS	354-356
PREVENTION OF THE HIV/AIDS	357-359

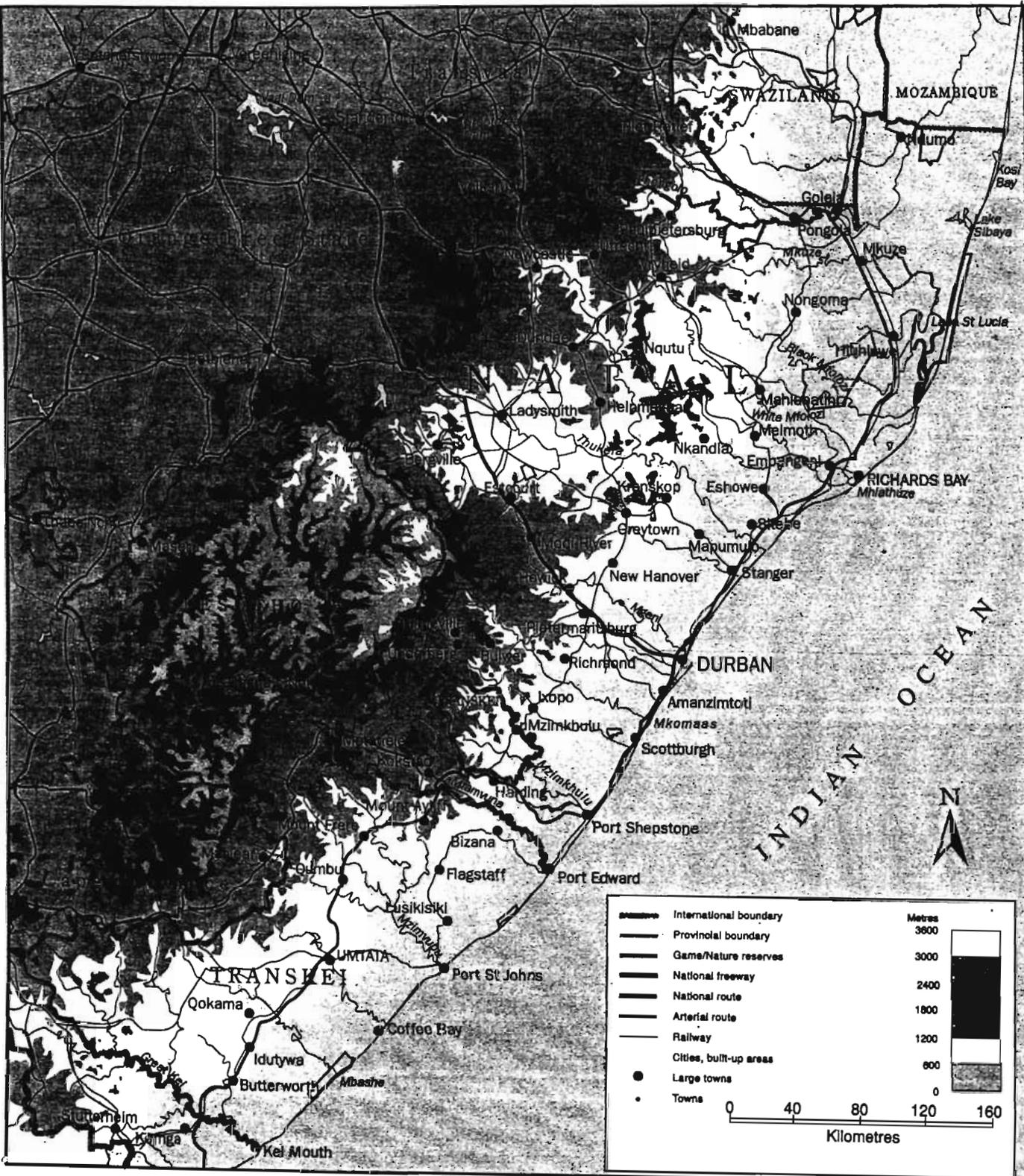
CHAPTER 26

ENVIRONMENTAL CARE	360-365
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CHAPTER 27

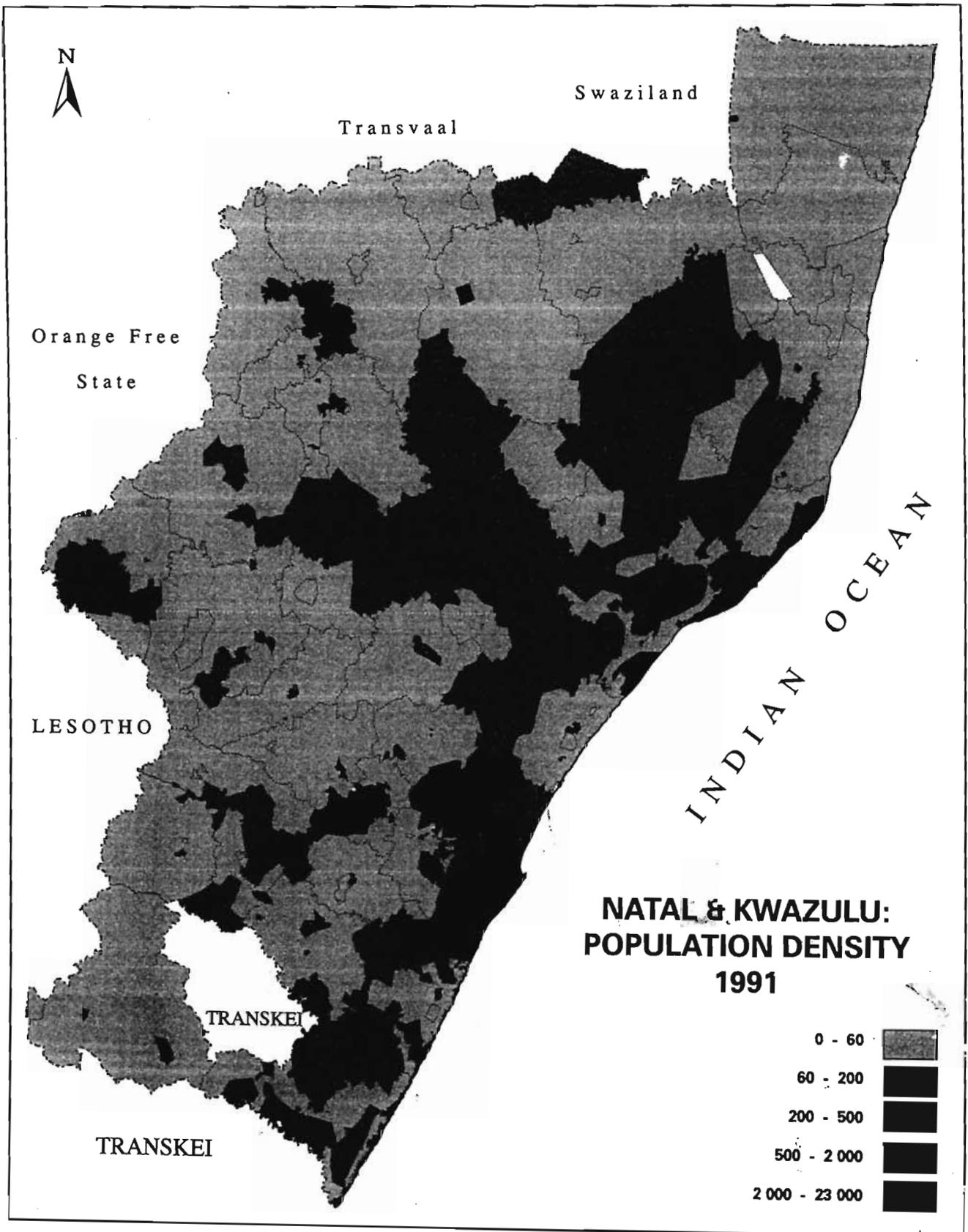
CONCLUSION 366-369
COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE BY DIVISION 370-377

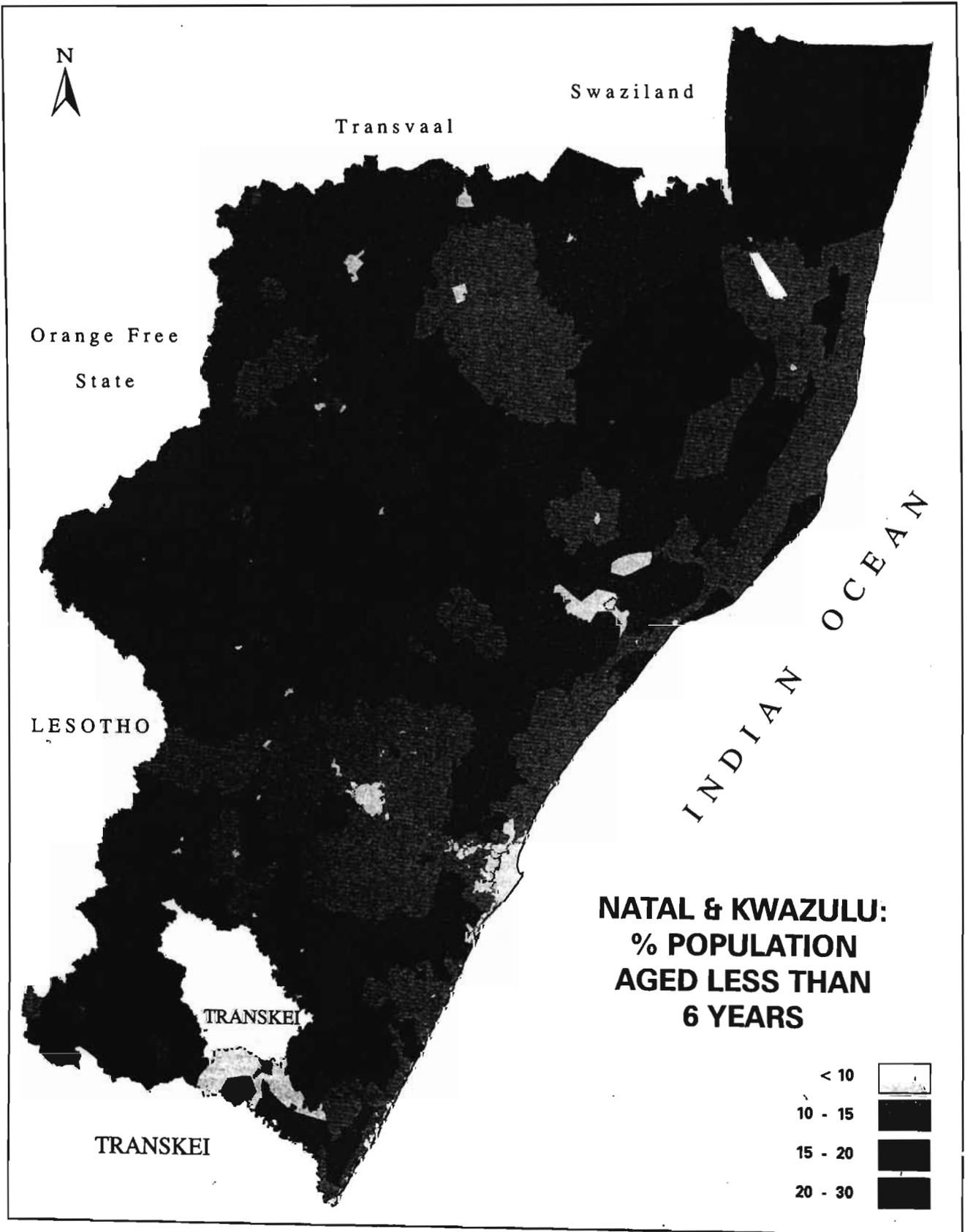
GLOSSARY 378-380
APPENDICES 381
APPENDIX 1-3 381-383
1. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS 384-389
2. STATISTICS 390
 WEAPONRY 390-391
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND OTHER SIGHTED MATERIAL 392-~~394~~ 444

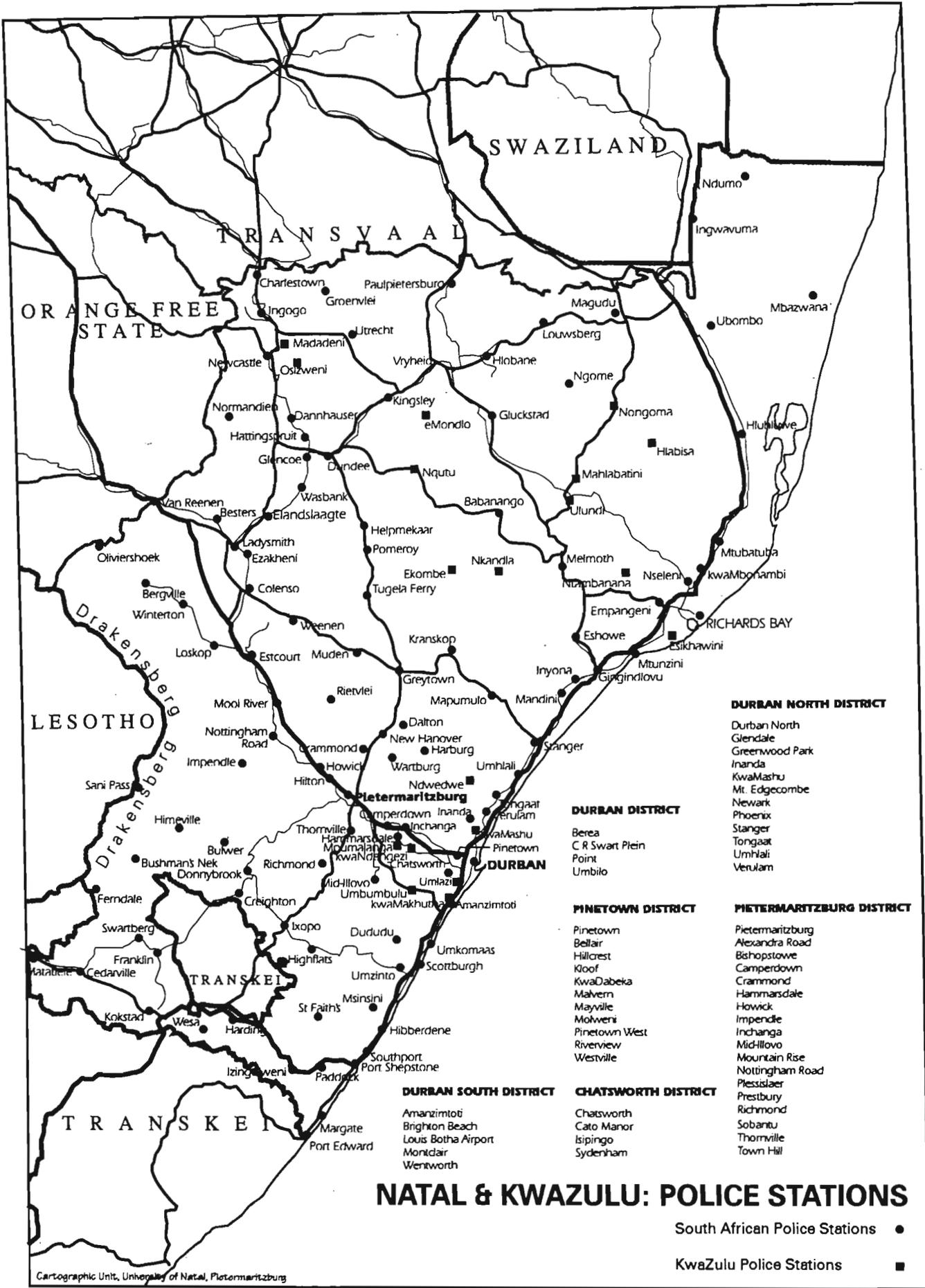


INDIAN OCEAN









DURBAN NORTH DISTRICT

- Durban North
- Glendale
- Greenwood Park
- Inanda
- KwaMashu
- Mt. Edgecombe
- Newark
- Phoenix
- Stanger
- Tongaat
- Umhlali
- Verulam

DURBAN DISTRICT

- Berea
- C R Swart Plein
- Point
- Umbilo

PINETOWN DISTRICT

- Pinetown
- Bellair
- Hillcrest
- Kloof
- KwaDabeka
- Malvern
- Mayville
- Molweni
- Pinetown West
- Riverview
- Westville

PIETERMARITZBURG DISTRICT

- Pietermaritzburg
- Alexandra Road
- Bishopstowe
- Camperdown
- Crammond
- Hammasdale
- Howick
- Impendle
- Inchanga
- Mid-Illovo
- Mountain Rise
- Nottingham Road
- Plessislaer
- Presbury
- Richmond
- Sobantu
- Thornville
- Town Hill

DURBAN SOUTH DISTRICT

- Amanzimtoti
- Brighton Beach
- Louis Botha Airport
- Montclair
- Wentworth

CHATSWORTH DISTRICT

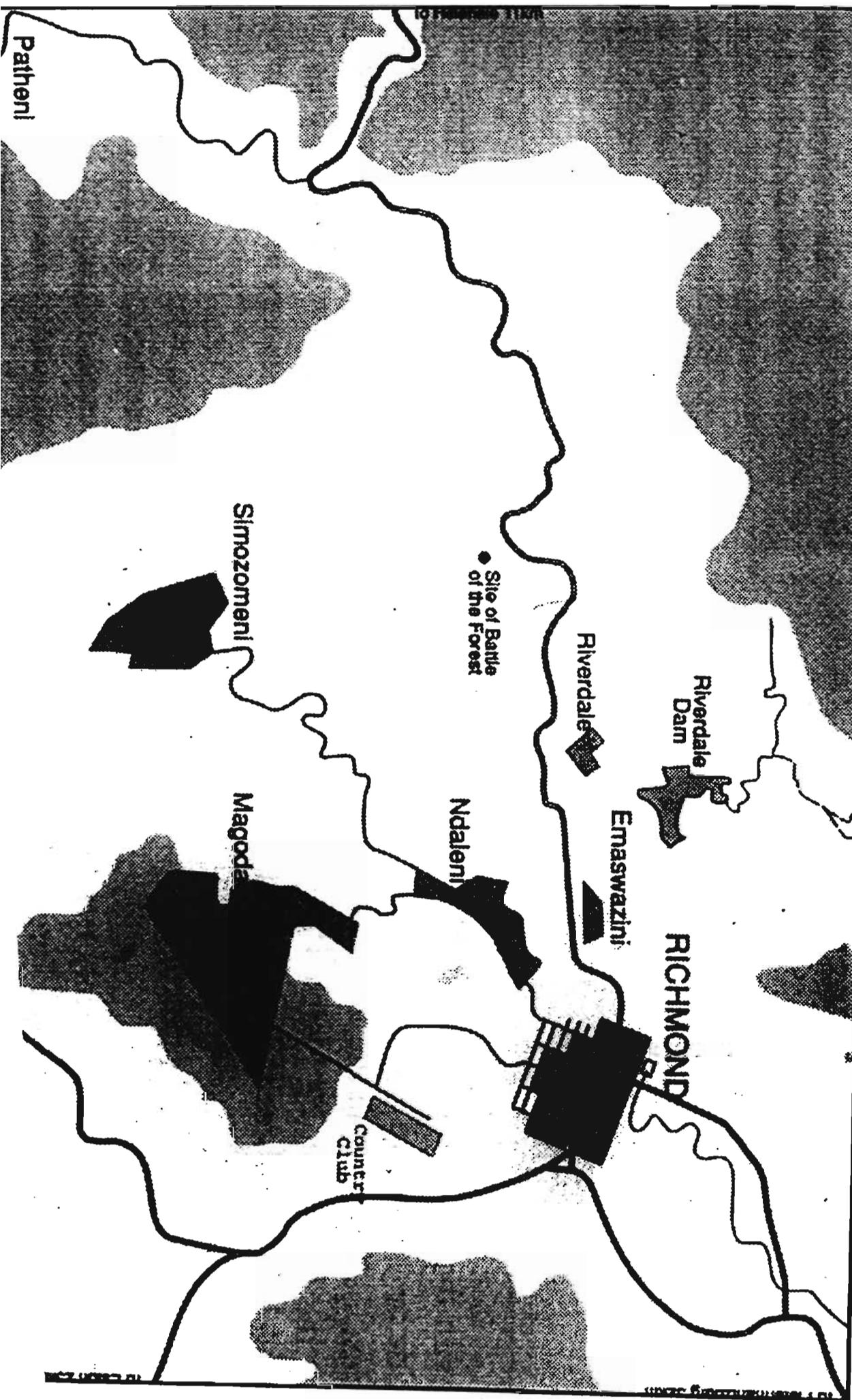
- Chatsworth
- Cato Manor
- Isipingo
- Sydenham

NATAL & KWAZULU: POLICE STATIONS

South African Police Stations ●

Kwazulu Police Stations ■

Cartographic Unit, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg



Patheni

Simozomeni

Magoda

Ndalenji

Riverdale

Rivardale Dam

Emaswazini

RICHMOND

Site of Battle of the Forest

Country Club

TO HARARE 110km

UNICEF/UNEP/WHO/FAO/UNEP/WHO/FAO

9.

DEDICATION

To Ndlela- ka-Simpisi and
Gala-ka- noDade pioneers of
African nation building.

To the liberation of African
Movements and civic association of
South Africa for liberation of our minds;

In the tradition of African Ancestral commemoration;
This Thesis is dedicated to John Langalibalele
Dube who trusted in us descendants;
To carry out the victory for which he sacrificed so much.

It is for all South African people;
Who have fought for the simple truth
Race First
And it is especially for those who
Do not understand the meaning of that
Truth.

For those South Africans who would be
Seduced into the labyrinth of Academic
This Thesis is written to free your
Minds; that your spirit might soar.

IN MEMORY OF

His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II		Sol Plaatje
Pixley Ka Seme	Nelson Mandela	Steve Biko
Bram Fischer	Joe Slovo	Moses Mabida

For the examples of those people who denounced oppression and colonialism in Africa.

Peter Abrahams	Ngungi Wa Thiong	Amillar Cabral
Augustino Neto	Nkwame Nkrumah	
Patris Lumumba	Bob Marley	Neil Aggot
Anton Lembede	Johny Makhathini	

and

James Baldwin	Oliver Schreiner
C.L.R. James	Chinweizu

QUOTATIONS

There was a third White destroyer; a missionary who wanted to replace all knowledge of our way with fables even our children laughed at them. We told the missionary we had such fables too, but kept them for the entertainment of those yet growing up – fables of gods and devils and a supreme being above everything. We told him we knew soft minds needed such illusions, but that when any mind grew among us to adulthood it grew beyond these fables and came to understand that these indeed a great force in the world, a force spiritual and able to shape the physical universe, but that force is not something cut off, not something separate from our selves. It is an energy in us, strongest in our working, breathing, thinking together as one people, weakest when we are scattered, confused, broken into individual, unconnected fragments.

- AYI KWEI ARMAH

Where did our poverty, our material backwardness, our cultural inferiority complexes begin and why? Why do they persist in spite of political independence?

- CHINWEIZU

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe my awaking and growth towards one of the founders of African National Congress, Nationalist consciousness the late John Langalibalele Dube (Umafukuzela we Africa), who allowed some of us as young people who worked for ANC to literally listen to his teachings and drink of his wisdom and knowledge concerning liberating of our country. The close contact with the message of Umafukuzela we Afrika tapped my African Centre and I developed a passion for the realization of the Pan African vision.

After my experience with ANC Youth in Tanzania and some travel around the world, I began graduate studies in Politics and Social Policy. That contradiction led to a thesis meant to uncover the root causes of political and violent conflict in Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal. Perhaps, more than any single person in the African Continent community, the late John Langalibalele Dube has stimulated young men and women of South Africa to search for an African-centred truth. I take this opportunity to express my love and gratitude and to acknowledge the genius of this great leader; the moulder of minds. For a great leader is one who can point in his sunset years to hundreds of African people who owe their ideological commitment and political development to his inspiration. ASE!

I would like to thank Dr Evan Mantzaris, who has also sacrificed, suffered, worked on, and thought about this thesis. More than anymore Dr Evan Mantzaris has shared this experience. He has lived through it with me. His intellectual stamina has been the years of this thesis. Dr Evan Mantzaris has collated pages, processed words for correction and listened while I explained and worked out concepts. His thoughts and perceptions have

been invaluable. He suffered weekends coming to my apartment while I worked. Close to me than any one else I know, he “shares my space”. And I thank him for hanging in. His faith and dedication kept me going.

Dr Phila Ndlovu, has been exposed to the concepts presented here. His insights, reactions, critical comments and enthusiasm have encouraged me to write this thesis. I am indebted to the nurturing relationship which both have shared.

Bheki Mtolo a mayor of Richmond helped me with invaluable information. His spirit was just what I needed. He is careful, precise and thorough.

I thank Gayo Nxumalo a former SANDF colonel for supplying me with information about involvement of the Army in Conflict situation, as he has done with so many of our people. That humanity made my work so much easier. He is nurturing spirit.

I thank the ancestors for the genius of Mzi Mfeka of Literature Department, University of Durban-Westville who brought African judgement to this work through mask symbolism. Mzi, thank you for your supportive energy and friendship.

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My Aunt Grace for her friendship. She supported me in this research without even knowing about it, for she taught me about the victory in confronting the enemy which is ultimately only fear. I would give thanks to all brothers and sisters from various townships of Richmond for the significant input to my work. They shared the vision.

To you all, Thank You (Ngiyabonga!)

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CODESA	Congress of Democratic Election in South Africa
HRC	Human Rights Commission of South Africa
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ISU	Internal Stability Unit
KBNR	KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources
KG	KwaZulu Government
KLA	KwaZulu Legislature Assembly
KLPU	KwaZulu Legislature Protection Unit
KZP	KwaZulu Police
MI	Military Intelligence
NIA	National Intelligence Agency
NIM	Network of Independent Monitors
PSC	Public Service Commission
SAP	South African Police
SADF	South African Defence Force
SDU	Self Defence Unit
SPU	Self Protection Unit
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
UDF	United Democratic Front
MK	Umkhonto Wesizwe
RWCE	Right-Wing Christian Groups
FF	Freedom Front
GDC	Gospel Defence League
RWCSA	Right-Wing Christian Group of South Africa
WPP	Witness Protection Unit
SSC	State Security Council
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
AB	Afrikaaner Broederbond
CCB	Civil Co-operation Bureau
DCC	Directorate of Covert Collections
SANAB	South African Narcotics Bureau
CBW	Chemical and Biological Warfare

INTRODUCTION

I was convinced that what troubled me and what I wanted to know was what troubled people of South Africa and what they wanted to know. We wanted to know the whole truth, good and bad. My research therefore is concerned with political violence and conflict in Richmond between the middle of 1980's up to the late 1990's. What the Black people suffered and died in the hands of the then government in Richmond. This is an entirely new approach to the political conflict and violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

The uniqueness of this thesis is not an accident. It is purposefully structured to create a balance between my presentation of that data contained and a level of socio-political and the general reading of the public.

The general argument in that an understanding in any given period of the political conjuncture requires an analysis which, on the one hand, is historically specific, descriptive account of struggles and events. To achieve this, it is necessary to analyse not only to prevailing struggles but also the structural condition which mark the character of a period and provide the specific context against which the content and direction of political and violent conflict can be understood.

Africa has always known political and violent conflict and its soil regularly stained with blood of African people. The political conflicts of the last ten decades have been the most vicious, have created the most suffering and so are worthy examination.

The root cause of political conflict reach back to the age of slavery. It continued through the era of industrial development as well as in the South Africa's Act of 1909, the historic compromise between Britain and Boers that entrenched racial dominance in South Africa. When Nationalist Party assumed parliamentary control of South Africa in 1948, it had only to refine and further codify a practice of racial discrimination that was already entrenched by the British, while the intention of the new government was clearly racist and discriminatory (Terry Bell, 2000, p.15).

During apartheid era, a settler population of 4.5 million Europeans controlled a land area of 472.359 square miles, which they identify as "The Republic of South Africa". This White minority government held 21 million Africans hostage in their indigenous homeland. The Africans could not vote, could not buy or sell land, they could not live where they chose, move around at will, nor work where they wish. Africans could not be elected to public office nor be members of parliament, they therefore have no political power and no control over their lives.

Africans were 72 percent of the population and were relegated to 13 percent of the land was reserved for Whites, who comprise only 16 percent of the population. Africans earned 29.4 percent of the nation's wages and can expect an average income of 330 rands per annum. Europeans earned 58.7 percent of the nation's wages and can expect an annual income of 1.300 rands.

All public education was racially segregated and based on philosophy of what might be called “racial pragmatism”, to put it euphemistically. Prime Minister Verwoerd then Minister of Native Affairs, put it this way in 1993.

“Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live ... the Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in will respects. There is no place for him in the European community, however, all doors are open, for this reason it is of no avail for him to receive a European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed there”

In the area of health, there was one doctor for every 333 Whites and one doctor for every 19 000 Africans. There was a child mortality rate of 14 percent, and a life expectancy of 67 for the Europeans, with a child mortality rate of 60 percent and a life expectancy of 55 for Africans (Hypirg and S.A. Perspectives, Africa Fund, American Committee on Africa, January 1984).

This political situation was under constant attack by the African community such as of Richmond. Because of the escalation organized by African resistance the White government intensified “legal” repression. In 1988 the Terrorism Act, the Unlawful solidated under the Internal Security Act. This act allowed:

- Indefinite incommunicado detention without charge or trial
- Outcoming of any organization alleged to be threatening to public safety or order.
- Prohibition of the printing, publication or dissemination of any periodical or any other publication.
- Prohibition of any gathering or meeting.

- Random police searches.
- Curtailment of travel rights of any person and restriction of rights of communication, association and participation in any activity.

In order to control Black movements, to inhibit their ability to organize, to control their labour, and for purpose of surveillance – Africans 16 years of age and over are required to be fingerprinted and to carry a pass book at all times. The book contains a record of their Bantustan identification, of their employment, permits to enter White areas and a record of taxes and family status.

Under such circumstances, again African people felt to revolt. The mood was sour and cranky. This is the root course of political and violent conflict in Richmond. More than 3000 people have been killed which has raged in the Midlands since January 1987 or an average, more than one person every single day. Well over 100 000 people have been displaced, many of them more than once. Probably more than 10 000 homes have been destroyed (Financial Times 20-1-94).

Political and violent conflict cannot occur at random. At the same time Black people cannot suddenly confront each other violently. The culture of Africans is organic, harmonious and spiritual. African values respect differences and applaud pluralism. This history of harmony, stemming from a strong sense of God-Consciousness in nature and each other, was denied by the then government and their White culture which views harmony as a lack of progress. Progress, in an Afrikaaner manner, grows out of conflict,

the following statement from P.W. Botha taken from speech delivered in 1985, addressed to his “beloved White Afrikaaners”.

“Priority number one, we should not, but all means allow anymore increases of the Black population lest we be chocked very soon. [He advocated the use of chemicals...] To contrast any further population increases and fertility destroyers I am also sending a special request to all Afrikaaner mothers to double their birth rate, we should engage higher gear to make sure that Black men are separated from their women and fines imposed upon married wives who bear children. (He referred to Africans as greedy who are after our blood). We cannot simply stand and watch all the laurels we have created being plundered by these barbaric and lazy kaffirs... It is our strong conviction, therefore that the Black is raw material for the White man. So brothers and sisters, let us join hands together to fight against this Black devil. By now everyone of us has seen practically that the Blacks cannot rule themselves. Give them guns and they will kill each other. They are in other else but making noise, dancing, marrying many wives and indulging in sex... Let us all accept that the Black man is the symbol of poverty, mental inferiority, laziness and emotional incompetence “Our experts should work day and night to set the Black against his fellow man”. His inferior sense of moral can be exploited beautifully and here is creature that lacks foresights. The average Black does not plan his life beyond a year.

Here Botha urged the experts to set the “Black man against his fellow man”. This also indicates that the then state security organs were mandated to create schism among Africans. This is what the turbloid of South Africa failed to focus on. Rather they arrogantly claimed that it was “Black on Black Violence”.

The theme of this study will focus on how was the structure of the securito-organs? What methods they applied in order to create disunity among Africans? The then government sponsored violence resulted in a number of deaths among Africans.

We must ask the question as to why the then government and Afrikaaner volks resort to evil methods other than harmony so as all people of South Africa regardless of race and

creed should leave together? Bobby Wright a Black psychologist, says simply that the collective behaviour of White folks “reflects on underlying biologically transmitted proclivity roots deep in evolutionary history. He said the patterns of behaviour we have been describing is symptomatic of the “psychopathic personality”, he continued while usually functioning well in their society.

- Is of average or above average “intelligence”.
- Is unable to experience guilt.
- Has no feeling of insecurity.
- Is unable to accept blame or to learn from experience.
- Is sexual inadequate and has difficulty forming close personal relationship.
- Appears to be honest and human, but has only selfish motivation.
- Has almost no ethical development.
- Has almost total disregard for appropriate patterns of behaviour.
- Consistently ignores concepts of right and wrong.
- And rejects constituted authority state sponsors violence wars carried by elements who resembled the abovementioned statement. There were times whereby the president of the then state like F.W. De Klerk will pretend as if he knew nothing of atrocities carried out by some security departments. In my thesis I will reveal that the then President De Klerk knew every evil carried by these secuocrats. There was a time F.W. De Klerk would justify raids against Africans in townships.

The capacity of the then government securocrats to commit acts of physical brutality and destruction against the Africans particularly in Richmond was proportionate to the place of power (i.e. control over other) in its ideology and the degree to which its image and conception of those outside the culture of Afrikaaner lack the characteristics of “humanness”. Afrikaaner policy had an enormous capacity for the perpetration of physical violence against Black people in townships, its integrity was neither threatened nor disrupted by such occurrences.

A truce was called by the then government of F.W. De Klerk, unbanning Black liberation movements of South Africa. Negotiation process took place at World Trade Centre in Johannesburg to establish democracy in our lifetime. There was a great jubilation from Africa. Seemingly the state sponsored political violence was coming to an end. People thought they were going to enjoy fruits of freedom.

However, in areas like Richmond people continued to be eliminated. This kind of political violence took a different pattern. It was no longer IFP versus ANC as it was planned by the then government.

A question comes as to who is responsible for this? Politicians like President Mandela concluded the “invisible hand” to put it categorically “Third Force” elements were suspected to be the ones who are responsible.

My thesis then will highlight the activities of Third Force based on well researched data from various sources. It should be remembered that when apartheid securocrats disbanded and new democratic government took power, these elements (Third Force) were in access of guns. They were stubborn and group themselves as Afrikaaner Volk such as AWB. Their activities such as training as assassins took place in the farms, etc. They continued to hire some Africans to kill their fellow brothers. Arms Cashe could be discovered hidden in remote areas such as Inquthu district town.

The activities of the sinister forces in Richmond over-simplifies the significance of Africans culture. Third Force elements led to so many deaths amongst Africans. The sinister forces violent approach makes it antagonistic to our views about life. Its confrontational nature did not provide the spiritual satisfaction we have found in our history of harmony.

These actors of violence were, on the other hand, those who have stood for apartheid and who do not wish to see it replaced with a non-racial society (Paulos Zulu "Ethnicity and Federation, 9.94). In the study of political and violent conflict is that a truth may slowly emerge, time after time, until it clearly forms itself into a truth impregnable. Yet that truth may be so repugnant, so utterly void of any rational or intelligent reason for its existence, that hardly journalist and liberal politician would wish to take it in his or her work.

Yet I will write that "Third Force" elements were the implacable foe, and everlasting enemy of the Black people. The compelling reason for publicly putting this declaration in

its political contexts is clear. The necessary re-education of Richmond community and a possible solution of crises can begin. Third Force was their bitter enemy for this is not the ranting of wild-eyed militancy, but the calm and unmistakable verdict. Even the sample case-study of townships around Richmond proves that people were the victim of Third Force elements (Hit and Run).

No one to have noticed or understood the signals from the Whites, signals which tell how tremendously important the then White government and sinister White forces regard any movement toward unity among the Blacks. Nothing racial seemed to have upset them more. That is why they insisted on being “in on” any Black organizational movement. Unity among the Blacks has been prevented by using the elements of sinister forces, to keep Blacks disorganized.

Third Forces were keenly aware of tremendous power of any well organized groups. It will be expedient to highlight again that in the thesis I am going to write, elaboration of sinister forces, be detailed. Further suggestions for conflict resolution will be worth to be mentioned.

In pursuing to write this work, I was driven by the ambitious precedent laid down by William Faulkner in his 1950 Nobel Prize acceptance speech. He said

“The young writer must leave no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart, the old Universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed – love and honour and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice. Until he does so, he labors under a curse. He writes not of love but of lust, of defeats in which nobody loses anything of value of victories without hope and worst of all without pity and compassion. His griefs, grieve on no universal bones, leaving no scars. He writes not of the heart but the glands”.

The significance of the study is to look for better solutions towards solving a political violence. However some individuals look at conflict as an inescapable part of our daily lives. To them it is an inevitable result of our greatly complex, competitive and often litigious society.

As human beings it is of necessity to learn how to deal with conflict effectively, an essential life skill. It is of significance that every group in our society regardless of ones age, social role, profession, cultural background or beliefs. One of the first steps in becoming more effective at resolving political violence is to understand the positive potential that await in all situations. In other words, we need to transform how we think about conflict. Prof. Dudley Weeks discerned that we might transform our perception of what really is. He continued:

“The first perception in need of transformation is that conflict is always a disruption of order, a negative experience, error or mistake in a relationship, however, we need to understand that political conflict is actually an outgrowth of diversity that can be utilized to clarify a relationship, to provide additional ways of thinking and options for action that you may not have considered, and to open up possibilities for improving a relationship.”

This perspective in need of transformation is that political violence is always a battle between competing and incompatible self-interests or desires. Thinking of political violence in this way leads us to feel that the other party is trying to block our getting what we want and both parties become more and more stubborn as they pursue their own desires and ignore the presence of needs or goals the two parties might actually share. The purveyors of Marxian school of thought discern that when we fear political violence or perceive it as a negative experience, we harm our chances of dealing with it effectively. The truth, however is that political violence is neither positive nor negative in and of itself. Political violence is an outgrowth of the diversity that characterizes our thoughts, our attitudes, our beliefs, our perceptions and our social systems and structures. It is as much a part of our existence as is evolution.

The eyes of the world are on South Africa. The eye of a South African must be on his own centre, one that reflects and resembles him and speaks to him in his own language. This is the imperative that the African centered perspective is addressing the truth, nothing else but the truth, this is the issue I am confronted with. It is pleasing to see one's reflection magnified many times saying the right thing, knowing the right way and writing the truth. There is a vision of Xhosa saying that "once one has had a vision, he cannot return it". I am having a vision of exposing elements behind the political conflict in Richmond. To those who will share in this vision will not ignore or turn back on it. And finally a vision of suggesting a way forward for community and economic development in that region.

METHODOLOGY

My chosen approach is African-centred perspective. A question may be asked by the reader why African centred perspective? The answer is simple (1) It has competence (2) Clarity of perspective, and (3) Understanding of the subject. In competence is the analytic skill with which applied to investigate about Political and Violent conflict in Richmond. It is the ability and capability of performing adequately when I am being confronted with problems related to my subject. On clarity perspective, it is my ability to focus on the African centred issues in the subject area and to interpret those issues in a way that will expose the essential factors constituting the subject.

What I hope to provide the relationship of Black people from various parts of Richmond Township (Magoda, Smozomeni, Endaleni and Epatheni). This thesis is politically and socially. My perception is to initiate valid approaches to problems and issues. At the same time I am a person who is capable of understanding many points of views because I value such diversity of opinions.

I may change my perspective by altering my conditions. The need for Afro-perspective is so great that it is impossible for me not to have applied it on writing this thesis.

Again the question most often encountered is why need for an African centred? And my question why not? Who else would you want to have at your centre?

It is the time when we must remember all that has gone before us and all that is to come upon us. The time that is here to expose atrocities committed against our Black brothers and sisters in Richmond.

This approach is pro-African genius and African value created. This perspective offers national inquiry into the nature of that violent and political conflict. It is purposeful giving a true sense of facts of conflict in that region.

Instead of beginning the research work with political and violent conflict between the middle of the eighties to the middle of the nineties, I began with a short review of Richmond history in general and European colonization of Natal in particular. Colonialism seemed also to have contributed to that phenomenon.

I had to raise my sights immediately. In early 1990 I entered Richmond city for a series of background study of the surroundings, particularly the African township. I visited Richmond Archives with the sole purpose of gathering the history of colonialism, colonialism in Richmond, colonial administration policies. My approach is quest for some specific answers to very specific questions.

The whole work, therefore is an honest effort to present the basic viewpoints of the people of Richmond themselves on the major changes that affected their lives. The key word here is "Truth", for it will become equally clear that some of the conclusions drawn

from the research are not supported by current neo-conservative liberal thinking or practices, and that, in fact there is often a head-on clash.

My approach is developed in part as a reaction to media sensation. It set off from bias of media. It is to highlight those accurate generalization about that conflict in Richmond. However, I will stress a consciousness of how I arrived at a generalization. Definition, measurements, the testing of hypothesis will be symptomatic of this approach. In broad terms, my approach tries to specify the intellectual process by which I reached a conclusion so that the reader may see the flaws, as well as every application of intelligence. In doing so my approach is trying to minimize (or not least make obvious) the biases and preconceptions I bring about political violence in Richmond.

Having drawn this initial distinction, I must apologetically add that so far, my approach will generate more questions about patterns than tested generalization or theory.

My research have explored Richmond's problems from every angle. It is both qualitative and quantitative. Many so called liberal thinkers and media experts have offered advice as to what should or should not be done in that conflict in Richmond. Just one thing is missing: they all failed to take into consideration what Africans themselves desired.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

I did explore what motivated the African youth to support organizations such as UDF, COSATU and ANC and how they survived in consequences of political involvement in Richmond. I worked closely with ten youths and six elderly people. They were not randomly selected people. Between them they had spend few years in prison and in exile. Some have been beaten, interrogated, tortured and kept for months in solitary confinement. All of them were born in Richmond. They did not dwell on their awful experiences in townships surrounding Richmond but when asked, recount them in a matter-of-fact way. One of the youths was tortured by KwaZulu Police so severely and so frequently that he attempted suicide.

Given the time and vulnerability of these people, their selection and methods used in the research had to be done with care and close consultation with those who participated in political violence. I focused on their networks of support amongst comrades in political organisation. This was done through interview and group sessions, all of which instructed, taped and transcribed and through some basic questionnaires.

As young comrades affiliated to UDF were linked by a network of friendship and political commitment. Their willingness to participate in my research emerged from their acknowledgement that the effects of system of oppression on their lives and the lives of

their affiliation to liberation movement was examined and documented. Checks on the veracity of their story occurred in group session.

There was a constant consultation with informants that I consider reliable and in many cases informants who observe events or participated in them. I have heard that individuals in Richmond were throuded by the events tended to make what I consider to be too objective. In as such I checked information from other observers and also other political faults which hinder at earlier conflict.

DATA ANALYSIS

It became evident that the spiral of violence was continuous and interrelated. I find it very useful to check on political material which seemed to suggest continuing data relating to earlier conflict. Use of tape recording to the victims of violence was essential. Most of these people are illiterate. They only know the mother tongue that is IsiZulu. Since I speak both IsiZulu and English, I interpreted from Zulu to English language. I double-checked the cassette recordings, avoiding misinterpretation.

Finally, questions were of data analysis from a number of households across the townships of Endaleni, Mgodu, Phatheni and Smozomeni. I did ask what proportion of people (Africans) in this violent conflict were affiliates of political organisations?

On sinister forces or third force I had a number of questions analysed. They are as follows:-In the sinister operations at Richmond who was involved?

Never has our future been more unpredictable, never we depended so much on political forces that cannot be trusted to follow the rules of common sense and self interest forces that look like sheer insanity, if judged by the standards of other centuries.

- Hannah Arendt

CHAPTER 1

1.1. Richmond in the Midlands

It was early spring; the sun was warm through the windscreen of taxi I had hired, while the wind outside skid off the dry veld. In this part of the KwaZulu Province climate changes dramatically with altitude; the beautiful valleys are watered by perennial rivers, then a dozen miles further on a dustbowl has there is another country. Richmond is a town that lies South-South West of Pietermaritzburg on the national road from Natal to the Cape via the Transkei and to Garden Route (Shepstone : 1994:1). It is built on the slopes of a hill in a wide valley and it commands beautiful views of the surrounding distant hills. It is partly enriched by a loop of the Ilovo River. It is about 2,890 feet above sea level.

As Natal rises from sea level in the East and to the high peaks of the Drakensberg in the West, so the Richmond district rises from a lower altitude of 2,500 feet in the East to the high hills over 5,000 feet in the West.

Its climate and vegetation correspondingly varies quite miserably in the differing altitudes, physical features and aspect of the terrain. This is a temperate region of

the summer rainfall area throughout . Thunderstorms and hailstorms are regular with which the farmers operating in the area have to contend. These hailstorms are usually very localised and may pass through one or two farms leaving an adjoining farm completely unscathed or even without a drop of rain. Severe “dry” electrical storms occur quite often and periods of several years of draught and unusually heavy rains seem to alternate and reoccur in cycles. The average annual rainfall in the area is considered to be 40 inches (1,000m). The central region of the district falls into the Mist Belt, where sometimes, in the warmer months, for weeks on end, mist and drizzle occur and occasionally the sun may not be seen for six weeks.

Throughout most of the higher areas there is a considerable contrast between day and night temperatures and frost is common in winter. Snowfalls are not uncommon and usually occur every three or four year. On the whole, the district does not have heavy winds. The prevailing winds are from the East, but in winter, south westerly often brings back front in their terrain. In August hot berg winds are usual. (Coulson 1986:11)

The rolling hills are covered with luxuriant, green grass standing up to three feet in height and providing cover and food for game of every kind. Thorn trees and patches of indigenous bushes on the topment slopes of south facing hillsides provide the only timber. Today Richmond Town is blessed with a beautiful ecosystem whose cycle has suffered from the turbulent politicisation of tribal society

and the militant reaction against it. The town sprawling surroundings whose anguish has been inflicted by a spate of political killings, that seemingly cannot be traced or solved by the police. As it's beautifully climate increasingly became every farmer's dream in the 1960's, so did its bushy landscape subsequently become a fertile ground for evil doings which has enveloped the Midlands region for many years (Independent on Saturday, January 30, 1999). Behind these statistics and descriptions lie people who live and die, who have holes made in them by 137 knife thrusts, who are burnt to death, who are blasted by shotgun blasts, who go to lawyers and appear in court as witnesses and are then gunned down by the people they testified against, people who are interviewed by journalists, then detained and interrogated by policemen. (Aitchison, 1994:8)

Something about Richmond reminds me of Boipatong in the then Transvaal (now Gauteng) : beauty out of one eye, a slum out of the other. Beneath the vast canopy of an African sky, silhouettes of women file across the saddle of a hill in order to draw water from a well where cattle drink and defecate. Most rural people have no choice but to walk up to half a mile to get water. Most have no sanitation, no electricity and no telephone .Above all they have no work.

The shadows on the road are those of slight children and their mothers, walking, carrying and enduring. Thousands of people were dumped at Magoda, Phatheni, Smozomeni and Endaleni, all part of this area. Officially known as "redundant" or

“surplus”, they were unable to serve in the mines or the quarries or the foreign or locally-owned factories, and there were already too many sweepers, gardeners and nannies. They were women, children and the elderly, the infirm and the disabled. They were taken into trucks to places where there was nothing; some were left in forest areas known as Bantustans and homelands, the townships were like concentration camps, an inspiration of the Dutch born Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of the apartheid monster. Ordinary people in these hardest-hit townships spent their nights in fear and their weekends burying the dead.

The first things that strike me in Richmond townships were the genuine, heartfelt friendliness of its people, the calm dignity, beauty and cleanliness of its women; and the quite charm of its sloping hills and sweeping, flower-studded valleys. Suddenly both the sun and the people come out again smiling just as though nothing had happened.

Richmond is a land of extremes. When the moon and the stars are veiled the nights are inky black, not just dark. But when the skies are clear and the moon and the stars come out to shine, night is not the same for such brightness. Where else in Africa, one wonders, does the moon shine so brightly that people can be seen clearly at an unbelievable distance?

Everyone is busy. The women are washing and cooking, old men repair wheel boroughs, and children romp and play up and down the river and in the shallow

water. One needs to stop at the small village market square outskirts of Richmond, for this is also a social centre for women and children. The big ten and twelve litre tin cans or plastics are filled with water and set aside. The women talk amongst themselves. The children play, come forming circles to clap hands and dance to "handkerchief".

No one is in a rush to do something and certainly not to get back to the house. A girl of about twelve years old stands apart, undresses and takes a bath in her tin dish. No one looks or pays her the slightest attention. A little boy of six places pads on his head. This means he is ready to go and two of the larger boys and a mother help to lift the big bucket tin of water to his head. The weight causes his legs to buckle, but he moves off bravely.

Travelling along the roads between the village may be an interesting spectacle as one stops inside a village. A wide but shallow stream flows outside the village. There are three groups of naked bathers. The men are near the bridge, the women further upstream, with the children having their fun in between the two adult groups. The men and boys not only do not stare at the naked female bathers; they appear not to glance even in their direction.

There is a little post office in this village. One can either talk along distance or send a telegram from there. There are not more than fifty families, but there is

already talk about building a community centre. By contrast, the people of Phatheni, an isolated township, seem to be quite satisfied with things as they were and are at present. Back here the people go half-naked, covering from the hips to the knees only. However, the women take care by covering their entire body, especially as a stranger approaches.

The forest around abounds with bananas, **Amadumbe**, oranges and lemons. In the clearing around the village itself melons, beans, and peppers are planted. Informal traders are everywhere along the roadside, some with only a handful of merchandise. On market days – these are staggered and set for every village or township. There are often more sellers than buyers. Just about every woman is selling something, or at least has something to sell. Since no man would condescend to be found buying in the market, sales possibilities are seemingly limited. But if one lingers long enough, he will discover that the market place, like the village market, is a social gathering place, and that for many, selling, while desirable, is really only incidental. Further ahead there is a mother and daughter pounding **phuthu**. If you pass through any community and fail to see this activity going on anywhere, the unusual has happened, and one of the most characteristic scenes of Richmond has been missed. **UPhuthu** is sweat – drawing labour. But the women prefer the traditional method to any labour – saving machine. “No,” they will tell you everywhere. For then it would not be uPhuthu. How it is made is a part of uPhuthu, and who makes it is an essential part of it. For the attitude is

that while all modern gadgets are just fine, they should never be allowed to “destroy” everything that makes a women worthwhile and necessary. So uPhuthu turns out to be useful happiness for women; they are not thinking about replacing it with any cute little machine.

In Endaleni Centre the letter writers sit at their little tables on the sidewalk near the post office. They stand in line, but a mother with a baby strapped to her back is urged to move to the head of the line. This is another cultural gesture in the African man’s attitude towards his womenfolk. Along the sidewalks tailors are busy at their sewing machines, pausing now and then to take an order. Then in another always interesting sight of the sidewalk one can witness barbers kneeling on pads and the customers sitting flat on the ground.

At the next township Esmozomeni a builder is making “concrete” blocks for houses and shows me the kind of soil used. It is here I learned that the African builder-ants, those who build those big mounds fifteen feet high, exude a fluid like cement in the process. River sand is often mixed with cement in making building blocks. I decided to assist for an hour these builders of blocks. Women prepare meals in the kitchen. The frying **amagwinya** with polony was served and a mug of **amarewu**. At lunchtime we sit by the roadside and eat with the men, all over anxious to share their meal. This eating by the roadside with the men however, is

no “put on”, no acting for appearances. We had work with shovel and spade, and we were hungry. Never did **istambu** (beans and samp) tasted so good.

There were many special honours, such as when Chief of the village sent runners to greet me a mile down the road before I reached his homestead. The Chief slaughtered a sheep, an expression of esteem followed by “libation” and then the serving of **umqombothi** (traditional African beer. Before one drinks the beer, he pours a small portion on the ground, an act of remembrance or sharing with the departed. Later I got the permission to interview the locals.

At the market place, **Smozomeni** , a market woman from whom I wished to buy smilingly refers me to another woman “who hadn’t sold anything today.” Everything is well organized here. There is a section of fruits, a section for traditional attire, a section for kitchenware, a section for meats. Freshly killed beef, pork and mutton are laid out in the open and long rows of tables are set for the customers.

Here women appear to be by far more industrious than the men, being everlastingly engaged in doing something, selling by the roadside or in the market place, pounding pap, bringing water from the corner of the tap, washing clothes, cooking, preparing African beer for fermenting and drying, always busy, the women of Richmond.

By contrast, the men of the townships appear to be the leisure class, casually strolling up and down the streets and lanes, sitting under trees drinking **Ijuba** beer in doorways , or congregating in front of some of the shops, debating the issues of football. But this picture is somewhat misleading, for whether one sees this, it all depends on what day or days he happen to be in the township. It may be Tuesday. On Wednesday you might wonder where all the men are. They would be at work on the farm or on the roads with the Transport Department doing casual work or at machine making clothes or under a shed making furniture and other household articles. Seeing the endless industry of the women, your indignation may rise at sight of so many men apparently loafing and sleeping sprawled out in the shade of a tree. Then you learn that many of these men were at work on their farms before dawn while you were still in bed.

This is the area that later turned violent, a continuous process that resulted due to the struggles between the oppressor and the oppressed.

1.2.1. Colonization

In a letter urging the British Crown to keep the Colonial Policy on Natal, Professor A.F. Hattersley wrote thus of the emigration to Natal.

“Thought Natal was separated from the Cape Colony in 1847, the newly established Government was confronted by problems of such magnitude that the continued existence of the district as a European settlement was a matter for earnest consideration. Discontent with the land grants and Native Policy of the British Authorities had largely denuded Natal of its white population and many of the Dutch farmers had abandoned the district by 1848. Large numbers of Natives continued to pour into the country in search of sanctuary from Zulu tyranny. There seemed little prospect of filling vacant spaces – through further migration from Cape and if Natal was not to be abandoned altogether to native occupation, the only alternative was extensive settlement of farmers from Europe. Emigration from England of farmers with a small capacity had been suggested by the authorities in Natal as early as 1846.

Emigration seemed the appropriate remedy for this distress. At the same time, it would serve colonial needs through the opening up of underdeveloped land.

These exercise of power, which colonizers attribute to themselves and which they continuously seek, was manifested in the ability to conquer everything they find. Their assessment of themselves includes their birthright to conquer, not only everything they happen to come in contact, but also by seeking new lands, nature and people. (Marimba Ani : 1997, pp. 248).

Part of this expansion was imperialistic in nature: The British power established political control over the people of Richmond. With the creation of the Colony of Natal, the British determined to a large extent the social, economic and political practices of the society they dominated. Resistance was common from Africans.

A Colony was created through force and was recognized by the British as “belonging” to the colonizers. Any attempt to change these circumstances without the consent of the colonizers usually meant war.

The British generally perceived the Colony of Natal as normal and necessary part of the political terrain. The British government rationalized the exploitative aspects of imperialism as being part of “the white man’s burden” to bring “civilization” to the lesser race (Africans). Behind the moralism stood the pressured benefits of empire – a demonstration of prestige, capability, and commitment. (Beckman, 1984 : 36). The British government was assumed to be the great power. The adage that “the sun never sets on the British empire” metaphorically reflects some of the clout the British government carried in the chancelleries of Europe. In terms of capabilities, the Colony of Natal gave unqualified access to raw materials and to a market for manufactured goods; such access promoted an expanding economy within the ruling state. The Colony of Natal also necessitated the development of standing army, navy and merchant marines to protect and exploit the land and its people. Finally, the colonial possession was a clear indication in a global way, that imperialism was concerned with developments abroad, and that it would fight to protect its interests.

1.2.2. The Charles Joseph Byrne Immigration Scheme

After the Boers left Natal, the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Council of the Colony welcomed schemes to introduce British settlers to fill the void created by the Boers departure. In Britain, owing to lean times and increasing unemployment, a number of emigration schemes were introduced, the best known being that of Joseph Byrne. It was known as the Joseph Byrne Immigration and Colonization Company, which was associated with a number of Wesleyan societies, like the Christian Emigration and Colonization society, which settled in Richmond in the Byrne Valley (Carlson, 1986 : 26). Originally the settlement was named Beaulieu, but the name fell into disuse because of the difficulty in pronunciation. Richmond was named by John Moreland as a complement to the Duke of Buccleu. Owing to the fore thought of the Duke agents in South Africa, Beaulieu tenants were laced on the land in comfortable circumstances, in what Moreland described as sheltered position with abundant supply of water and excellent soil.

In 1849, Henry East Grey, the British Colonial Secretary, made an agreement with Byrne that for a deposit of £1,000, which he made with the Emigration Commissioner in London , colonisation would occur. He could purchase 5,000 acres of Crown Land in Natal for 4 shillings an acre. By the 16th of May 1850 the land was purchased. The emigrants were to pay Byrne 10 pounds for a steerage

passage and for 20 acres of land, with an additional 5 acres for each child and half-acre plot in the village that was laid out. Byrne's final profit would come later from the sale of the balance of 3,000 acres, which the settlers could buy when they wished to extend their farms. In this way all parties stood to gain. The settlers looked forward to a new life with excellent prospects. Byrne would receive considerable profit from the scheme, and the Natal government would gain a valuable band of the so-called settlers to develop their interior of the Colony. (Shepstone : 1994 : 10).

The adventures of Joseph Byrnes suffered dismally there and then. A fundamental weakness laid in his failure to ascertain the practical difficulties of procuring land in a Colony of untold acres. This was due to the shortage created by the Cape Governor Sir Harry Smith's prodigal policy in 1848, in alienating some two million acres to three hundred and sixty trekkers in an attempt to retain them in Natal in the interest of settlement and defence. This was achieved by the cession to a small body of emigrant Dutch of the free grant of vast tracts of land, as Lord Grey put it to Smith. Byrne himself complained in a letter to the "Natal Witness" in September, 1850, when his difficulty obtaining land appeared to be insuperable, of "a rapid growth of land recklessly made to Dutch applicants without thought of the future".

Many liberal historians launched a fierce polemic on Charles Byrne, who they labelled as an impostor – flamboyant, pompous, a fluent and convincing speaker, yet a hypocritical rogue, with all the flair of company promoter anxious to push his stock, impelled by that brand of sincerity which is borne of self-education (J.Aitchison , personal interview 1999).

In Richmond land to the indigenous African people was supplied recklessly. Force was however another means by which to eradicate those who resist eviction. No nation or people accept brutal eviction. African people decided to affiliate with the Native Congress of South Africa to fight back for what had belonged to them. This was one of the root causes of political and violent conflict in Richmond.

During the colonial era, the system undertook to make sure that inter-tribal differences were emphasized, and that inter-tribal suspicions and jealousies were kept aflame to a point short of open warfare. As a consequence each tribal group in Richmond was suspicious of its neighbour. This became the foundation of colonialism and what appeared to be a permanent guarantee of securing European interests. Agent provocateurs were a part of the system glorifying “uncivilized” customs as cultural values that must be preserved, while keeping the native population in a state of mass ignorance .

Having by conquest become masters of Natal, the British rulers began to seize resources and organized their power for a long period of profitable stay.

First the colonizers began to take out of African use or occupancy whatever land they wanted, and they assembled African labour to mine the land for coal or to farm it for wool, cattle, timber, sugar, bananas and groundnuts. But as the African people in Richmond were resisting their dispossession from their lands and were unwilling to work in sugar cane fields, the colonizers had the land confiscated. Indian indentured slaves were brought in to plough in the sugar cane fields and African labour was compulsory. The means of doing this was the adoption by a White ruling race of legal measures designed expressly to compel the individual natives to apply to quit the land which they occupied and by which they could live, and thus force them to work for the private gain of the White man. When lands formerly occupied by natives were confiscated or otherwise annexed for White owners, the creation of a labour supply out of the dispossessed natives was usually a secondary object (Hobson : 1965 :265).

The measures taken by the colonizers were often quite brutal. For instance, because they were considered too low and untenable for work in the White man's farms Richmond African people expelled from their homeland.

In many cases, they were like the Aborigines in Australia, simply exterminated. J.A. Hobson further elaborated on this phenomenon, to quote him "War, murder,

strong drink, syphilis and other civilized diseases are chief instruments of a destruction commonly couched under the euphemism “contact with a superior civilization”. The land thus cleared from natives passes into White possession, and White men must work it themselves, or introduce other lower industrial peoples to work it for them...” (Hobson 1965:253)

If expulsion was deemed unprofitable other methods were tried. In Richmond during the colonial era, in order to meet the insatiable demands of the farmers, some dubious methods were devised. The grand plan was to break up the tribal system which provided solidarity and some political and economic strength to native life, set the **kaffir** on an individual footing as an economic bargainer, to which he was wholly unaccustomed, take him by taxation or other “stimulus” from his locality, put him down under circumstances where he has no option but to provide cheap labour (Glen Grey Act, 1913).

Missionaries like those of the Methodist Church however, thought the abovementioned plan went too far. They condemned it to be immoral. Their scepticisms were met with justification statements from the admirers of colonialism. A certain magistrate bluntly discerned “The labour question and land question are indissolubly bound together. In my opinion it is of little use framing enactments to compel unwilling persons to go out to work. It is like old saying about leading a horse to the water, you can take him there, but you cannot make

him drink. In the same way you may impose your labour-tax, but you cannot make your unwilling person work. Create a healthy thirst in your horse and he will drink fast enough. Similarly create the necessity for the native to work and he will work, and none better. Hitherto, under our commercial tenure system, there has been little absolute necessity for our young natives to leave their homes to work. The land supplies them with food and few shillings will buy a blanket and as soon as the young man marries he is entitled to receive will be stopped by the survey and individual tenure – a young man before he marries a wife will have to be in a position to support a wife and to obtain this he must work, and once having married her, he must still work to maintain her and himself and once the necessity of work is created there will be no lack of men ready and willing to work” (Blue Book on Native Affairs, C.31, :75).

Astonishingly, the missionaries treated the magisterial opinion with warmth and withdrew their Christian morals. It must have seemed part of God’s work to teach the “lazy” native the dignity of toil by creating in him a healthy thirst for doing the White man’s work (Chinweizu, 1983 :58).

Under such circumstances, the people of Richmond began to revolt and this is one of the major causes of socio-political and violent conflict. Up till today the land issue has not been properly solved.

COLONY OF NATAL,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

Certificate for Allotment of Land.

No. 94

12, PALL MALL EAST, LONDON.

Ship *Union*

These are to Certify, that *Mr Thomas Kemp*

the Bearer hereof having been approved of by Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners as an Emigrant to this Colony, and having been furnished with an order to, and intending to, proceed to the said Colony, by the Ship or Vessel *Union* from the Port of *Liverpool* is hereby entitled to *Twenty* Acres of Freehold Land

in the said Colony, which *he* is at liberty to select according to priority of the number of Certificate, upon production of this Certificate, numbered *Twenty four* subject however to the Rules and Regulations indorsed hereon. The Land so chosen will be conveyed and assured to the said *Mr Thomas Kemp*

his heirs, appointees, or assigns, according to the laws and customs of the said Colony, by our Agent duly authorised and empowered in this respect, upon delivery up of this Certificate, and the duplicate hereof, and upon payment of the Survey Fees and other dues payable according to the Government Tariff of the said Colony.

Dated the *Tenth* day of *June* One thousand eight hundred and *fifty*

To JOHN MORELAND, Esq.,
Immigration Agent, NATAL.

J. Moreland

Rules and Regulations as to the selection and allotment of Land under the within Certificate.

This Certificate or the Duplicate is to be delivered up to Mr. JOHN MORELAND or the Agent, who will attend and receive the Emigrants on their arrival at Port Natal.

The choice of land is to be determined according to the priority of the numbers of the several Certificates, which will be delivered up to the Agent by the Emigrants, or their Agents proceeding in the same vessel.

The party mentioned in the Certificate, or his Agent appointed in the form at the foot hereof, is to signify in writing at a meeting which will be convened by the Agent, and of which notice will be given, either by notice in writing, or by advertisement in one or more of the public papers of the said Colony, his selection of the land within mentioned which will be shewn by the Agent.

In case any party mentioned in the Certificate, or his Agent as above mentioned, shall not make and signify such selection to the Agent within the time and in manner above mentioned, the priority of the choice of such party shall be lost, and the allotment of the land to which such party is entitled will be made by the Agent.

AS THIS CERTIFICATE IS ISSUED IN DUPLICATE, the following Form FOR APPOINTMENT OF AN AGENT to select Land, must, if used, be filled up and signed on the Duplicate as well as the Certificate.

I the within named Thomas Kemp
appoint J. MacKenzie of Scotland
passenger by the Ship Minerva to the within mentioned Colony, my Agent to select for me the quantity or section of Land referred to in the within Certificate for allotment of Land, and request that the Certificate of allotment or selection may be delivered to him on my behalf.

Dated the Twelfth day of June One thousand eight hundred and fifty

Witness

Joseph Gresh
21 Duncan Street
Leeds

Thomas Kemp

LONDON, 12, PALL MALL EAST,

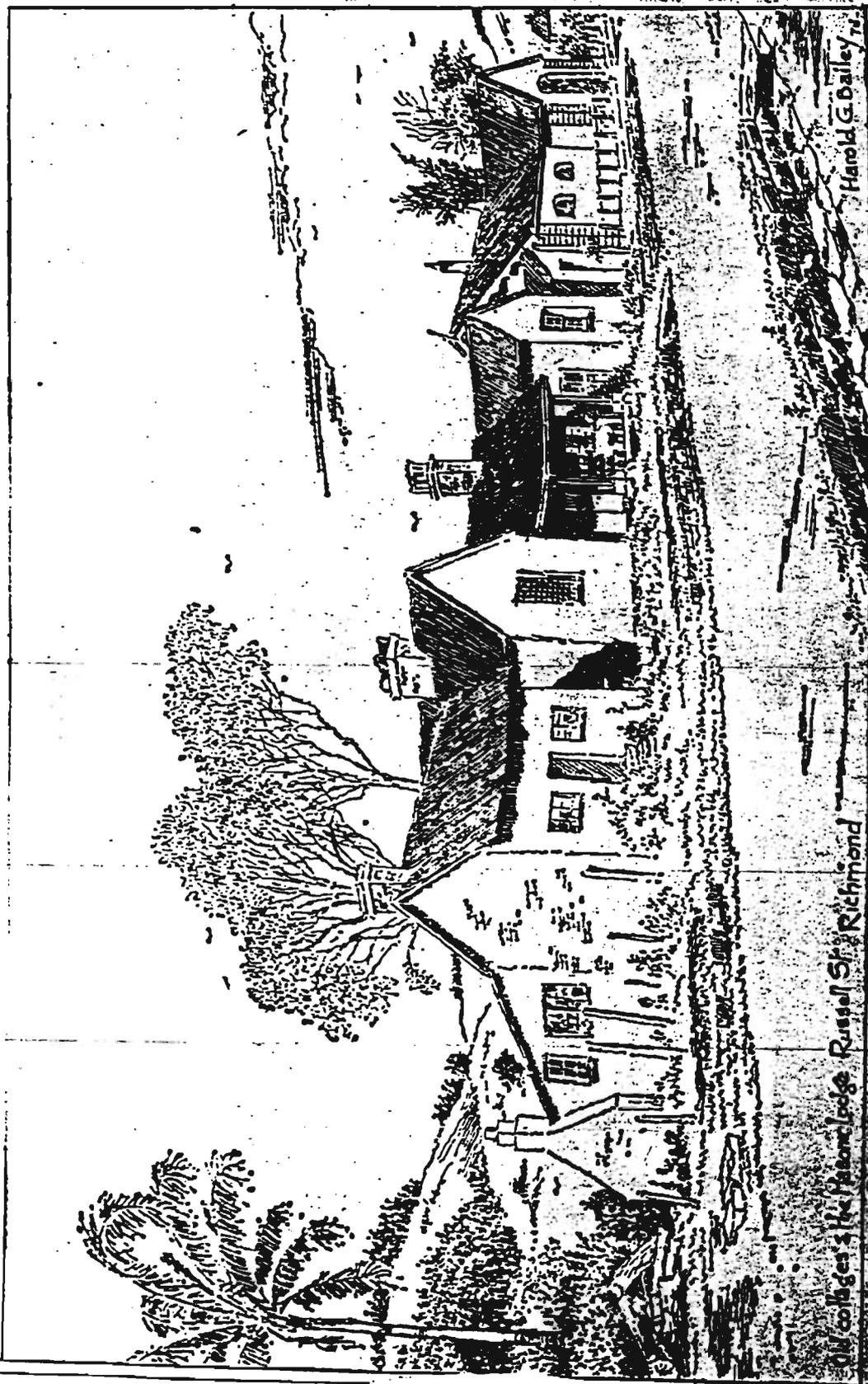
16 February 1850

Ms Charlotte Wood has paid the Sum of
Five pounds as Deposit on account of Passage
Money per "Diamond" Ship for NATAL, and purchase
of Twenty Acres of Land in that Colony, the
balance Five pounds to be paid at this Office prior to Embarkation.

pp. G. Byrne & Co
G. Hill Young

NAME	AGE	No of ADULTS	Description of Accommodation.
Wood Charlotte	22	1	Stowage
1 Souls equal to.....		1	

572 915



Harold G. Dalley 75

Old colleges & the "patronage" Russell St., Richmond

At the first of the great American settlements in North America, Richmond still has the aura of history about it, and among the many historical buildings is that of the Spanish and English settlement that was built about 1864. The first settlers in the area were those who came out under the Byrd, Mann, Graham, Scheme and the Aldrich's People, sent out to South Africa by the Duke of Buccleuch. The town was named Beilieu after the home of the Duke, but in September, 1880, the name was changed to Richmond in order to avoid confusion over title deeds.

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS DECISION

When they first came they had the bible, we had the land; now, we have the bible, they have our land.

- Josiane Nespoulous Neuville

CHAPTER 2

2.1. Christianity a powerful tool of mind control

During the colonial era the secret white folks discovered in their history is that culture carries rules for thinking, and that if you could impose your culture on your victims you could limit the creativity of their vision, and destroy their ability to act with will and intent and in their own interest. A person then can conclude that this imposition of white culture upon the black population was one of the major causes of the political conflict in Richmond historically. Detailing how this phenomenon affected the indigenous people of that region is a part of the present endeavour. The justification for the church's involvement was always couched in terms of conversion. Many European historians identify conversionist sentiment with something they call "humanitarian" which, in turn is identified as the universally altruistic motivation of behaviour.

In "The Image of Africa", Phillip Curtin quotes from proceedings in the British Parliament concerning the question of "Aborigines" in 1935. The responsibility of the committee dealing with this question was to investigate government policy:

“Native inhabitants or countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure to them the due observation of justice, and the protection of rights, to promote the spread of civilization among them; and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion.”

This is an example of what Curtin characterises as the humanitarian concerns of the missionaries for the British Niger Expedition of the 1840's. He identifies “conversionist sentiment” with Christian humanitarianism. He further claimed

“The dominant British attitude toward Africa became more conversionist than ever. The Niger Expedition itself was a large-scale public effort to convert barbarians to Western ways. The middle decades of the century represent, indeed, the height of conversionist sentiment.”

Richmond fell under the jurisdiction of the Colonial office. The **Amakhuze** people and their Chief Miso Dlomini were the occupiers of the place. They were living in the area now called Endaleni.

Disputes occurred between the people of Emakhuzeni and Colonizers. Some left

Endaleni and moved towards the Umkhomazi River. Those who left were

converted into Christianity, known as **Amakholwa** (Coulson : 1986: 13).The

Rev James Allison established a Mission Station on the land granted to him by the

Governor of Natal. Those who have been converted remained and became loyal.

They were known as the Amakholwa tribe. Their first Chief was elected through

the permission of the Church. Endaleni became sanctuary for those Christian

Africans. Subsequent Chiefs were Chief Gilbert Majozi, Vivian Majozi and King

Mphele. For many years only Christians of the Methodist persuasion were allowed in the area of about 6,000 acres which the government had granted to Rev Allison.

The dispossession of the African land of 6,000 acres was not wholly consensual. Force was used to remove the African people from their land. Mothers were forsaking their children and husbands their wives, each striving to escape as best they could. Some drowned in the rivers during the chase, others thought to have escaped by hiding in the bush. And when the land was captured by the English Colonizers, all praised God for the great mercy. He had shown them, in that he had willed to give them such victory, and with so little damage to themselves. They were all very joyful, praising loudly the LORD God for that he deigned to give great help to such a handful of Christian people.

Christians have always been willing to fight bloody battles to convert others to their way of thinking, even their own people. The cloak of Christianity was a most convenient hiding place for those who had other designs. Hence the drive to convert. Conversion meant also far more than conversion to Christianity. It meant that Africans had to change into thinking like white man and accept all tenets of western civilization.

What happened in the process of converting Africans to Christianity was the supreme triumph of the whites over the blacks. Many Africans in Richmond became non-Africans. Africans who were neither Christians were classed as

“Heathens” and therefore required to disavow their whole Zulu culture. The Africans in their own rights became non-persons, members of a race of nobodies, so hopeless that self-realization as personalities, even in a subordinate status, could only be achieved by becoming Christians. Indeed, in order to destroy completely not only their African heritage, but also their very African identity psychologically, they were forced to change their names to Christian names.

If we analyze Christian doctrines with regard to their psychological significance, we differentiate between two problems. We can study the character structured of the individual who created the doctrine and try to understand which traits his thinking follows.

This means for instances, that we were supposed again to analyze the character structure of the late Bishop Colenso of Natal who claimed to have translated the Christian Bible into **isizulu**.

Bishop Colenso was a typical representative to the colonizers. He taught Africans to humiliate themselves and these very self-humiliations were the means to reliance on God’s strength. He offered a solution by teaching Africans that by complete submission and self-humiliation, they could hope to find new security.

People of Emakhuzeni before the arrival of Christians believed that their Divine was “Masculo-Femine-the great male-Female power. They describe their God as “Mother”. (**Unomkhubulwano**). The feminine power of Unomkhubuluwano, for

the people of Emakhuzeni, was associated with thought, intelligence and foresight. Christianity in Richmond destroyed the divine culture of African people. The male is seen essentially as the image of the male transcendent ego or God, women are seen as the image of the lower, material nature. Thus gender becomes a primary symbol for the dualism of transcendence and immanence, spirit, matter (Radford Ruether, 1983:53). The same bible brought by the disciplines of Bishop Colenso discerned :-

“Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent (1 Timothy 2 : 11-12).

The Methodist Church at Indaleni decided that no woman was to become a priest, and the orthodox view of women was as having come into being for her man's fulfillment. That put African Christian in a bind. Clearly this concept of fulfillment is not spiritual, therefore women are created solely for the purpose of their sexuality; the same sexuality that is damned. It is women who are inherently evil and all of humanity who are caught in a hopeless contradiction. Why were women “created” in first place?

The Christian doctrine that was imposed on African people in religion continued to claim that “God for a divinely ordained hierarchy of social subordination : as God has authority over Christ, citing Genesis 2-3, so man has authority over women”.

In 1 Corinthians 11:7-9, a man..... is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man. For man was not made from women but woman from man. Neither was man created for woman, but woman for man.

Beyond reasonable doubt the Christian doctrine destroyed the African cultural heritage. Under such circumstance people's tempers erupted. True Africans sustained pressures which began at birth and outlive the person, often breaking the spirit long before his/her physical demise. That aspect of Christian aesthetic was a deadly weapon at the service of the need to dominate and destroy.

Finally the Christian ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self-image and value-systems of African and other non-European peoples. Professor Dona Richards argued that "with its delusionary rhetoric of "love" and "peace", its debilitating image of the non-white ("backward, "heathen", and its "universality", it has succeeded where guns never could in fearing people from the cultural base necessary for the formulation of an effective self-deterministic ideology.

A Christian with a gun in the armed forces is one thing- he might end up with a spear in his back; but a missionary with a Bible and a well-meaning smile who speaks of "eternal love" is wholly different. It takes a great deal of political sophistication to recognize him as a potential menace.

In his book "Breast of the Earth", Kofi Awoonor has an excellent discussion of Christianity's role in this regard and tell us that "The school was the most important instrument of missionary work in Africa". It was the key to the process that would strip Africans of their culture so that they could become part of the technical order, albeit at the lowest level. The school always took African children away from their elders and caused them to be ashamed of the very things that could have been a source of political strength and resistance to colonial rule

Christianity meant "civilization". To be civilized was to become as much like the Europeans as possible. Awoonor tells us that, "The converts were also encouraged to acquire European material culture... The superiority of the European way of life was rigorously inculcated. This included living in the townships that the missionaries established, in opposition to the very villages in which the African extended kin lived.

The missionary schools like Indadeni Training College in Richmond discouraged the use of African languages. "Christian conversion meant cultural change, a change essential to the donning of the cultural of European technology. "Christ was a white man; the saints were white; and the missionaries were white..... continuously the African was told he was cursed in his adherence to the ways of his fathers, and because he was black skinned the implications were not lost to

him..... The fundamental erosion of the African Confidence in him began with the first Christian convert.

From this ridiculous myth, which white Christians used as their reference one could draw the following interpretation from their attitude.

“Now I cannot beget the forth son whose children I would have ordered to serve you and your brothers! Therefore it must be canaan, you’re first born, whom they enslave. And since you have disabled me.....doing ugly things in blackness of black! Moreover, because you twisted your head around to see my nakedness, your grand children’s hair shall be twisted into kinks, and their eyes red, again because your lips jested at my misfortune, their shall swell; and because you neglected my nakedness, they shall go naked, and their male members shall be shamefully elongated! Men of this race are negroes, their forefather Canaan commanded them to love theft and fornication, to be banded together in hatred of their masters and never to tell truth.” (Graves and Pati 1964: 121)

Many African people in Richmond concluded that the Christian doctrine is in direct opposition to African culture. Another important way with which missionary education prepared Africans was by destroying the integrity of lineage organization that formed the basis of the traditional communal structure. Christianity stressed individual salvation and the “Judeo-Christian material culture”, as Awoonor puts it. It denounced all communal forms such as polygamy, the traditional educational system, and especially, economic communalism; i.e. the communal ownership and distribution of resources. Individualism was an implicit value of missionary christianity as it revealed itself among those oppressed.

The churches in Richmond were as competitive and as individualistic as capitalism, and as totalitarian as communism. Narrow and authoritarian, they presented to the mankind of that African region the amazing spectacle of not only supporting colonialism, but also of battling among themselves over non essential religion details which make up their respective creeds. The kingdom of God they went forth to build was the power structure of their particular denominations.

Under such circumstances the Africans were moody and cranky. They had no choice but to fight back the evils of Christianity.

During the 1980's upto the middle of 1990's Christian indoctrination took another pattern. I regard it to be very subtle and dangerous. The followers called themselves "Born Again." This church is the single most authoritative religious force within the Richmond Community. Furthermore ,the church has served both as dissuader and catalyst in our most necessary social and political struggles. Yet because it is seldom consciously African, it is often a controversial institution. The nature of the controversy reveals the fundamental weakness of the church, which unfortunately seems little altered by the debates over objectives, functions, and rituals.

It is now possible to analyse the church and then comment about its direction. First, while the church is the most dominant institution within the black community, it is not a united church in any political, social or religious sense. It is however, united symbolically as the black church.

What then is the nature of the church's authority? It is the individual will of the preachers that constitute the power of the church.

Those who minister to the flock control not only the religion but also the pocket books and the politics of the flock. It is the recognition of this fact alone that has traditionally brought old and new white politicians into the community to beg the preachers for votes.

Another aspect of this church is that it has peculiar traits. Crucial amongst them are the following :

- (1) Charismatic leadership
- (2) Total submission to the leader
- (3) Unyielding discipline.

Unfortunately, appearance and performance frequently have taken the place of substance in the church. The charisma of the leader is sustained by showmanship and dramatic displays. Followers become so devoted to the leaders that they would give him (almost always a man) their earthly possessions if he asked. In

fact, many have no existence aside from the shadowy glory of the charismatic leader. Total submission is the price the followers pay for what they see as total security. For them the exchange is more than fair, it reflects the benevolence of the charismatic leader. Often the more flamboyant the leader, the more devoted his followers are to him as their special saviour.

While this church is not as prevalent as Methodist Church and Anglican Church, it represents the aspirations of a large segment of the black community. Much like this church is the sub-stratum storefront and shotgun barrel church that seems to occupy every corner not already occupied by a gasoline station. It is always headed by a "Leader" who believes he is charismatic, frequently he is not more than a distraught preacher who was ousted from a larger church. If this is the case, then his storefront is referred to as a splinter group of a larger church. But even so this church accounts for a sizable number of church people and money.

The church as a whole has vacillated on too many issues, waged its tail too eagerly for the wrong reasons and lost the trust and confidence of many youthful supporters. Clearly this church institution is the major group force in the black community, outpolling the political parties as well as the civil rights organization. Yet it has traditionally represented a conservative corpus of opinion and has not fully participated in the emergence of the various enlightenment periods in African struggle.

The church is contributing to the ignorance and as a consequence the worshippers have not made the connection between these manifestations and our ancestors. This is the result of ancestral discontinuity caused more by the unavailability of proper information.

It should be clear that it is neither the church nor its symbols that give power and spirit; it is the spirit of our ancestors found even in our traditional dance (**Indlamu**) and Jazz night clubs of our communities. We are a people in tune with our God-force whether in a nightclub or a church. The feeling is the same, it comes from the same place, it is not merely a church phenomenon and we must cease giving that credit only to the church. The spirit exists whether we experience entertainment or a sermon.

Another peculiarity with this church is that services become a collective outpouring of the soul with some people getting more possessed than others but not only really escaping the influence of possession even if it is no more than the slight tapping of the foot. Syncopated pianos and organs and hand clapping often drive the faithful into ecstasy. The rhythms run to be free, individuals shout and moan, the preacher directs this “Mass Madness”, and suddenly the whole congregation is praising the “LORD”.

Consequently the Christian church was progressively more and more concerned with political and economic matters and less and less concerned with moral and spiritual matters. Since its early history, the “corruption” of the church has been the concern of the “good” Christian. These are individuals born into European culture that never understood Christianity in its European sense automatically. The isolated instances of those who do not identify with this properly or totally and those who become confused by the ethic have encouraged the illusion that it represents conflict in European ideology. Kierkegaard represented the epitome of the individual who seemed to be searching desperately in the culture for something that it was never meant to contain. He does not understand the culture. (Lourie, 1944: 304-305). Kierkegaard’s association is that Christianity of the “New Testament” no longer exists, but in my views it has never “existed”, certainly not as a European cultural possibility. Ironically, it is within other cultures that some of the espoused “Christian” values exist, insofar as they are humanly meaningful and concretely realizable. It is outside of the West that peace, compassion, spirituality, the lack of aggression, and intercultural tolerance are more likely to be found, since it is here that cultural philosophies are found to support such behaviour. Kierkegaard’s “attack” is representative of the awareness of European hypocrisy. He says

“We are what is called a “Christian” nation, but in such a sense that not a single one of us is in the character of the Christianity of the New Testament..... Christendom is the betrayal of Christianity.” 1

Spengler's conception of the "Christian ethic" is much more accurate, and his very different perspective brings him closer to a more realistic assessment of the significance of the Christian teachings in the context of European ideology. Let me quote him.

"My kingdom is not this world..... A ruler who wishes to improve religion in the direction of political, practical purposes is a fool. A sociologist preacher who tries to bring truth, righteousness, peace, forgiveness into the world, of actuality is a fool also. No faith yet has altered the world, and infact can ever rebut a faith. There is no bridge between directional time and timeless eternity, between the course of history and the existence of a devine world order. This is the final meaning of the moment in which Jesus and pilate confronted one another. In the one world, the historical, the Roman caused the Gallean to be crucified that was destiny. In order world, Rome was cast for perdition and the cross-become the of Redemption, that was the "Will of God".

Religion is metaphysic and nothing else, and this metaphysic is not metaphysic of knowledge, argument, proof (which is merely philosophy or learnedness), but lived and experienced metaphysic, that is, the unthinkable as a certainty, the supernatural as a fact, life as existence in a world that is non actual, but true..... To ascribe social purposes to Jesus is a blasphemy..... His teaching was proclamation, nothing but the proclamation of those last things with whose images he was constantly filed, the down of the New Age, the advent of heavenly envoys, the last judgement, a new heaven and a new earth.

Spengler observations were informed by a characteristically European Consciousness. They have certain accuracy. Christianity then was introduced in Richmond solely for "Mind Set" for African indigenous people.

Before his murder by the police, Steve Biko the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, discussed the influence of Christianity on his people.

“We as blacks cannot forget the fact that Christianity in Africa is tied up with entire colonial process. This meant that Christians came here with a form of culture which they called Christian but which infact was Western, and which expressed itself as an imperial culture as far as Africa was concerned. Here the missionaries did not make the proper distinctions. This important matter can easily be illustrated by relatively small things. Take the question of dress, for example. When an African became Christian, as a rule traditional garts and dress like a Westerner. The same with many customs dear to blacks, which they were expected to drop for supposed “Christian” reasons while in effect they were only in conflict with certain Western moresBlack theology does not challenge Christianity itself but its Western package, in order to discover what the Christian faith means for our continent.”_ (Biko 1995)

Christianity provided a moral cloak that could mask the destruction brought by the imperialist in South Africa.

The people of Richmond town were supposed to analyse Christian doctrines with regard to their psychological significance, in that they might be able to differentiate between two problems. First, they supposed to study the character structure of individuals like Rev. Allison the founder of Indaleni Mission (Methodist) ,who treated the doctrine and then attempt to investigate which traits in his personality are responsible for that particular direction in his thinking.

Rev. Allison was the typical representative of the colonizers and preached to Africans who felt immensely alone and frightened, whose feelings were expressed in his doctrine of the individual and the futility of his efforts.

This land is ours, not through murder, not through theft, by way of violence or any other trickery. This has always been our land. Here we began. Here we will continue even after the thousand seasons scattering and the thousand season groupings, through the white death sometimes openly, often covertly, seductively now, brutally at other times, changes means that always seeks one end : Our extermination.

- Armah

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL CONFLICT TURNED VIOLENT

3.1 Justifying violence

It is common in this contemporary era, that political conflicts end in a peaceful negotiation. However the Richmond political conflict took a direction of immense violence. It will be expedient then to investigate why such pattern became apparent.

Much of social scientists discussions regarding political violence are taken up with arguments about whether and to what extent acts of violence can be justified as means to good ends. The same social scientists are of the view that, other than in circumstances of war, the only acceptable justification for violence is that of self-defense or defense of others from wrongfully injured or killed and, consequently, they have the rights to defend themselves against wrongful physical attack. It is sometimes argued that to violently attack someone who is not engaged or threatening violence is akin to punishing a person who is innocent. For his part Kevin Magill a Luminary of the University of Wolverhampton discerned that

“violence did involve the infliction of harm or damage on persons and property, and for this reason its use calls for justification.” (Magill ,no date :12) .He continued that the subject of justification for violence in mainstream Anglo-American Philosophy and political theory has conventionally focused on “political violence”, which usually refers to acts and strategies of violence for political ends , thus excluding those carried out by states and including terrorism, guerilla warfare and assassination, as well as riot and violence in demonstration, protest and picket lines.

According to political experts, there are limits on what may justifiably be done in pursuit of good or worthy ends. Although many actions can be justified by their beneficial consequences, some actions are simply wrong in themselves. Immanuel Kant famously argued that it is wrong to tell a lie, even to save a person’s life (Social Policy Programme 1999). Many of the political experts would accept that bad actions could sometimes be justified in extreme or catastrophic situation. Fried suggests that killing an innocent person would be justified it as to save a whole nation (Social Policy Programme 1999). Political experts who justify violence take the view that, other than in circumstances of war the only acceptable justification for violence is that of self defense of others from wrongful attack. Persons have moral rights not to be wrongfully injured or killed and consequently, they have the rights to defend themselves against wrongfully physical attack.(Social Policy Programme 1995).

Justified violence must be exactly that, if a state allows huge inequalities among its population. For many political scientists, political violence is only to be justified where it is undertaken in defense against murderous states, police securocrats (Social Policy Programme 1995:218-219)

3.2 Critics of violence

3.2.1 Confucianism

In his writings, the Chinese sage Confucius (551-479 BCE) criticized violence as a disruption of the proper harmony in self, society or nature. He did not rule out violence in the exercise of power, but he insisted that the truly cultivated ruler could and will govern by the sheer moral force of his character. By the proper observation of ritual (*li*) and virtue (*tê*), the gentleman can have a far greater influence than by any threat of force. The use of violence in word or deed is a sign that a man is not right with himself and that he cannot lead properly in either familiar or political relations. Confucius held that oppressing the people or neglecting one's duties is also a form of violence against the harmony of the social order and is in fact far less efficient than rule which refrains from punishment and coercion, using instead the moral force of goodness (*jên*) to inspire the common people by example (www.yahoo.com/Confucius 113/115)

3.2.2 Socrates

Socrates's critique of violence focuses on the abuse of power and the harm to the health of one's own soul. He considered the breaking of the legitimate laws of a just regime to be an act of violence. In addition to this opposition to violence against the law, Socrates held that the individual does violence to his own soul in doing injustice. For Socrates ignorance itself, especially willful ignorance, is a kind of violence against the mobility of the human mind. He concludes that violence, both in action and in spirit, derives from a failure to understand what we properly can and cannot control . (www.yahoo.com/ Socrates , 4-8).

3.2.3. Social Contract Theories

The social contract theories of early modern philosophy, building to some extent on the tradition of natural law in medieval Christian theology, described the threat of violence as the prime motivation for the formation of civil society and the institution of government. Thomas Hobbes famously described the state of nature as a war in which life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short," since in the absence of a higher authority, we to use whatever violence we deem necessary to preserve ourselves." He continued that reason demands that we find a way out from this insecure situation, seeking peace to employ or order violence and who will use this power to enforce the law. The fear of violent death becomes the

engine for the formation of a stable and orderly government with the final power over life and death (www.yahoo.com / T.Hobbes ,1-5)

John Locke for his part in the “Second Treatise of Government,” agreed that if the ruler abuses his authority, the people have the right to rebel against the tyrants violence towards the ends of good government, i.e. the preservation of life, liberty and property.

(www.yahoo.com/ J.Locke 2-7).

Each of us must be allowed to rely on his own reason to determine whether the legitimate , coercive power of government has degenerated into the oppressive violence of tyranny.

3.2.4 Kant : Human beings as ends in themselves

Immanuel Kant argued that man’s rational nature means that we must be understood as ends in ourselves, and that unlawful force or deception leads to violence for the human person (both the actor and the victim) by treating the human being as a mere means. Hence, we have a duty, derived from our own rational, moral nature and not simply from the rights of others, to avoid violence except under very limited circumstances, such as self-defense and service in the military. He considered war as a profound scandal, given the human rational and moral nature (www.yahoo.com/ I.Kant 4-7).

3.2.5 Peace Movements

In the 19th century, a wide variety of national and international peace movements arose to condemn violence either on religious or social/political grounds. Many such movements continue their work today around the world, arguing that violence, especially given the destructive potential of modern weapons (nuclear, biological and chemical), presents a form of violence which humanity as a whole must learn to overcome in order to survive (www.google.com/ peace movements ,1-9).

3.3. Economic and social critics on violence

With the emergence of workers movements in the 19th century the argument arose, especially under the banner of Marxism, that the economy itself can impose a form of violence against the poor and the oppressed. Karl Marx, while embracing violence as a tool of the revolution, regarded social relations fostered by capitalism, with alienation between competing human beings as well as between worker and work, as violence against what he called humanity's "species-being." The notion of poverty as violence is still very much alive today in the debates over replacing the failing welfare of socialist economy with the systems based on market forces. Some social critics also argue that the police forces of the state are mainly to uphold the power of the ruling classes. For example economic, racial or ethnic other social critics on violence argue that while poor social and economic conditions are lamentable, they are only metaphorically violent and similarly, that,

the use of force by the system of justice to arrest and punish criminals is an unfortunately necessary exercise of legitimate authority which cannot properly be called violence (www.altavista.com/ Marxism /Violence 3-6)

The first great rupture in the twentieth-century South Africa discourse on violence occurred in 1960. For it was then that the intensification of the armed struggle as a strategy of African resistance against the oppressive policies of apartheid called forth an escalation in the state use of visible violence, to set in place a new regime of sovereign governance that would last out the next thirty years (Butchart, 2000: 37).

During the reign of the previous regime, violence had extended the eye of disciplinary surveillance into the depths of the mind and pervaded the spaces between bodies to mark out the interstices of African clans, culture, tradition and interracial contact, which was known as “native policy.” The then apartheid government meant that the violence operated to curtail the individuating and illuminating tendency, creating division between “the blacks and the whites”. As a Pan African Congress pamphlet put it : “We are starting again Africans
.....we die once. Africa will be free on January 1. The white people shall suffer, the black people will rule. Freedom comes after bloodshed. Poqo has started (Readers Digest, 1988:411).

This then, marked the beginning of a time of bombs, guns, bulldozers and brutal tortures, a time when violence was only nominally a crime in violation of the law. Any criminal justice pretensions to the contrary were constantly contradicted by daily displays of state violence beating down on African bodies, while those very bodies fought back with self-same weapons of sovereign power (Karis & Carter; 1977). The Apartheid State thus operated in the first instance through overt political violence – conventional and counter insurgency warfare, forced removals, assassinations, “disappearances”, detention and torture – as well as through myriad forms of “structural” violence. This will be elaborated in details in our next chapters. In response, the “armed struggle” began around the same time as the 1960 massacres in Sharpeville and Langa, and throughout the last two decades acts of violence increased exponentially culminating in the period of the 1980s.

The frequency of politically motivated attacks against the state and those seen as its members continued to after 1977 and these attacks were mostly regarded as legitimate by the black South Africans who saw no alternatives. Posel discerned that “From the early 1980, mass resistance against apartheid erupted with unprecedented tenacity and ferocity (Posel 1990:154). By the mid-1980s it was as if the long-established pattern of violence and counter-violence was spirally out of control. Guerilla attacks increased by 304 percent between 1984 and 1985. (Weekly-Mail, 17-24 Jan 1986) and in 1986 and 1987 there were 230 and 240

guerilla attacks respectively (Weekly-Mail, 8-14 July 1988). As these attacks grew infrequently and state repression increased, so the idea of the armed struggle became popularised. The social acceptability of violence as a form of resistance was hailed by the ANC. which called on the people to make townships ungovernable through any means possible (Vogelman, 1995) and by the declaration of 1986 as the year of the “People’s army” (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1986).

At the same time black people did not suddenly confront each other violently. The culture of the Africans is organic, harmonious and spiritual. African values respect differences and applauds pluralism. This history of harmony, stemming from a strong sense of God-Consciousness in nature and each other, was denied by the then government and their white culture which views harmony as a lack of progress. Progress, in an Afrikaaner volk manner, grows out of violence. I offer the following statement from P.W. Botha, taken from a speech delivered in 1985, addressed to his “beloved white Afrikaaners”.

“Priority number one, we shall not, by all means allow anymore increases of the Black population lest we be choked very soon. [He advocated the use of chemicals].... To contrast any further population increases and fertility destroyers I am also sending a special request to all Afrikaaner mothers to double their birth rate, we should engage higher gear to make sure that black men are separated from their women and fines imposed upon married wives who bear children. (he referrer to Africans as greedy who are after our blood). We cannot simply stand and watch all the laurels we have created being plundered by these barbaric and

lazy kaffirs.... It is our strong conviction, therefore that the black is raw material for the white man. So brothers and sisters, let us join hands together to fight against this black devil. By now everyone of us has seen practically that the blacks cannot rule themselves. Give them guns and they will kill each other. They are in other else but making noise, dancing, marrying many wives and indulging in sex.... Let us all accept that the black man is the symbol of poverty, mental inferiority, laziness and emotional incompetence "Our experts should work day and night to set the black against his fellow men". His inferior sense of moral can be exploited beautifully and here is creature that lacks foresights. The average black does not plan his life beyond a year. (www.google.com , PW Botha/Speeches, 7)

Here Botha urged the experts to set the "black man against his fellow man". This also indicated that the then state security organs were mandated to create schisms among Africans. This is what the press of South Africa failed to focus on. Rather they arrogantly claimed that it was "Black on Black Violence".

We must ask the question as to why the then government and Afrikaaner volk resorted to evil methods other than harmony so as all people of South Africa regardless of race or greed should live together. Bobby Wright a black psychologist, says simply that the collective behaviour of white people "reflects on underlying biologically transmitted proclivity roots deep in evolutionary history". He said the patterns of behaviour we have been describing is symptomatic of their "psychopathic personality", while usually functioning well in their society (www.altavista.com/ B.Wright /Psychology/African Americans , 4-6).

- Is of average or above average "intelligence".
- Is unable to experience guilt.
- Has no feeling of insecurity.

- Is unable to accept blame or to learn from experience.
- Is sexual inadequate and has difficulty forming close personal relationship.
- Appears to be honest and human, but has only selfish motivation.
- Has almost no ethical development.
- Has almost total disregard for appropriate patterns of behaviour.
- Consistently ignores concepts of right and wrong.
- Rejects constituted authority state sponsors violence wars carried by elements who resembled the above mentioned statement. There were times whereby the president of the country , F.W. De Klerk, would pretend as if he knew nothing of atrocities carried out by some security departments. In my thesis I will reveal that the he was aware of many acts carried out by the securocrats.

The capacity of the then government securocrats to commit acts of physical brutality and destruction against the Africans particularly in Richmond was proportionate to the place of power (i.e. control over them) in its ideology and the degree to which its image and conception of those outside the culture of Afrikaaner lack the characteristics of “humanness”. Afrikaaner policy had an enormous capacity of perpetrating physical violence against black people in their townships . Its “integrity” was neither threatened nor disrupted by such occurrences.

The then Apartheid Government justified the use of violent repression. It is said television viewers for instance were repeatedly told in 1986 that “We have a total revolutionary onslaught against us, we experience it everyday” (Posel 1990:67). Such depiction of the state integrity under siege was a way of legitimating its use of violence, for they allowed academics such as Van der Merwe (cited in Hoffman and Mc Kendrick, 1990:17) to argue that all nations validate and enforce violence

in “the pursuit or protection of national interests” and National Party politicians to pontificate about the “total onslaught” and the threat of communism. These political and ideological positions found their tactical expression in the establishment of a “National Security Management System (See Appendix), which from the state security council downwards gave the military direct influence, through some 500 secret committees, over decision making down to the level of local government (Cock 1989-1990). This phenomenon will be discussed in details in next chapters.

By 1990, it was evident that the apartheid regime was collapsing under the combined force of internal destabilisation and external pressure (e.g. trade embargoes and other socio-economic sanctions). As democratic reform appeared imminent, attempts to delegitimize the use of violence for political ends escalated. Thus, and amidst ongoing township violence at inter-community level, the ANC denounced the armed struggle, while the state (despite continuing to sponsor numerous “Third Force” actions) started moving towards the negotiated settlement that culminated in the historic April 1994 elections when sovereign power was formally passed from white to black hands. During the Apartheid era the level of violence lingered in the form of sporadic flare-ups between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaZulu Natal. This resulted in 9,300 deaths and 61 reported massacres between 1990-93 (Bronkhorst 1995).

In the first four years after de Klerk lifted the ban on opposition groups and released Mandela, more than 12 000 people died as a result of political violence. (Washington Post, 18 November 1993). From 1990 to the end of 1992, an average of almost 10 persons per day were killed in politically related unrest. During the first few months of 1993, the death toll declined to around 4.5 persons per day, well below the average for the previous years. Yet after July 1993, when the IFP and the right-wing Conservative Party abruptly withdrew from the World Trade Centre negotiating forum, the situation took a turn for the worst : over the next three months, at least 1,600 people were killed in political violence, an average of around 18 per day (Laurence, 1993: 15-16). These figures raised fears that political intolerance had reached such dangerously high levels that South Africa was once again on the verge of sliding in top “an abyss” of threatened anarchy. (Evening Post, 1992, New York Times, 27 September 1992; New York Times, 3 March 1993).

The violence was so endemic that it became to use Hannah Arendt’s phrase “terrifyingly normal” ([www.google .com /H.Arendt/](http://www.google.com/H.Arendt/) 3) The ANC placed the blame for the ongoing violence squarely with the ruling National Party, insisting that high-ranking state officials had no intention of putting a halt to the constant turmoil in the townships and squatter settlements because it was part of cynical

play to keep a grip on the reins of power. Political analysts noted with alarm that the violence “appears to be switched on and off at strategic moments”. (Interview with B.Cele , UDF and ANC leader , Durban 2000 and 2002). This grim observation seemed to confirm the suspicions of those who detected a conspiratorial hand on the unrest-that powerful, state-linked partisan forces were actively engaged in a campaign of destabilisation (Lawrence: 1992, p. 17). For years, anti-apartheid activists claimed that the so-called “black on black” violence – a terribly imprecise phrase with racial undertones – was merely a continuation of covert operations linked to the security forces, and they pointed to the dismal failure of the SAP to capture and prosecute more than a handful of the perpetrators as proof of state complicity. (Africa Events, 1992, :13). Yet the situation was more complex.

De Klerk in 2 February 1990 acknowledged that South Africa was caught in a cycle of violence. In its most acute and noticeable form, this was manifested in Natal/KwaZulu beginning in 1985-86. Prior to July 1991 there had been many indications that Pretoria relationship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi went far beyond support in his role as Chief Minister of the KwaZulu bantustan. The actual extent of the government support for the Inkatha Freedom Party, however, has been the subject of much debate. Inkatha members were, on many occasions; permitted to demonstrate in the townships and even in central parts of the cities of South Africa, carrying “traditional weapons”. For more than a century, the Natal Code of Zulu Law had prohibited Africans from carrying any “cultural weapons” but in August 1990 an amendment to the Code officially permitted the carrying of such weapons.

This was in a sense a recognition of the status quo : more than a thousand Inkatha supporters had marched through central Johannesburg on 22 June 1990 armed with assegars and knobkerries (S.A. Barometer, 24 May 1991:147).

The amendment was clearly discriminatory, in its impact since Inkatha members (who are overwhelmingly Zulus) were permitted to carry dangerous weapons if they accorded with “traditional Zulu usages; customs or religions” while non Zulus were not. The Amendment was challenged in the Supreme Court in June 1991 on these grounds with the argument that ‘the exception was aimed at giving legal justification to police refusal to disarm Inkatha members when they attended gatherings carrying dangerous weapons” (Star, 25 June 1991).

There seemed to be evidence of continued partiality or bias in the government thinking on the subject when the Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok, announced on the 16th of April 1991 that carrying pangas, bush knives and axes "in conflict situations" was henceforth banned but refused to consider the inclusion of traditional weapons (S.A. Barometer, 26 April 1991, p. 114). In May 1991 De Klerk agreed with Nelson Mandela to ban all "traditional weapons" other than sticks and assegais in "unrest areas". Two days later Vlok banned the possession of implements that could be dangerous weapons, while still excluding ceremonial battle axes and spears from the ban. (SA Barometer 7 June 1991:292). Later in the month an agreement on restricting the carrying these weapons in unrest areas was reached between De Klerk, Buthelezi and the Zulu King. As consequence on 22 May spears and assegais were forbidden to be carried in unrest areas unless at traditional cultural gatherings (SA Barometer, 7 June 1991: 161-162).

In June 1991, the Star reported that the "KwaZulu police are issuing weapons permits for rifles and permits to Inkatha supporters". The Legal Resource Centre offices in Durban were told the KwaZulu government was issuing G3 rifles and other guns to Chiefs and headmen, and some of the guns were being carried by Inkatha supporters at marches and rallies..... none of the strict security checks carried out by South African police when issuing weapons licences were put into effect (Star 23 June 1991: 9).

Political violence then did not occur at random. It should be remembered that when colonizers came to South Africa, they implemented the policy of "Divide and Rule" and when they retreated to their comforts, they left a policy of "Divide and Depart". A clear example is the violent conflict in Ireland between Protestant and Catholics. In Cyprus a violent conflict between the Turks and Greeks and in the Middle East a conflict between Palestinians and Israel. In South Africa particularly in Richmond we say that when De Klerk retreated he left a violent conflict between ANC and IFP. What is shocking is the usage of his security forces to perpetuate the violence. Here we saw De Klerk shaking with his left hand Mandela whilst at the same time holding a firm right hand fist behind his back

.....how many times can a man turn his head pretending he just does not see? how many ears must one man have before he can hear people cry? Yes and how many deaths will it take till he knows that too many people have died?

(Bob Dylan)

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL VIOLENCE BEGINS IN RICHMOND

There has been a simmering tension between the residents of Indaleni and Magoda, on the one hand, and Nkobeni, Smozomeni and Pateni, on the other. The conflict dated back to 1988, when youths in Smozomeni began to align with the UDF supporting youth of Magoda and Indaleni (Osborn Haydn, 1991 : 1). The youth suffered attacks by Inkatha, supported by leaders such as Paulos Vezi of Pateni. Simultaneously government forces throughout the 1980's, increased the state involvement, prolonged and intensified conflicts between black groups by encouraging vigilante violence groups of Inkatha supporters and warlords, often of the older generation to attack their opponents. During numerous violent incidents, security forces neglected to protect residents from attacks by the Inkatha impi. On many occasions, they have assisted such groups in their attacks. One example of this between 1988 and 1990 occurred when 50 youths from Smozomeni were killed. Other youths fled to Ndaleni and Magoda. In an interview with victims who fled Smozomeni it was stated that they decided to join the UDF in 1983, as the UDF opposed a new constitution that raised the political stakes for Africans by excluding them from a new parliament with separate chambers for whites,

coloureds and Indians (Interviews with three residents of Smozomeni , April and May 2002). At the same time the UDF regarded the ANC as the leader of the black struggle leading to the liberation in South Africa (Aitchinson 1994 : 8).

I travelled to Richmond in the early 1990s when the area was being convulsed by what became known as the Forest War. It was the most fierce campaign by armed Inkatha impi on a series of pro-ANC settlements of the whole decade of strife, and what I saw and heard there was clear evidence that the police were as deeply involved as ever in the region's turf war (Also interviews with two leading UDF activists of the 1980's and 1990's in Phatheni).

In the front part of the valley, close to Richmond, lies Ndaleni itself, a missionary entity built by the Methodist Church, a black freehold area .A number of rural villages along the slopes and on the floor of the valley, – Magoda, Phatheni and Esimozomeni – fell under the authority of the KwaZulu homeland administration, led by Inkatha.

Thousands of armed men assembled near the home of a local “Warlord” Chief Mbhele, and were then transported in vehicles along on upper road above the valley. There they regrouped and descended in battle formations on selected targets in Indaleni. The assembling and provisioning of an army of that size in it required major logistical preparation.

The next day the Inkatha impi attacked the same communities, wrecking havoc and leaving at least forty people dead. Again and again the warrior impi's swarmed across the hillsides in battle formation, plundering, killing and burning. The battles were fought by day in an area within sight of the provisional capital, yet the security forces did nothing to repel the attackers or seal off the villages under attack. Monitors and journalists recorded a few retaliatory attacks by the affected communities, but it was an overwhelmingly one-sided battle that left hundreds of people dead, hundreds more wounded and hundreds of houses destroyed (Interviews with two UDF and ANC activists of Indaleni).

It was shortly before midnight, Dick Mawaza recalls, that he heard a heavy vehicle pull up in front of his house and a voice inquiring in Afrikaans "Is this the place?" He peered through his kitchen window and saw a big police personnel carrier, a Caspir, offloading men. A white Volkswagen minibus pulled up behind it, and Mawaza saw more men get out. Some he recognised as policemen, others as local members of IFP. Moments later a policeman kicked his front door and stormed in with others behind him.

There followed what can only be called the sacking of the Dick Mawaza household in the small town of Phatheni. Dick's pensioner mother, scrambled in terror under her bed, but the attackers found her and shot her dead. Dick's younger brother, Zola, climbed on top of the cupboard, where he was skewered with a spear. As he

fell on the floor he was stabbed again. He managed to survive. Dick managed to escape from the house and run for his life. As tension escalated at Smozomeni in 1990's about 100 people were killed and about 50,000 people left homeless under conditions aptly described as "civil war" (Osborn Haydn, 1991 : 6).

The people of Indaleni , Magoda. Smozomeni and Church leaders had faced problems with the KwaZulu Police, policing on numerous occasions, as they appealed for the assistance of the South African Police. These requests included the arrest of known perpetrators of violence and pleas for the South African Police to initiate and lead investigations in those areas. The response from the SAP to most of the requests was that they had no jurisdiction to operate within the KwaZulu Authority.

Mary de Haas, a University of Natal Violence Monitor, says Richmond is unique in that it has a history of sinister elements who forment the violence. There have been numerous allegations of partisan behaviour by the Richmond Police and its station commander. It is worth mentioning that the political violence began with faction fighting in the tribal authority against INKOSI MAJOZI, the chief who was appointed by the Apartheid government. The appointment was closely associated with the growth in the rivalry between the ANC and the IFP. During 1988 and 1989, the IFP was systematically driven from the area in which ANC had by that

stage formed a strong infrastructure of Self Defence Units (Interviews with B Cele, UDF and ANC leader 2001, 2002, Durban).

At the end of 1990 Sifiso Nkabinde's uncle and aunt were attacked in their Endaleni home. His aunt was seriously wounded, but his uncle shot dead one assailant and wounded another. A standard army-issue R4 rifle was left at the scene and became the pretext for an escalation of the violence (Englebrecht Bush, 1999 : 113). ANC members seized the R4 rifle during an attack on an ANC family in Magoda.

Sifiso Nkabinde as the chairman of the ANC in Richmond received a letter from the Nkobeni community asking for the rifle to be returned since it was a weapon which belonged to the community, and that the community had not ordered the attack on Indaleni. The ANC cadres maintained that they had later handed the rifle to the police, but the S.A.P. denied their claim (Osborn Haydn 1991 : 47).

On the 23rd January 1991 the community of Magoda was attacked, marking the beginning of an I.F.P. offensive against the ANC. The incident led to a loss of life. During the course of the fighting, which followed, up to 20,000 people fled from the area, seeking refuge in other areas. Four people were killed and 50 homes were burnt by an I.F.P. impi. Several hundred people were accommodated in a camp in the Richmond village, but significantly, many of the youths sought refuge in

townships on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg where they came under the sway of the late Harry Gwala, Chairman of the ANC in the Midlands, a militant leader and stalwart of the SA Communist Party (Interviews with B.Cele) . Some researchers claimed that the conflict was tribally based (Interviews with B.Cele). The ANC cadres, however, felt that the main reason for the transfer of attention from Smozomeni to Magoda was the growth of the ANC in the area as opposed to its virtual extermination (Interviews with two community leaders in Magoda, 2002). The fighting in these areas continued and the I.F.P. pushed further into Indaleni communities. The homes of ANC members were specifically targeted. In one case, the impi which attacked, had earlier stood at the gates of the Methodist mission in Indaleni, and according to reverend Rogers Hudson, shouted “away with comrades”. The reverend was giving shelter to about 400 refugees on the premises (Osborn Haydn 1991 : 47).

In March 1991 the pattern of violence changed. Sifiso Nkabinde was encouraged. Having returned from their homes, many youths were attacked by the IFP , but they defended themselves as the ANC people moved into defensive positions in the surrounding forest.

Five people were initially killed in an attack on a house belonging to Chief Majozi, which was situated between Magoda and Indaleni. The refugees, claiming they had previously been attacked by the IFP then set up an ambush at Emaswazini

where they had stored a number of firearms. They opened fire on IFP supporters, killing three. Those who survived the attack retreated to Majozi's house. The police intervened, but the ANC youth returned to a nearby bush where they had hidden an arms cache, including AK 47 rifles and hand grenades (Interviews with Magoda residents 2002 and early 2003).

On the 29th of March 1991, the IFP attempted to chase the UDF "comrades" away, but they were met by a firefight of unprecedented proportions. This attack later became known as the "battle of the forest". The exchange of fire only took six minutes. Twenty three IFP supporters were killed, and another three were shot when they fled to chief Majozi's house. Youths attacked strategic points held by Inkatha, eventually forcing them to retreat to Nkobeni, while others focused on easier targets, in particular residents who had "collaborated with Inkatha during their occupation of Indaleni" (Osborn Haydn, 1991 : 47). Thirty residents who had not left Indaleni when the IFP took it over were executed. Some of the victims pleaded for mercy. Their reasons were that they were forced by the IFP to join the organisation. As a consequence thirty bodies were reportedly found by the police, and other victims were buried in unmarked graves (Interviews with two UDF leaders in Nkobeni ,2002).

In this period Sifiso Nkabinde allegedly consolidated his power throughout an intelligence Unit and an extensive network of armed and trained SDUs, which

constituted a military wing of ANC in that region. As a consequence Magoda and Indaleni were divided into roughly 14 areas each with its own Unit, with a commander and five members (Interviews with two residents of Magoda who were members of the SDUs and participated actively in battles and patrols).

During the period of May, June and July of 1991, the patterns of violence took a different form. There was no longer an open warfare. There were hit and run attacks from both sides. The community of Richmond tried at its best to come together. Sinister elements would disrupt such moves. In June of 1991, 16 people were killed on the very eve of planned peace talks. The conflict between rival parties not only affected the innocent grassroots communities. It also affected the business sector (Interviews with two Richmond business-people. They preferred to remain anonymous).

There were concerns that a planned truce might be jeopardised following the death of two people in Indaleni. However, one of the members in the talks, Labour Party M.P. Willie Whyte, appealed for tolerance and a spirit of compromise from both sides as a prerequisite to finding a peaceful solution. The IFP leader Paulos Vezi said "We, the political and community leaders, have set the peace process in motion and as our commitment to such a process becomes manifest in our action, resulting in tolerance which will impact on the total community". The local Magistrates Court, the venue for the talks, was packed with spectators and there

was no presence of security forces. Later on January 17, 1992, the IFP suspended peace talks with ANC in Richmond, after the death of one of its members (Interview with B.Cele 2002).

Kim Hodgson, head of the Inkatha Institute on violence study Unit, claimed that 3 IFP members were lured into a trap set by ANC supporters in Ndaleni. They were asked by supporters of the ANC to socialise with them and were told that they had nothing to fear by walking to Ndaleni which was under ANC control since 1991. He further said that they were then attacked and Bongani Phungula (23) was stabbed to death while the other two managed to escape. Richmond IFP leader Paulos Vezi claimed “Now, the ANC have killed our persons, we are talking to an organisation which cannot adhere to peace and now it is time to re-evaluate the situation as the true intention of the ANC”. (Interviews with UDF activists in the mid-1980’s , who are now unemployed and disillusioned , 2002). Sifiso Nkabinde, the ANC regional secretary, said he could not understand the IFP decision, particularly in the light of progress that was been made so far that year in establishing a lasting peace in the area. “They have killed many of our supporters during previous peace talks, but we still pressed on peace. They are just not serious about peace.” (This was related to researcher by both B.Cele as well as two business people in Richmond who preferred to remain anonymous , 2001 and 2003) Vezi was reported as saying that Nkabinde claimed that one of the main reasons that the IFP pulled out of the talks was because it was reluctant to allow

ANC supporters back in Phatheni which would become an ANC stronghold again. The daring deeds of the ANC warriors and the recovery of their strategic areas, became a disturbing phenomenon for the IFP (Interviews with ANC leaders in the area , 2002). The leadership of the IFP perceived that the only solution to have authority over areas declared under KwaZulu Legislative Authority was to form a paramilitary wing within the KwaZulu Police. In August 1993, the IFP President and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on every Zulu to pay a R5 levy for the establishment of a “private army” to guard against the obliteration of KwaZulu”. This call was made at various gatherings that he addressed during the month (ITU 1997 : 8). Consequently at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) meeting on 25 August 1993 a resolution was taken to establish self protection Unit training projects, which would be financed by the KwaZulu government (Daily News 28/8/1993). This would be a unit, which was known to be brutal and notorious within the region of Richmond. A question can be asked as to whether the South African Government had any consensus with the KwaZulu Authority over forming such a unit. It should be remembered that the KwaZulu Authority was within the jurisdiction of the South African government particularly regarding financial assistance.

According to section 4(a) of the now repealed Self Governing Territories Constitution Act, no 21 of 1971, the so-called self-governing territories did not have powers to make laws and consequently spend state funds in relation to the

establishment, control, entry, movement or operations of any full-time or part-time military unit, quasi military Unit or organisation of a military character, or of any unit, branch, or service of any military organisation within the area concerned, or any other military matter of whatever nature (Act 21 of 1971).

The self-governing Territories Constitution Act was repealed by schedule 7 of the interim constitution (the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993, Act no 200 of 1993), which came into effect on the 28th of January 1994. In effect this means that the Act would not apply for training, which took place after 31 December 1993. It can be no co-incidence that all documented KwaZulu government budget proposals and allocations relating to Mlaba camp are calculated from 1 January 1994, the day after the repeal of the Act (Civilian Support component of the ITU, January 20, 1997).

The Spokesperson for the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr M.R. Mzimela defended the SPU training in terms of the National Peace Accord (which allowed for training for self-defence purposes only). He said that the recruits were receiving musketry training from KwaZulu Police and that it was privately funded (Natal Mercury 8 November 1993). KwaZulu Minister of Works, Velaphi Ndlovu, also invoked the Peace Accord to justify the training (Daily News November 1993).

It was in September 1993 then that the training of self-defense Units began at Mlaba Camp on the edge of the Umfolozi Game Reserve. IFP and KLA member Philip Powell later acknowledged that prior to the opening of the Mlaba, training of IFP recruits had been going on for more than a year and about 200 men had been “informally” trained. He said he had helped train 60 volunteers at Phatheni near Richmond and a smaller group at Elandskop (Sunday Times 14 November 1993).

In October 1993 the secretary of the KLA Mr Mzimela, announced that KLA members had “decided to set up self-protection units to protect rural people against the escalating violence, with immediate effect” (Daily News 4 October 1993). By the end of November 1993 political violence continued to spiral to unprecedented levels, and the media exposed the training of IFP supporters which was taking place at Mlaba, and quoted M. Buthelezi as saying that “The SPU were established to prevent the obliteration of KwaZulu”.

Anger nobody good, but patience is the father of kindness. Anger draws arrows from the quiver, but good words draw Kola nuts from the bad.

Chancellor Williams

CHAPTER 5

This chapter will attempt to examine the peace initiatives within their political and historical context by utilising documentary evidence and interviews with various key players.

THE PEACE INITIATIVES

Before peace initiatives were suggested, I would like to elaborate in detail on the courses that led to that call. Both the ANC and the IFP were blaming each other for the escalation of political violence in Richmond. Facts and statistics will no doubt explain who is to blame.

5.1. The ANC View

The ANC viewed political violence in Richmond as perpetuated by the IFP violence occurred from the collaboration of IFP leadership with the then South African Government. The strong alliance between the KwaZulu-Natal Authority and the apartheid government resulted from fear of spreading of the “communist

menace” of the ANC. Both were willing at all cost to eliminate ANC and its alliance (UDF) and COSATU and later the SA Communist Party (SACP).

5.2. The IFP View

The IFP disputed outright the ANC view, and queried the assumption, which underpinned the theory developed by the ANC alliance.

“If you look at the IFP as an organization, you can assess the interaction between its leadership and membership. If you look at the IFP literature and the message put out by the IFP over the years, none of these inputs has been designed to produce the kind of organization postulated by the ANC. But if you go to the grassroots of Inkatha supporters, an organisation as decentralized as the IFP could not respond in this way, with such central direction”. (Sources Survey Institute of Race Relations, 1989/1991).

The IFP stated that the ANC theory did not take account of the significant number in Inkatha leaders and office-bearers who have been assassinated over the years.

5.3. Views on this positions

An academic at the University of Durban-Westville stated that there are elements of truth in the ANC theory that is also simplistic and one-sided. He said:

“The ANC theory is an elaboration and refinement of a view that was prevalent in Natal for some time. It was the dominant view in the 1980’s. In its simplest form, it saw Buthelezi as a puppet of the South African state,

playing out the state's role in the region. There are a number of problems with the theory. It presented Buthelezi, Inkatha and KwaZulu as puppets. They were not puppets in that they had their own power base within the population. It is difficult to know how big they were... But they did have their own power structures – the whole apparatus of the homeland system, their own party resources to deploy. They were not reducible to surrogates of the state. At the same time, however, they did have a relationship with the state. This was a complex one, which involve both conflict and collusion. There was a commonality of interest to some extent, but also a conflict of interest. The relationship changed over time. In the early 1990's what had been a degree of collusion changed towards conflict and antagonism. This was a complex situation, which involved both conflict and collusion. I say that the overall theory does contain some truth but it is also partial and one-sided”.

A journalist from Pietermaritzburg had a different theory on the situation: “I agree with the ANC theory. It has evidence in the [former] state allowing or activating the violence by not taking decisive action against the IFP. In addition – since the ANC was the most popular liberation movement – it followed that once a great number of people had died, the average “group” of 500 ANC supporters in the country would have experienced violence at first hand, through the death of a friend or family member. These people would then ask why there should be violence. Their appetite for black leadership would be blunted. The people who suffered most from this were the ANC, who had spent years of martyrdom building black support. Then rumblings arose, “If Mandela is President, there will be no place in the country. It was better before Mandela was released”. F.W. De Klerk also said, “You can come back [from exile], or out of jail”. “I will offer you beer and braaivleis, leave your weapons outside, by suspending MK (Umkhonto

weSizwe). It is history repeating itself. I do not know this way, but this is how it is projecting itself”.

5.4. Peace Accord

In 14 September 1991, a National Peace Accord met with the sole purpose of calling for peace in South Africa. In their preamble, they signified their common purpose to bring an end to political violence in South Africa and to set out codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve the goal of peace. They claimed that the accord was intended to promote peace and prosperity in violence-stricken communities. The right of all people to live in peace and harmony will be promoted.

The principles of the accord was the establishment of a multi-party democracy in South Africa as our common goal. Democracy is impossible in a climate of violence, intimidation and fear. In order to ensure democratic political activity all political participants must recognise and uphold certain fundamental rights described below and the corresponding responsibilities underlying those rights.

These fundamental rights include the right of every individual to:

- freedom of conscience and belief;
- freedom of speech and expression;
- freedom of association with others;

- peaceful assembly;
- freedom of movement;
- participate freely in peaceful political activity.

The fundamental rights and responsibilities derive from established democratic principles namely:

- democratic sovereignty derives from the people, whose right it is to elect their government and hold it accountable at the polls for its conduct of their affairs;
- the citizens must therefore be informed and aware that political parties and the media must be free to impart information and opinion;
- there should be an active civil society with different interest groups freely participating therein;
- political parties and organisations, as well as political leaders and other citizens, have an obligation to refrain from incitement to violence and hatred.

The process of reconstruction and socio-economic development aimed at addressing the causes of violent conflict, must be conducted in a non-partisan manner, that is, without being controlled by any political organisation or being to the advantage of any political group at the expense of another.

Reconstruction and developmental projects must actively involve the affected communities. Through a process of inclusive negotiations involving recipients, experts and donors, the community must be able to conceive, implement and take responsibility for projects in a co-ordinated way as close to the grassroots as possible. In addition, reconstruction and development must facilitate the development of the economic and human resources of the communities concerned.

The initiatives should in no way abrogate the right and duty of governments to continue their normal developmental activity, except that in doing so they should be sensitive to the spirit and contents of any agreement that may be reached.

The parties to this process commit themselves to facilitating the rapid removal of political, legislative and administrative obstacles to development and economic growth.

The implementation of a system to combat violence and intimidation will only succeed if the parties involved have a sincere commitment to reach this objective. Only then will all the people of South Africa be able to fulfil their potential and create a better future.

It is clear that violence and intimidation declines when it is investigated and when the background and reasons for it is exposed and given media attention. There is,

therefore, need for an effective instrument to do just that. It is agreed that the Commission established by the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act, 1991, be used as an instrument to investigate and expose the background and reasons for violence, thereby reducing the incidence of violence and intimidation.

Since insufficient instruments exist to actively prevent violence and intimidation at regional and local levels, it is agreed that committees be appointed at regional and local levels to assist in this regard. Peace bodies are therefore to be established at both regional and local levels to be styled “Regional Dispute Resolution Committees” (RDRC) and “Local Dispute Resolution Committees” (LDRC) respectively. These bodies will be guided and co-ordinated at a national level by a National Peace Secretariat. At the local level the bodies will be assisted by Justices of the Peace.

The Preparatory Committee has played a crucial role in the process of bringing the major actors together to negotiate a Peace Accord. There is still much to be done to implement the Accord and establish the institutions of peace. To assist in this regard, a National Peace Committee shall be established.

There should be simple and expeditious procedures for the resolution of disputes regarding transgressions of the Code for Political Parties and organisations by political parties and organisations who are signatories to the National Peace

Accord. These disputes should wherever possible, be settled at grassroots level, through participation of the parties themselves; and by using the proven methods of mediation , arbitration and adjudication.

An effective and credible criminal judicial system requires the swift and just dispensation of justice. This in turn will promote the restoration of peace and prosperity to communities, freeing them of the ravages of violence and intimidation. Special attention should be given to unrest related cases by setting up Special Criminal Courts specifically for this purpose.

5.5. Enforcing the peace agreement between the parties

There should be simple and expeditious procedures for the resolution of disputes regarding transgressions of the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Organisations by political parties and organisations who are signatories of the National Peace Accord. These disputes should wherever possible, be settled:

- at grassroots level;
- through the participation of the parties themselves; and
- by using the proven methods of mediation, arbitration and adjudication.

Disputes and complaints regarding the transgression of the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Organisations shall be referred to the National Peace

Committee or a committee to whom it has referred the matter for resolution, if the parties were not able to resolve the dispute themselves.

Where the dispute cannot be resolved by the National Peace Committee or the committee to whom it has been referred to by the National Peace Committee, it shall be referred for arbitration.

The arbitrator shall be a person with legal skills, appointed by the relevant parties by consensus, failing which the arbitrator shall be appointed by the National Peace Committee within 21 days of being requested to do so in writing and failing which the Chairperson of the National Peace Committee shall appoint an arbitrator.

Subject to the above, the procedure of the arbitration shall be as follows:

- the complaint shall be referred to the arbitrator by the complaining parties;
- the arbitrator shall decide on a date of hearing and call upon the parties to the dispute to be present at the hearing with their witnesses;
- the hearing shall be conducted in private;
- the arbitrator shall make a finding on the facts and make an order on the organisation concerned to remedy the breach either by a public distancing of the organisation from the events or by steps to be taken to prevent further

breaches of the Code and the time within which the order has to be implemented;

- the arbitrator shall hold a compliance hearing once the time period has expired to determine compliance;
- the arbitrator will then submit a report of its findings to the National Peace Committee.

The signatories agree to consult each other in the National Peace Committee on methods of ensuring that the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Organisations is enforceable on all such bodies, including the possibility of statutory enforcement.

5.6. Special criminal courts

An effective and credible criminal judicial system requires the swift but just dispensation of justice. This in turn will promote the restoration of peace and prosperity to communities, freeing them of the ravages of violence and intimidation. Special attention should be given to unrest related cases, cases of public violence and cases involving intimidation by setting up Special Criminal Courts specifically for the purpose.

It is agreed that the Department of Justice, in co-operation with local legal practitioners of the Law Societies and the Bar, should establish project committees

to advise the Department of Justice on the administration of the proposed Special Criminal Courts.

These Special Criminal Courts will not deal with ordinary day-to-day crime. Its function will be to deal with unrest related cases. As a result, cases being heard in these courts will be disposed of swiftly and effectively without delay. Cognizance is taken of the initiative to establish mobile courts in certain areas to bring justice closer to the people. The initiative is supported.

Special Criminal Courts should be located in areas where its services are most urgently needed. This implies that cases can be heard more expeditiously than ordinary criminal courts would be able to. This ensures that perpetrators of violence and intimidation will not unnecessarily be let out on bail enabling them to become re-involved in violence and intimidation. This also ensures that those who are maliciously accused of being violent can have their names cleared sooner than is the case at present.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1991 provides a mechanism for a programme of witness protection. It is based on the voluntary co-operation of the person threatened by others and can also protect his family members. It is agreed that these provisions be actively utilised in areas affected by unrest.

For unrest, political violence and intimidation related offences to be effectively combated, criminals should be prosecuted as effectively as possible and at the earliest instance.

It is acknowledged that for Special Criminal Courts to be effective, special procedural and evidential rules should apply. The parties therefore commit themselves to promoting procedural and evidential rules that will facilitate the expeditious and effective hearing of criminal cases.

By early January 1996, consultations began between the African National Congress and IFP to pave the way for an Imbizo (Meeting) to be called by the Zulu Monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini. The objective of the Imbizo would be to promote peace and national and provincial reconciliation, and allow the King an opportunity to plead for an end to violence in KwaZulu-Natal. Both the Zulu Monarch and the President of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, agreed to the holding of an Imbizo. Chief Buthelezi added that traditional customs would have to be observed in arranging a preliminary meeting of the chiefs. The meeting took place in mid-March 1996 and was attended by the Zulu monarch, the President, Mr Rolihlahla Mandela, Chief Buthelezi, the ANC National Chairman provincial leader in KwaZulu-Natal, Mr Jacob Zuma, and a number of traditional leaders in the province. Little progress was made, however and no date was set for the

planned Imbizo, as had been hoped (SA Institute of Race Relations Survey 1996/1997).

In mid-May 1996, Church leaders in the province initiated a peace plan, “Project Ukuthula” (Ukuthula means PEACE in Zulu), following discussions with Mr Mandela. Provincial ANC and IFP leaders also held a series of talks in the province in an effort to resolve the differences between them. Dr Frank Mdlalose, the then premier of KwaZulu-Natal and the National Chairman of IFP, said that both sides had admitted that their supporters had made “tragic mistakes”. The ANC also acknowledged at a meeting on 27 May 1996 that Inkatha had been part of the liberation movement against apartheid, while both sides agreed that, with the ending of armed struggle and economic sanctions, the major differences between the two had been eliminated.

The two organisations also agreed that a code of conduct should be drawn up for the local government polls, and kept in place thereafter. A permanent structure would also be needed to monitor and investigate wrongdoing on both sides. Church leaders responsible for initiating “Project Ukuthula” and a peace conference would be held on 13 June, to be attended by Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini. In a further development, “warlords” from both the ANC and the IFP agreed that they would visit each others stronghold together to canvas voters in the local polls.

President Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi welcomed the initiative and urged provincial leaders to work out a detailed programme for peace. A series of committees were formed to deal with various issues, while the Chief proposed that he and Mr Mandela promote the peace process by holding joint rallies in troubled areas. The IFP president expressed this regret that plans made in March 1990 for a joint rally at Taylor Hall in Durban, to be addressed by himself and Mr Mandela, had not been carried through (1989/1990, Survey: 348). Again a series of talks were held between the African National Congress and IFP to put an end to violence in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of the IFP demands were as follows:

1. The withdrawal, by the ANC, of a Court Challenge to the House of Traditional Leaders in the province, which was headed by the leader of the IFP Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
2. Agreement that King Goodwill Zwelithini should have the right to appoint his own representative to the House of Traditional Leaders. This would replace the system which members are nominated by an IFP dominated body of Chiefs.
3. The allocation of a quarter of the ten portfolios in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government to the ANC.

4. An extension of the cut off date for amnesty applications in the province beyond 10 May 1994, together with a special amnesty for those involved in acts of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal after the 1994 elections.
5. The establishment of a special board, acceptable to both the ANC and IFP to handle all disclosure and confessions by members of both parties in camera. The board would operate within the framework of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission who would nominate its members. Party members of both the ANC and IFP applying for special amnesty would have to make full disclosures to the board including who their commanders were, the location of weapons and arms caches, the orders given and the nature of these orders and specific details concerning the units under their command and the source of their weapon (*The Citizen* 17 May 1997).
6. A guarantee of a position at National level for Chief Buthelezi beyond 1999 which position would not be dependent on the vote ratio achieved by the IFP in the 1999 election (*Rapport* 18 May 1997).

Among other special demands of the IFP were:

- (a) The development of Ulundi as the capital of KwaZulu-Natal.
- (b) An ANC endorsement of a R70m debating chamber for the House of Traditional Leaders.
- (c) The acceptance of the provinces 300 chiefs as leaders of rural local government structures.

- (d) The recognition of the IFP as a legitimate element of the liberation struggle, coupled with a demand that the ANC abandon its stance that the IFP had become surrogate force of the Apartheid regime. (*Sunday Tribune*, 18 May 1997)
- (e) The recognition by the ANC of the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal as well as the IFP role in the governing of the province. (*The Citizen*, 16 May 1997)
- (f) An extension of the provincial power particularly in respect of the public service and the police force through an amendment to the National Constitution. This would allow the provinces to retain their public service commissions and also reverse the “nominal” policing powers, which the provinces had.
- (g) The recognition of the Zulu Monarchy. (*The Citizen*, 3 June 1977)

The consequences of these peace initiatives led to the end of open clashes between the ANC and IFP in Richmond. The IFP agreed to participate in South African National Election in 1994 and this reduced the level of violence in Richmond.

The capacity of one cultural group to commit acts of physical brutality and destruction against another is proportionate to the place of power (i.e. control over “other”) in its ideology and the degree to which its image and conception of those outside the culture lack characteristics of humanness.

- *Prof Man'Mba Ani*

CHAPTER 6

6.1. Secret state funding

This phenomenon was to promote the policies of the then government and to fund operations directed against the opponents of apartheid. At the Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects, chaired by Professor Ellison Kahn a report was received detailing that there were funds in secret bank accounts. The Auditor-General reported that a total of more than R2.75 billion was expended through the secret services account between 1978-1994.

Certain projects were undertaken by the South African Defence Force, South African Police (SAP), National Intelligence Service (NIS), Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of National Education. Front organisations were established as a camouflage to counter the activities of the ANC and its allies, primarily in the sphere of information, communication, disinformation, counter propaganda. Other projects were aimed at circumventing sanctions.

The Defence Special Account Act No.6 of 1974, which came into effect on March 1974, made provision for the establishment of the Special Defence Account. The act allowed for funds in the account to be used, with the approval of the Minister of Finance, to defray expenditure incurred in connection with special defence activities.

Until April 1993 and in terms of section 2(2)a of the Secret Services Account Act No.56 of 1978, the Minister of State Expenditure could, at the request of the Minister concerned, transfer money from the Secret Services Account to the:

- (a) Foreign Affairs Account
- (b) Information Service of South Africa Special Account
- (c) South African Police Special Account
- (d) Security Services Special Account
- (e) Special Defence Account

In terms of Section 2 of the various Special Account Acts, the money in these accounts was to be utilised in connection with services of a confidential nature, with the functional minister being able to approve secret projects subject to conditions and directions as deem necessary.

The SADF secret projects covered a range of activities such as publications, front organisations and support surrogate groups. Publication included Special Despatch

(Project Olive), the Aida Parker Newsletter (Project Villa Marie), Christian for Truth (Project Camara) and Stand To (Project Mediant), as well as a printing press and publication in Botswana such as News Links Africa (Project Parker).

Secret projects concerned with contra-mobilisation included establishment and support of conservative or moderate organisations such as the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA) known as Project Capital. FIDA was described as a moderate alliance of black organisations to combat violence and advance stability that was a very valuable source of information to the Defence Force on violence in black townships. Project Napper covered the Eagles Youth Clubs, another valuable source of information on violence in black townships. Other organisations included Vroue vir Suid Africa (Project Leafy), Jeugkrug (Youth Power-Project Essay), the use of consultants in covert front organisations such as South African Christian Cultural Organisation (SACCO), the Lion Life Research Corporation (Project Jetty), Veterans for Victory (Project Mediant), Project Rooibos and Hardekool provided the logical training for the independent churches... with the object of inculcating a moderate religious conviction in support of current constitutional initiatives.

Project Marion was to put Inkatha Freedom Party in a position to neutralise the assault by Umkhonto WeSizwe against it but having its mandate modified on 1 March 1990 to maintain links with Chief Minister Buthelezi. The initial training

took place in 1986 with sporadic contact and inligtingskakeling (Intelligence links) until March 1991. Project Marion have contributed directly to the perpetrators of gross human rights violations.

The SAP initiated special secret projects from November 1985, as directed by SSC on 16 November 1985. From that year, Project Aristotle ran National Students Federation, which was financed through business trust. Project Romulus was aimed at combating organisations and individuals mainly among the youth who disrupted public order through intimidation and violence. It encompassed several sub-projects, one of which was the youth project Operation Fordian which had offices in Durban and cost a total of R222 820. Further sub-projects included Operation Voltaire, Operation Okumelana and the Alliance for Free South Africans. Project Buye (returned) aimed to show members of overseas that violent actions to reach political goals are not acceptable.

Consequently the aims of secret funding, to promote a political climate led directly and indirectly to gross human rights violations. At the same time Kahn Commission concluded that secret funding was inadequately administered and audited. It finds that insufficient information presently available to describe these projects adequately and recommends that further research and investigation be done into these secret projects to establish a fuller picture of their range of activities.

6.2. Security forces activities under the mandate of the then government

Before the general election of 1994, whilst the South African government was under white minority, police, army and other security organisations were used as batons against the resisting African minority in Richmond.

A question then arises as to whether President De Klerk was involved in the political violence. However, the majority of African people believe he was involved. They astonishingly asked at the time, was a regime that had been so successful in tracking down underground elements during the years of the black resistance suddenly so incapable of arresting anyone in connection with such widespread and ongoing violence.

They also found it hard to believe that such an extensive and sophisticated campaign could be conducted by officials alone without the political leadership knowing anything about it.

For several times De Klerk had been denying that elements of his security forces were involved in what the media suggesting was a shadowy “third force” behind the intensifying violence became less and less convincing. It is said that there is no evidence that De Klerk himself knew at the time about the criminal activities that have since been revealed within his security forces, but the fact is that he failed to

take action to weed out these elements when it was clear to people all over the country what was happening. Even some members of his own cabinet were no longer in doubt. Leon Wessels, a key National Party negotiator and always the frankest of the ministers, told Alister Sparks “he was satisfied, from what he had himself witnessed, that there had been police complicity in, at least two massacres in areas he had visited. But De Klerk remained heedless of all appeals to act.

Another clear example was uttered by Nelson Mandela in December 1990. He said “I still regard De Klerk as a man of integrity, and I think he feels the same about me”. President Nelson Mandela in an interview with a professional journalist Alister Sparks discerned “We have developed enormous respect for each other. I can call him at any time, I can get him out of bed or out of cabinet meetings. I believe he, and perhaps the majority of his cabinet, are still as committed to peace process as we are. But he has problems with elements inside his government – especially his security establishment, which is riddled with right-wingers who are not with him at all – and he is not being frank with me about that.”

Not only was he not frank, but at times he seemed to be deliberately trying to protect the culprits. When in January 1990, he had appointed a judge, Louis Harms, to investigate disclosures of widespread death-squad and dirty-tricks activities, De Klerk set such limits to the Commissions terms of reference that a thorough probe was impossible. He barred the Commission from investigating

operations in neighbouring countries and left the way open for senior officers to refuse to testify and for vital documents to be shredded before Harms could see them. De Klerk then hailed the inconclusive results as an exoneration of his security forces and said he hoped this would put an end to “witchhunts on individuals”.

Media as watchdogs of the people continued compelling De Klerk to appoint a more flexible commission under Judge Richard Goldstone. Even then, when Goldstone raided the secret headquarters of a renegade element of military intelligence and seized documents showing them to be carrying out clandestine anti-ANC operations, De Klerk suspended twenty-three senior officers but not the head of Military Intelligence, General Jaffel van der Westhuizen and the suspended officers retired with full pension. Another question to be asked is how does one explain De Klerk’s half-hearted attempts to clamp down on the renegade elements in his security forces? Alister Sparks the Journalist, attempted to answer this question by elaborating that De Klerk never sure of the extent of his control over Botha’s old securocrat establishment, did not want to put it to the test. As for Frederick van Zyl Slabbert puts it “What do you do if you confront your top generals and say you are fired”, and they reply, “no we are not”. In Lyndon Johnson (the U.S. President) phrase “De Klerk tried to keep the securocrats inside the tent pissing out, rather than outside the tent pissing in.”

If De Klerk was reluctant to act against the renegades, did he know what they were doing? An official who was closely involved in investigating violence said “He was like someone whose spouse is having an affair – everyone else knows about it and he is the last to find out because he does not want to know.

In June 1991, a former Military Intelligence Officer, Captain Nico Basson, made a series of startling claims that he had been part of a dirty-tricks against SWAPO during Namibia’s 1989 independence election, which he said, was a dress rehearsal for a similar campaign to defeat the ANC in South Africa. According to Basson, the campaign was headed by General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the Defence Force at the time he made his allegations. The Captain suggested the promotion was to enable Liebenberg to head a similar operation in South Africa. When Operation in Namibia began Basson said “General Liebenberg told us our objective was to dissuade SWAPO from winning”.

The revelation of Basson gained some credence a month later, however, when a Johannesburg newspaper, the Weekly Mail disclosed that the South African security police had secretly funded the IFP to help to organize rallies and other activities to counter the ANC shortly after Nelson Mandela’s release from prison, and to help Buthelezi found new labour movement. The evidence is now overwhelming that there was indeed state sponsored to Inkatha, the Police and Military Intelligence.

It will be interesting enough if I bring fourth patterns applied by the then government in fermenting political violence in that region of Richmond. In this way I will be able to give a reader clear picture whether De Klerk knew about the whole evil phenomenon. They are as follows:

- (1) It was based on security legislation, relied on laws passed by the Apartheid Parliament and on the existence of a massive law enforcement machinery.
- (2) A security management system, which, while it had no constitutional status deeper.
- (3) Vigilantism, relied upon the planting of a fifth column within dissident communities.
- (4) Hit squads was a means of last resort, the elimination of political opponents and crippling of their structures by faceless assassins and strike groups: they lie at the depths of visibility and legality (see Appendix)

During P.W. Botha's era (Prime Minister 1978-1983; State President 1983-1989), the South African State followed a policy of 'total strategy' to deal with what it perceived to be a 'total onslaught' by revolutionary forces. Such forces involved, inter alia, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). The State believed that such forces were planning to overthrow the South African government through a

variety of means, including both military methods (such as terrorist bomb attacks) and civil methods (by making the country 'ungovernable' through alternative structures). The State identified a number of internal organizations as surrogates of these forces, including COSATU and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

To overcome this 'onslaught', the State created a security structure to co-ordinate State activities, as well as to tie civil society into security networks. The security forces have played a crucial role in the creation and supervision of such structures.

Neither the theory nor the strategy have altered since the advent of F.W. De Klerk as State President in 1989. Rather, they have been refined so as to be both more secretive and more comprehensive. State strategists have continued to liaise closely with international security strategists, particularly those in the United States of America, in evolving both theory and strategy. Thus developments in international thinking are reflected locally, and Low Intensity Conflict, as used by the United States of America in Nicaragua, El Salvador and other central and South American and Pacific countries, has become official South African State strategy.

There is strong circumstantial evidence that this strategy has been applied to the violence in the Natal Midlands, and that such violence is being deliberately co-ordinated and exploited by the State to destabilize the 'revolutionary forces' – in particular the ANC and COSATU – and thus enable the State to dictate the terms

and time-frame of negotiations. There have also been allegations that the State, through its security forces, has been directly involved in instigating incidents of violence as well as in assassinations of key figures.

Obviously, such involvement needs to be hidden. Thus not only have the State and the security forces consistently denied involvement in the violence, they have propagated a theory of the violence which excludes this possibility. So the State's public analysis of the violence portrays it as a peculiarly 'black-on-black' phenomenon, a struggle for power between Inkatha and the ANC, in which the State clearly has no interest. This theory has been advanced particularly since President De Klerk's groundbreaking speech of 2 February 1990 in which he announced the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Truluck Anne, 1987-92, 28).

Some revelation of the then government having direct links with Inkatha Freedom Party. During 1991 and early 1992, a great deal of evidence came to light linking security forces to the IFP. Such links have been in the form of funding and training.

The *Weekly Mail* of 19 July 1991 revealed information it had received suggesting that the government had funded Inkatha rallies in 1990. The paper printed a document allegedly sent by a Major Louis Both, Regional head of the Natal

Security Branch, to the head of the Security Police at SAP headquarters in Pretoria requesting funds to support Inkatha rallies. According to the document, Botha claimed to have had extensive talks with Chief Minister Buthelezi about Inkatha's dwindling support in Natal. At least R150 000 was paid into an Inkatha bank account on 15 March 1990, ten days before a major Inkatha rally in Durban.

Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok admitted that money had been paid over to the IFP in order to fund two rallies. He said that the money was from an anti-sanctions fund. He also said:

‘This funding was under no circumstances aimed at promoting partiality or political activism of any particular group.’ (Natal Witness 20.07.1991).

State President De Klerk said the funding had to be seen in the pre-1990 context in which the State was threatened by sanctions and violence. Minister Vlok also revealed that the South African Police had funded the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), Inkatha's union wing, in an attempt to ‘counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labour front’.

Meanwhile, Dave Dalling DP M.P. called on Chief Buthelezi to resign. Buthelezi denied any knowledge of the funding.

Minister Vlok confirmed in a television interview that R1,5 million had been paid to UWUSA over a period of six years. He said that every cent of his money had been accounted for, and that State funding of UWUSA had ceased. (*Natal Witness*, 22.07.91)

Within days, the scandal began to take its toll. The personal secretary of Chief Buthelezi, Zakhele Khumalo, resigned, claiming that he had accepted the money without informing Buthelezi. Meanwhile, the Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, admitted that he had personally authorized the funds for the rally. The IFP began an internal investigation into the funding, but no further resignations took place. (*Natal Witness*, 24.07.91)

New revelations continued. It came to light that Khumalo had been very involved in security police attempts to destabilize Zulu politics during the early 1970s and had been involved with the government's Bureau of Information for some years. The *Weekly Mail* claimed it had documents showing the UWUSA's finances were in a shocking state, and that Vlok had been concerned that State funding might be revealed if debt action was brought against UWUSA. The documents showed that UWUSA was under the joint control of Inkatha and the SAP, and was codenamed 'Operation Omega' by the SAP. (*Sunday News* 27.07.91)

The *Weekly Mail* claimed that an investigation into UWUSA's finances had been attempted by Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute, but he had been unable to complete it because of the appalling state of the Union's records. It also claimed that at least five senior Inkatha officials must have known about the funding, including Chief Buthelezi. (*Natal Witness* 26.07.91)

Major Louis Botha denied that Buthelezi knew anything about the funds, although he had claimed in a memo:

'Chief Minister Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him. He could not say thank you enough and said he had not expected it'. (*Natal Witness* 29.07.91)

On 29 July, Vlok and Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, were demoted. Vlok was replaced by Hernus Kriel; Malan by Roelf Meyer. The government also announced that all secret funding to political parties was to be halted, and legislation governing secret funding was to be reviewed. (*Natal Witness*, 31.07.91)

6.3. South African Defence Force training

The *Weekly Mail* was also responsible in 1991 for uncovering a network of training and support provided by the SADF to Inkatha. This information, much of it confidential, was set out by Lawyers for Human Rights, the *Weekly Mail*, the

Media Defence Trust, the ANC and COSATU in a memorandum to the Goldstone Commission.

According to the memorandum, 200 members of Inkatha were flown to the Caprivi strip in Namibia in an SADF aircraft some time in 1986. They were given training at the 'Hippo' base by the SADF and a Guy Boardman. Their training included –

- handling of weapons including pistols, assault rifles, hand grenades, limpet mines and mortar rockets;
- training in urban guerrilla warfare and demolition;
- techniques in kidnapping and assassination of key individuals;
- techniques in unarmed combat;
- techniques in winning the support of the local population designed to be part of the process of 'winning hearts and minds';
- techniques in identifying ANC/UDF and other targeted elements;
- techniques in persuading the local populace to become hostile towards the ANC/UDF.

The South African government admitted that 150 Zulu men had been trained in Namibia by the SADF, but claimed that they had only been trained as security guards to protect KwaZulu leaders. The government said that the unit had been absorbed into the KZP in 1989. However, dissidents denied this. They said that

after their initial training, they were taken to the Amatugulu camp in Zululand, and then to the Mkhuze camp. At these camps they received further training and intense ideological instruction, including highly emotional anti-ANC/UDF propaganda.

The training and instruction is alleged to have been arranged, organized and funded by members of Creed Consultants, acting with and on behalf of Adult Education Consultants and the SADF. It is alleged that Creed paid the salaries of the trainees until 1989 when they were absorbed into the KwaZulu police, and that it dealt with Inkatha through M.Z. Khumalo and Mbongeni Khumalo.

Some of the trainees have allegedly subsequently been involved in activities against the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement. Mandla Mchunu allegedly carried out a number of assassinations in New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, Umzumbe and Clermont, and has gone into hiding. Cyril Ngema was charged in 1991 with the murder of two ANC supporters. Daluxolo Luthuli is also allegedly responsible for many more murders in the greater Pietermaritzburg area. Shortly before his assassination, Chief Maphumulo claimed that Luthuli was operating in the area. (Lawyers for Human Rights op.cit., p.5)

6.4. Methods of Training at Mlaba Camp

A trainee who received SPU training at the Mlaba camp claimed the following regarding the process followed by recruits:

- (1) The Induna of his area recruited IFP supporters for SPU training in order to “become soldiers for Inkatha”.
- (2) Physical training took place at Emandleni for a week prior to the training at Umfolozi. One of those in charge was a KwaZulu Police Sergeant.
(3) At Umfolozi the trainees were divided into platoons. Some of the instructors were KwaZulu Policemen while others were not. Philip Powell arrived during the course of the training.
- (4) The musketry course included training in the assembly, stripping and firing of the following weapons: 9mm handgun, HMC, shotgun, G3, R1, R4, R5, Makarov and Uzzi. Shooting practice took place in the Mlaba river bed, at the intersection of the Mlaba and Umfolozi rivers.
- (5) Training was provided in the use of hand grenades and rifle grenades. The grenade practice site was located above the Umfolozi river. The grenades were thrown onto the sandy river bed.
- (6) The trainee noticed bags full of empty cartridges and grenade levers next to the rondawel, which was the armoury.
- (7) The instructor who provided the training in the use of hand grenades, Makarovs, Uzis, HMCs and R4 and R5s was thought to be a KwaZulu Policeman because he wore a police tracksuit, shorts and vests.

- (8) The trainees were instructed how to construct home-made bombs using ingredients such as petrol, sunlight or surf powder soap, Kerosene and turpentine.
- (9) Instruction was provided on how to sabotage a vehicle by removing distilled water from the battery and replacing the water with petrol. When the vehicle is started the battery will explode. A demonstration with a car battery was given.
- (10) Instruction was provided on how to set alight a bus in a manner, which would prevent most passengers from escaping. The instructor said the best way to do this was to pour petrol mixed with surf washing powder on the back set, so as to allow the petrol to slide to the front of the bus, they proceed to the entrance to the bus and deposit a mixture of glycerine and a substance known in Zulu as Manyazini (an oil) wrapped in paper. This would then ignite instantly and the fire would spread rapidly to the back of the bus. This technique was not demonstrated in a bus but demonstrated at the grenade site on the Umfolozi River bed.
- (11) The trainees were taught how to use a knife in order to disarm a person of a firearm. This technique involved slashing the victim with a knife under his upper arm, and/or cutting the victim across his upper inner thigh. The trainees were advised that the technique should be used especially against policemen who were perceived to be ANC sympathizers.

- (12) Instruction in bush warfare was given by two black men who could not speak Zulu. It was thought that these two instructors came from Mozambique. This instruction included moving in different types of formations, the art of camouflage and survival in the bush.
- (13) The trainees were instructed on how to conduct ambushes of vehicles and people. A technique was taught in which three groups of attackers are deployed, the group furthest away from the victims attempt to turn around to escape in the direction they came from.
- (14) All the instructors emphasized that the skills taught were to be used against the ANC. Shortly before the trainees departed they were told by a KwaZulu Police Sergeant that they would receive firearms from their chiefs, and that they should return to the camp on 15 April 1994, when they would receive instructions on what to do over the election period.

(The Interview was guaranteed anonymity)

According to the statement of Israel Hlongwane, "They informed us that we were there for six weeks intensive training. We were to be trained in the use of the following weapons:

AK47

Uzi Machine gun

Shotgun

G3 Assault Rifle

9mm Pistol

F1 and RDG 5 Hand Grenades

We were also to be trained in house penetration, hostage situations and how to carry out planned attacks. The purpose of this training was to guard the Chiefs, to eliminate the ANC and to stop the people from going to vote in the April 1994 elections”.

Thami Hebron Ngubane (also known as Nhlanhla Mthethwa, an Mlaba camp trainee and SPU commander).

“While we were at Mlaba camp, we were divided into platoons. I was appointed as a platoon leader in my group “Platoon 13”. We were taught to drill, shoot, use bombs as well as the strategies and methods as to how to approach our opponents and attack. We were training with the following weapons viz.

1. R5's
2. AK 47 rifles
3. CZ 75's
4. Scorpions
5. Makarov
6. R4's
7. Shotguns

8. LMG's
9. G3's
10. RPG 11 rifles
11. Explosives
12. Bombs
13. Hand grenades with different members
14. Petrol Bombs

On the day of passing out, our instructors/commanders gave us instructions that we must endeavour by all means to eliminate the ANC members. We were also told by them (commanders) that we would later be integrated into KwaZulu Police. There were no other duties assigned to us except of killing the ANC members.

Other dissidents members of the hit squad Unit spoke to the Weekly Mail. They said that they were used by Inkatha officials to conduct hit squad missions against ANC supporters in Natal. They claimed that after they returned to KwaZulu-Natal, some members of the Unit were posted to secret bases by KwaZulu Police officials trained at these secret bases. Some members of the Unit were allegedly allocated to various police stations within KwaZulu-Natal. Two *Natal Witness* reporters investigation team in two vehicles used by hit squads units, revealed that the vehicles were registered under the Tshameni leadership and development project

(*Natal Mercury*, 9:10 and 13:9.1991; *Weekly Mail*, 9:8.91; *Natal Witness*, 12:8.1991).

The merger between hit squads did not bring peace in the region. Many people died and fled their houses to places of safety in neighbouring towns and churches. The South African government was at least co-responsible, highlighted by the fact that the Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police was an appointee of the Minister of Law and Order. In terms of section 5 of the Police Act, No.7 of 1958, the SAP has in any event legal authority in KwaZulu-Natal. Furthermore by virtue of section 37 of the National State Constitution Act No.21 of 1971, the South African government was at least co-responsible. The act stipulates that the Minister of Police can set conditions for the control organization and establishment of Police forces for the government territories such as KwaZulu-Natal (Irish Jenny 1991:1). The then South African government or at least substantial elements therefore have entered the area of conflict on the side of IFP. They have become so inextricably interwoven in the conflict that there seems to be little chance of extracting themselves or from what was happening in that area.

A frank admission by Colonel (Ret) Lourens du Plessis Comops, EP (Command, South African Defence Force, Port Elizabeth) at a conference on covert operations in South Africa held on 15-16 November 1993 at Espada Ranch that the SADF supported, funded and had full knowledge of the sinister forces.

Question: Certain individuals are still involved since financing of them ceased. Was that likely to include weaponry, ammunition and legal resources or was it just Comops?

Du Plessis: Just a bit of background. When the Inkathagate scandal was revealed the State President said that all these covert operations must be stopped. It took a while because there were certain contracts that had to be fulfilled. Since then to the best of my knowledge all that equipment, and I am talking about ten million rands – it includes fully equipped gymnasiums, sedan cars, bakkies, cameras, office equipment, caravans and all that, which to the best of my knowledge and I am sure I am right – all that equipment is still in the possession of the people that are managing these organizations and do not forget these organizations were registered as closed corporations (CCs), each with a managing director and I was chairman of the board of each of these organizations. I am convinced that all that equipment which was purchased with taxpayers money is still in their possession, including vehicles.

Question: I want to suggest that the fact that this equipment has not been returned to Army Headquarters lends itself to the suggestion that these covert operations are still continuing. I mean is the equipment still in the field?

Du Plessis: The Eastern Cape Sport Foundation is still functioning but are being funded by other sources, unlike the resource center that was exposed recently as fully covert in Namibia. It was exposed that they had been funded by the Defence Force and the Chairman, who is a Minister of Namibia, was fired and he was told to relocate. But there is no more funding from the government side, that I can assure you, and of course they [sinister forces] can continue their operations because they still have the infrastructure to continue.

In conclusion Du Plessis claimed that “financing remained a problem. It was quite amusing at times. Cash was made available to the Command HQ Comops Section. These monies had to be paid into the accounts of the organizations concerned, obviously in such a way that they could not be traced. We consequently resorted to depositing money in the various accounts in different towns in the Eastern Cape. The system was refined, all payouts were made directly into various bank accounts, via the Reserve Bank. All expenditure in all cases had to be approved and certified by myself in terms of the approved budget.”

The officer commanding had to cosign all the reconciliations of money spent. Millions were spent he claimed and he had no access to records at this stage but he estimated at least ten million rand was spend during the period 1985 to 1990. Further what concerns him most is that the individuals in charge of these

organizations are still in possession of all the equipment, vehicles etc. even gym equipment that was purchased with taxpayers money.

6.5. Security forces were compensated after murdering people

The then government approved payment of an amount of R17,5 million to Eugene De Kock and 83 Vlakplaas policemen who left the force. Askari Joe Mamasela got more than R400 000 for his 13 years of killing service (*Sunday Times*, April 2, 1990). At the same time De Klerk rejected any insinuation that the payouts were to buy silence from the men. He said in Parliament that many of the Vlakplaas operatives were former ANC and PAC members and that “the first thing the ANC would have done would have been to immediately get rid of these people. It was, therefore, necessary to disband this unit.”

Askari Mamasela says that after they had received their final packages, De Kock called a meeting of Askari at the Hartebeesport Dam near Pretoria. “He said there was a need for the police to arm us with AK-47s, hand grenades and explosives because the ANC was going to eliminate us one by one. He prepared us that should the ANC kill one of us, we should march to Shell House and mow down anything that moves. I was provided with an AK-47, three magazines and five hand grenades. (Joe Mamasela, in camera evidence to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

Under such circumstance a person concludes that was the beginning of the “Third Force”. They were paid to go and group themselves and continue foment political violence in places like Richmond.

Beyond reasonable doubt political violence in Richmond was not black on black violence. It was perpetuated by the then government apparatus. As a consequence, several thousand people of Richmond have died. It is common to speak of the period from 1984 through 1989 as years of crisis for the region. However, since February 1990 the number of deaths increased at a high proportion.

Statistics I have mentioned about who perpetuated political violence enable us to understand the nature of political violence in Richmond and what alternatives can be used to save the lives of innocent people. Several questions may be asked such as:

- (1) Why was the violence so random in Richmond, victimizing people of all political affiliations? The then government sought to disrupt all black communities, in order to weaken and divide them while strengthening the then government. It did this by victimizing supporters of the ANC and its allies, but more frequently it targeted the wider black community.
- (2) Why does the violence seem to increase at certain times? The then government appears to become more active at moments when it is most

advantageous to conservative political elements, such as in the run-up to the signing of the Pretoria Minute in 1990.

- (3) If the violence is government orchestrated, why did it surge after the announcement of the referendum in February 1992, when the government wanted a yes vote? The then government was made up of conservative political elements, who were not under the direct control of the Cabinet, and consequently are free to act in ways, which may sometimes clash with the short-term goals of National Party politicians.
- (4) Why are people of all political affiliations who had given or were about to give evidence in judicial proceeding, such as the Goldstone Commission, regularly killed? The then State vigorously attempted to erase all evidence of its activities, possibly murdering those people who might be able to expose it.

“There are some men whose crimes surpass comprehension and therefore forgiveness, and is the real failure. For they are still among us, walking through the cities, working in the offices, lunching in the canteens, smiling and shaking hands. That they should live on, not outcasts but as cherished citizens to smear a whole nation in perpetuity with their individual evil, this is the true failure. And in this we have failed, you and I, we have all failed and failed miserably”.

Frederick Forsyth “The Odessa File”

CHAPTER 7

This chapter will attempt to explore the sinister forces that played a key role in fermenting and perpetrating political violence.

WAS THERE A THIRD FORCE?

7.1. What is third force?

The idea of forming a third force goes back to the mid-1980 when the struggle against apartheid reached unprecedented levels. The state adopted equally drastic measures to counter these threats, which included the use of concepts of terrorism and guerilla warfare.

According to the minutes of the State Security Council, the formation of a “third force” was discussed at a meeting on May 12, 1986. “Third force” must be mobile with a well-trained capacity to effectively wipe out terrorists. It must be prepared

to be unpopular and even-feared. Without marring the image of the Defence Force or the police. The security forces must work together in the setting up of the “third force” in order that those who undermine the State are countered with their own methods (Special Hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the Caprivi Trainees held in Durban, August 1997).

Third force was an integrated network of security force and ex-security force operatives who, in conjunction with IFP, sowed terror in order to undermine the position of the ANC in talks (World Trade Centre) and prepare the way for a victory of a Nationalist-IFP alliance in the first democratic election.

During his trial, de Kock claimed that the security forces trained IFP hit squads in Ulundi, Natal and Caprivi in Namibia, so as to stabilise the position of the ANC. De Kock claimed high-ranking cabinet ministers, including Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, Minister Louis De Grange, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan all had knowledge of dirty tricks operations. (Star 16 September 1996 and 18 September 1996).

Even after the unbanning of the ANC de Kock’s Unit was kept on full alert and fully armed. By mid 1990, he had more than 300 Askaris under his command. In July 1990 working with the Chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in the Transvaal, Themba Khoza, who was on the Vlakplaas payroll as a police informer,

de Kock began selling guns to the pro-Inkatha inhabitants of hostels on the East Rand where local tension ran high.

Midlands regional ANC Chairperson, Harry Gwala, warned Natal to brace itself for Mozambique National Resistance-style and third force attacks (Natal Witness 24.09.1990 "Natal must brace itself for attack, says Gwala"). It is said in June 1991, one of the convenors of the church-backed attempt to get Inkatha, the ANC and the government together to discuss the violence said:

"It is obvious a third force does exist, but one of the problems is to identify it."

The Goldstone Commission also discussed the confusion surrounding the use of the term, in its second interim report of April 1992.

"The word third force has been used by many people in South Africa in many contexts and with no consistent meaning. The phrase has been used frequently with reference to a sinister and secret organisation or group that commits acts of violence in furtherance of some nefarious political aim."

The Commission has received no evidence that there is a "third force" of the first type mentioned ... i.e. a sinister and secret organisation orchestrating political violence on a wide front (The Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of

public violence and intimidation, second interim report 29 April 1992 p.5). If “third force” activities exist, then there must be some evidence of the allegation.

In further attack in Richmond in November 1991, residents claimed that shortly before an attack in which four people were killed, three white men were seen trying to set a house alight (Natal Witness 15.11.1991 “Four brutally murdered : Richmond tension rise”).

In South Africa today allegations abound of a sinister “third force” serving its own evil ends by subtly fanning the flames of violence, especially politically motivated violence. Ells (1993:3) defines “third force” as “a deliberate destabilisation programme, based in senior levels in the security establishment. This does not involve claiming that such activity has the (explicit or implicit) blessing of the government; however, it does not rule out that possibility either.”

A person can conclude then that the term referred to a group or individuals with close ties or official links to the then South African security forces, blessing of the government; however, it does not rule out that possibility either.”

A person can conclude then that the term referred to a group or individuals with close ties or official links to the then South African security forces. The most sinister, and the most vigorous, were those of Wouter Basson. The son of an

Afrikaaner police colonel, Basson qualified in medicine before joining the army, where he was rapidly promoted to Brigadier by the age of 30. Although he continued to practice, once acting as President Botha private physician, Basson's main activity was in biological and chemical weapons research. The Seventh Medical Battalion became notorious for its application of such methods in South African border wars, especially in Angola, but the research was carried out in two facilities near Pretoria. Under Brigadier Wouter Basson, a group comprising special force, they were also known as "Elimination group".

An article in the London *Observer* of 7 June 1998 reported:

The South African military scientist in charge of the former apartheid regime's top-secret chemical and biological warfare programme used a network of British business contracts to amass a personal fortune, the *Observer* can reveal.

Brigadier Wouter Basson, a 47-year-old physicist, is now reviled in South African after details emerged of his role in the weapons programme.

South African prosecutors have visited Britain to investigate his network of contacts. Last week a former major, in British intelligence admitted receiving payments of £2.5 million transferred from a bank account in his name, by a company Basson controlled.

The international investigation is trying to trace £30 million which was to be spent in Europe under the guise of Project Coast – a top-secret scheme, led by Basson, to acquire materials to make chemical and biological weapons in the dying years of apartheid.

Basson has been called to give evidence about the project this week at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing in Cape Town. Scientists working under Basson developed special poisons to cause heart failure, cancer and sterility in the black population. One aim was to develop devices to kill opponents of apartheid without trace.

These included poisoned T-shirts designed to kill student activists and screwdrivers fitted with ‘micro-needles’ filled with deadly chemicals. Brutal experiments were carried out on live baboons and dogs. One of the most extraordinary plans was a scheme to develop a pill to turn whites into blacks, enabling the ‘master race’ to infiltrate the ranks of the enemy.

Basson faces criminal charges alleging that he siphoned millions of pounds from Project Coast into his personal accounts. Last summer prosecutors from South Africa’s Office of Serious Economic Fraud interviewed a number of British executives about his activities in this country.

Basson ran a network of front companies based with their accounts in the UK, Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland and Croatia. These were set up to acquire chemical weapons technology.

Among his British contacts was Major Roger Buffham, a former bomb disposal expert who worked for military intelligence and is now head of security at the Jockey Club. Basson ran the South African Army's Seventh Medical Battalion. But his role went far beyond medicine. He and his scientists worked on projects that are incredible to Western researchers. In one of the most bizarre schemes, three chimpanzees were used in experiments to make black women infertile.

The infertility programme was headed by Daan Goosen, 47, a respected vet and pathologist. Goosen was managing director of a South African Defence Force front company, Roodeplaats Research Laboratories. 'The chimps were a cover for developing an anti-fertility vaccine,' said Goosen, 'I was told the growing black population was the overwhelming threat to white South Africa. The anti-fertility project was approved by the South African Defence Force at the highest levels.'

Animal rights groups also claim that organophosphates were tested on live animals, often young baboons and dogs, so researchers could see how long it took them to die.

One of the most lethal devices said to have been developed was a fence combining barbed wire and a deadly charge of electricity to enable police to erect mobile barricades around rioters.

After a series of security leaks in the early 1990s, the South African Defence Force's counter-intelligence service began investigating Basson. Project Coast was closed down at the end of 1992. Basson left the army months later.

Following the Truth Commission's hearings, Basson is expected to go before a criminal court to answer the fraud charges. He is also accused of trying to sell 1,000 Ecstasy tablets to undercover police. It is alleged that government laboratories manufactured up to a ton of the drug at a secret laboratory near Pretoria.

Martin Tomkinson, writing in the London on Sunday, went further:

"But an even greater scandal remains a possibility. In the dying days of apartheid, a secretive organisation with the deceptively bland title of Directorate of Covert Collections was established. The DCC set up a network of front companies to facilitate the grisly work of apartheid death squads – around the world. Persistent and growing allegations have circulated in South Africa that such companies were organised with direct assistance of executives of Amalgamated of Banks of South Africa (ABSA). To date, the ground-breaking Truth and Reconciliation Commission has not examined any evidence of who exactly funded the terrorist activities of the DCC.

The discovery of a document which was known as the Verkoopelys (Saleslist) and a list of SADF sponsored (hard) projects conducted at Roodeplaat Research Laboratories provided the TRC with a clear indication that there was an intent to poison Africans and that the front company, Roodeplaat Research Laboratories was involved in the development of the toxins used for this purpose. The list, found amongst the documents seized at the time of Dr Basson's arrest, was authored by Dr André Immelman, the head researcher on SADF projects at Roodeplaat Research Laboratories. He claimed he authored the list at a time when he had been required at Dr Basson's request, to provide a group of individuals with the toxins. The items on the list include anthrax in cigarettes, botulinum in milk and paraoxon in whisky. The inclusion of a baboon foetus on the list, dated late July 1989 (just prior to such a foetus being found in the garden of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's house) as well as reference to chemical and biological operatives, indicated that the items may well have found their way, directly or indirectly, into the hands of operatives of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). It is said members of the CCB indicated that operatives were not necessarily aware of the existence of a CBW programme. They were, however, aware of capacity of the SADF doctors to provide them with toxins. This was corroborated by a member of the DDC who explained to investigators that there was an understanding in their Unit that they could get toxins from Dr Basson.

Documents seized at the time of Dr Basson's arrest indicated that the front company, Delta G Scientific was involved in the manufacture of significant quantities of Methaqualone (mandrax) and ecstasy and was also involved in researching the possibility of using street drugs for crowd control purposes. This was corroborated at the TRC hearing.

Established also was that approximately 1,000 ecstasy was manufactured in 1992 and was in all likelihood encapsulated by Medchem Pharmaceuticals, a subsidiary of the holding company Medchem Consolidated Investments which Delta G Scientific also fell. The production manager at Delta G Scientific informed investigators that he had been approached in 1988 by the managing director of the company, Dr Phillip Mijburgh and asked to produce 1,000kg of Methaqualone. The explanation given by witnesses was that the intention was to use it for crowd control purposes. General Lothar Neethling told TRC during the hearing that, on three occasions, he had been requested to provide Dr Basson with mandrax tablets confiscated by the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB). He claimed that he had given Dr Basson approximately 200,000 tablets in total as well as quantities of LSB and dagga, on the understanding that they would be investigated to determine whether they would be appropriate crowd control weapons.

August 1988, Delta G Scientific began producing 1,000kg of Methaqualone. From documentation provided by Dr Knobel, it seems that tests were carried out on

Methaqualone as an incapacitant in 1988, and that it was established that it was not effective since it did not take effect immediately. The work on Methaqualone stopped at the end of 1988. A question arises, what happened to the 1,000kg of Methaqualone has still not been established. Moreover, by the end of 1991, the co-ordinating management committee of Project Coast saw fit to send Dr Basson to Croatia to close a deal with renegade Croatians for the purchase of 500kg of Methaqualone, which was brought back to South Africa.

The CBW programme achieved nothing. Millions of rands were squandered on ideas that had no scientific validity. At worst, the programme had criminal intent. Even the TRC concluded that:

- (a) Scientists were recruited to the CBW programme from universities and research institutions in South Africa because of their “patriotism” and loyalty to the government of the day. They were lured by generous conditions of service, facilities, working arrangements and pay packages.
- (b) Overall understanding of the programme, and its co-ordination and direction, were vested in the hands of one person, Dr Basson, whose ability and (it was assumed) integrity were unquestioned both by those who served under him and by those to whom he had to report.

The military command and pre-eminently the Surgeon General, Dr DP Knobel were grossly negligent in approving programmes and allocating

- large sums of money for activities of which they had no understanding and which they made no effort to understand.
- (c) The CBW programme made the self-enrichment of individual possible and opened the way for a cynical subversion of its ostensible aims in the production of murder weapons for use against Africans.
 - (d) The development programme would not have been possible without some level of support, active and tacit, of the Co-ordinating Management Committee over the period 1988-1995.
 - (e) This Committee knew of the large scale production of mandrax and ecstasy and their purposed use, but did not seek to establish reasons for this. It approved of the idea and lent its support directly. The idea of using either mandrax or ecstasy for the purpose of controlling African crowd contravenes international codes. In addition, there was no scientific basis for thinking that it would be an appropriate, safe or sensible form of crowd control.
 - (f) The committee was aware of and authorized Basson's trips to Croatia, at great expense, to purchase 500kg of Methaqualone as late as 1992, and assisted Basson when he was arrested in Switzerland in possession of fraudulent bearer bonds.
 - (g) The Surgeon General in particular knew of the production of murder weapons but refused to address the concerns that were raised with him, on

the grounds that they did not fall under his direct control and were perpetrated by staff under his command.

7.2. Evidence of security forces involvement in the “third force” activities

The activities of third force here occurred in different forms. Firstly, increasing resort to unlawful methods by the security forces, secondly a consistent attempt to make use of other parties or surrogate forces and thirdly the use of covert structures. Every security police unit devised its own methods of getting rid of bodies. Vlakplaas operatives packed explosives around the bodies of their victims. Northern Transvaal security branch burnt them and threw their ashes into the Fish River. One would be remembered for burying the bodies of his victims to ashes while gorging himself on meat and brandy, one for packing explosives around bodies and blowing them to nothingness and the third for luring 15 year-old into deadly ambushes. They were the people who watched life's blood spilling out as they got up close to their victims, twisting knives into guts and firing bullets into brains. (Jacques Pauw 1997, p.16)

The 1990s was known as the history of encouraging divisions between Inkatha and the UDF. This covert policy of encouraging and fermenting such divisions predates the outbreak of violent conflict in KwaZulu-Natal and that, when the conflict assumed violent proportions, this was simply noted and no attempt was made to change the overall strategy. This indicates, at the very least, that this was regarded as acceptable, possibly even desirable. Operation Marion and the Caprivi training

must thus be seen in the context of this overall State Security Council policy. A similar strategy was reflected in Operation Katzen and support for vigilante groups. Covert support for anti-UDF/ANC groups was well established by the 1990s and was seen as legitimate and authorized. This support led to the development of links between individual security force operatives and conservative individuals at a local level, providing a basis for ongoing destabilization on the ground. The connection between this strategy and the violence in the 1990s is obvious. Indeed, support for Inkatha continued into the 1990s. It is thus not surprising that security force members believed that it was legitimate to provide support, including arms, to Inkatha or to seek to protect and foster IFP linked forces when policing violence-torn communities (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1999, Volume 2, p.699).

Another evidence of security force involvement in the following issues has been confirmed:

- The provision of weapons and training of the IFP by members of the security forces and thus by implication, involvement in the violence in KwaZulu-Natal region. This continued after the exposure of government financial support to the IFP.

- The cover-up after the arrest of Mr Themba with weapons on the scene of the Sebokeng Massacre and thus, by implication, involvement in the massacre itself.
- The involvement by Military Intelligence operatives and structures in the destabilization of the homelands, including the development of a plan to invade Transkei.
- An official plan by Military Intelligence to abduct and/or assassinate Mr Chris Hani and Mr Bantu Holomisa in Transkei.
- The existence of SAP hit squads that continued to be engaged in killings.
- Continued efforts to conduct disinformation campaigns against the liberation movements generally and against particular individuals. Examples include “Project Echoes”, a South African Army Intelligence (G52) project which sought to generate disinformation about MK and a strategic communications project which targeted Winnie Mandela.
- The running of high-level sources such as Mr Sifiso Nkabinde and Mr David Ntombela, who were deeply implicated in violence in the Richmond area.

In addition is some evidence submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

- The involvement of security force operatives in trained violence.

- Involvement of security forces in right-wing agendas and structures, possibly including the establishment of some right-wing groupings. While the security force indicate that this was the purpose of Intelligence-gathering, the case of Mr Leonard Veenendal shows a continued and disturbing blurring of intelligence and operational lines.
- The existence of alliances between certain security force operatives, the right wing and sectors of the IFP who clearly believed they were arming and training people for a full scale war.

The Vlakplaas Unit was by no means the only covert unit which was still centrally involved in violence against ANC, which resemble the character of the “third ford”. The best known of the military death squads, the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), was responsible for relatively few murders inside South Africa. The CCB was disbanded in 1990, many of its former members joined other covert units. The most important of these was the office of the chief of staff (Intelligence). During the previous decade, this had become the richest and most influential of all covert units, with an awesome offensive ability and experience in destabilization as well as intelligence-gathering network. After 1990, many military intelligence projects were being carried out by front companies, like international researchers in the Ciskei homeland. Within the office of the chief of staff (Intelligence), the directorate of Special Tasks, the unit which had overseen destabilization campaigns was in charge of a special project of support for Inkatha known as

Operation Marion. Another section of the office of the chief of staff (Intelligence), the directorate of covert collection.

Quite a large group who constituted the “third force” have now left the services. Many of them who had been high-ranking officers and had responsibility for covert units have retired. Some now work for private security companies or elsewhere in the private sector. Of the middle-ranking officers, Eugene de Kock is serving 212 years in prison. Others have become farmers, administrators or businessmen. Some have established businesses in Mozambique. A few ex-special forces personnel have even bought farms in Angola. At least one former Military Intelligence brothel is still functioning in Johannesburg, managed by ex-covert operators, apparently as a purely criminal enterprise. As Eugene de Kock told his judges with only slight exaggeration, a person with a curriculum vitae like his can choose between becoming a drug smuggler or a mercenary. (Phillip van Niekerk, 1996 p.120) Some former members of CCB are reported to have established a new organisation known as the Binnekring which combines drug-trafficking and gun smuggling for profit with activities designed to bolster opposition to the ANC.

Some of the toughest elite troops of the SADF, including several managers of CCB death squads, work for security company Executive Outcomes Ltd., which has negotiated contracts for security work with governments in Angola, Sierra Leone and elsewhere. Executive Outcome is far more than a group of mercenaries. A

legitimate company, it employs intelligence analysts and an array of technical staff and by 1995, it had generated over 30 subsidiary companies throughout sub-Saharan African specializing in activities including air transport, video production and mining. It is said to have contracts in Africa, the Indian Ocean and Middle East.

Other companies which began life in the service of the counter-insurgency strategy of the South African state also continue in businesses such as GMR (Pty) Ltd., a company set up by an Italian businessman in the Seychelles and run by a former naval officer, Willem "Ters" Ehlers, former private secretary to then President P.W. Botha. In 1996 a United Nations inquiry found that Ehlers had sold arms to Hutu extremists in Zaire via the Seychelles.

Ehlers is also reported to have sold arms to Unita in Angola. (Stephen Ellis : 1996 pp.170-178) The same report exposed some links between drug-trading and weapons-trading in which former South African security men play an important part and which are having a major influence on events in central Africa. (United Nations, Third Report of the International Commission of Inquiry (Rwanda) 1996)

At the same time there are indications that some leading members of the current ANC government have established discreet relations with several old securocrat networks and seek advice from them in a private capacity.

A question may be asked as: how could different sections of the police and military have acted in such concerted unison if there was not some form of centralized coordination? If there had just been many maverick sprinter groups with separate agendas, then how was it that their efforts managed to interlock during specific operation with such precision?

For many security force members, their existence confirmed pronouncements of leveling the playing fields and normalizing the political situation for free and fair elections represented by the public face of National Party policy, but at another covert level, the war was to continue. In this regard, the Hams, Kahn and Goldstone Commissions and Steyn investigation were seen by many as public relations exercises rather than determined initiatives to root out “dirty practices”. The long history of cover-up and condonation of lying to commissions merely reinforced this perception. (Truth Commission, 1999, Volume 5, p.693)

Many operatives continued to conduct an all-out war against “the enemy” and as indicated earlier, elimination and the deadly use of force continued as a matter of routine. When asked by the Truth Commission how he viewed the change in strategy between the 1980s and 1990s, a military intelligence (MI) member said:-

“In 1989 there was a strategy of counter-revolution. What I saw in 1990 after the FW announcement, we were all in Kosi Bay, we all thought: this is

it, fuck the kaffirs, this is the time to sort them out. That was general situation in the security apparatus.”

As for a super spy like Craig Williamson, claimed,

“We were dealing with a system with the most incredible hypocrisy. On one hand we had to pretend that we were all God-fearing Christians who walked around with Bibles under our arms, while on the other hand we were supposed to go around making sure white apartheid rule was not overthrown. That was done very very effectively.”

Consequently the idea of a “third force” a tactic to use Inkatha as a bulwark against UDF and ANC by building up the organization as a counter revolutionary force. Inkatha would be organized into death squads by training, arming and supporting them. This would allow the architects of this evil plan to foment black on black violence, yet shrug their shoulders and tell the world that blacks were simply not capable of ruling.

If we analyse a little earlier and look at the 1985-1992 period, it is remarkable to see how consequently and coherently different sections of the security forces and IFP worked together. This alliance was forged in the war in the Natal Midlands (Kentrige 1990).

In ordinary lives friends or loved ones let us down, and at work close colleagues turn on us or plot our downfall to advance themselves ...

... A traitor within an intelligence service betrays much more than the men or women whose names he gives away. He betrays the whole integrity of his service.

Markus Wolf

CHAPTER 8

8.1. The latest violence

In the 1994 elections, the ANC swept to victory capturing the majority of seats in the transitional Local Council (TLC). Nkabinde was sworn in as the major of Richmond in May 1994. He and Paulos Vezi of the IFP began to address joint peace rallies together (*Natal Witness*, 17.10.94). Later Nkabinde allegedly bought Vezi a tuck shop in Phatheni, (Military Intelligence report, 28.10.96). This chapter will describe a circle and an attempt to examine the role of Sifiso Nkabinde and the social forces behind him in perpetrating the latest circle of violence in Richmond.

It seemed that problems in Richmond were over and a new era of peace and stability was dawning. Violence, however, had spread to nearby areas such as Impendle which were still contested territories (Interview with B.Cele 2002).

Then on 22 July 1997, five ANC members including two town councilors, Bhekumuzi Mchunu and Aphas Mchunu, were gunned down in Smozomeni. The other victims were Mshiyeni Nyide, Henry Mtungwa and Sandile Dlamini (*Sunday Tribune*, 16.08.98). The men were allegedly taken outside a house at about 9 p.m. and shot behind their ears with an AK47, R4 and R5 automatic rifles. ANC Mayor, Andrew Ragaveloo subsequently claimed he received a phone call approximately 30 minutes before the attack informing him that security for councilors was withdrawn for that day. Spokesperson Lt-Col Frans Schroeder said SAPS members who were guarding the houses of councilors in town had left during the morning. Due to technical problems, their replacements from outside the province only arrived on 24 July.

Later witnesses claimed that the deceased had reported to both police and the SANDF that Nkabinde had been seen distributing arms the previous day.

Witnesses stated that they saw Nkabinde in his blue Toyota pick-up accompanied by a white police vehicle (*Sunday Tribune*, 19.10.97).

Thulani Thompson Mkhize who later testified against Sifiso Nkabinde claimed that Nkabinde was instrumental in planning this attack. He claimed the attack was planned at a disused shop next door to Nkabinde's house. Present, he claimed, were Simphiwe Dlamini, Mbongeni Mtolo, Mugqwa Ngwenya, Shane Patchay, Mashumi Dlamini, Themba Mchunu, Soren Njilo, Bob Ndlovu and Mthoko Ntuli. The men were armed with weapons including AK47, a Z88 pistol and an R4 and an R5 rifle. Nkabinde undertook to provide them with ammunition and returned with plastic bags filled with various types of ammunition. After the group left, Mkhize remained in Nkabinde's house. He claimed later that two policemen arrived in a white Mitsubishi and asked to see Nkabinde. They met with him for about 20 minutes. As they left, Mkhize testified, he heard gunfire from the direction of Smozomeni. At about 10 p.m. Ndlovu and Mchunu allegedly returned to Nkabinde's house. After speaking to them, Nkabinde declared "we have been victorious". Mkhize claimed Isihlahla was not attacked because the houses were empty there.

The ANC was aware of the campaign to politically destabilize it in KwaZulu-Natal in 1997. It was thought that elements of the police especially in Natal Midlands were financing, organizing and leading the anti-ANC dirty campaign. Some politicians were part of this campaign and some of these elements were still hiding within the ANC clandestine meetings in areas like Richmond and were organized

to ferment divisions with the organization. The dirty campaign was aimed at destabilizing and weakening the ANC before the 1999 elections. Former members of the ANC who failed to live up to the responsibility of being ANC members were organized to discredit the ANC (Interview with B.Cele 2002).

On the 3rd of August 1997, Sifiso Nkabinde was expelled from the ANC following a national investigation on violence in the province. Mac Maharaj announced from Johannesburg that Sifiso Nkabinde is expelled with immediate effect. The ANC said Sifiso Nkabinde was paid between R100.00 and R1000.00 for reports allegedly supplied about Harry Gwala and ANC units to the apartheid regime. A security force affidavit said Nkabinde was informer SR4252 and held very sensitive and high profile position and felt that his life could be in danger if his identity was exposed with the coming of the new South Africa (Natal Witness, 08.04.97). A former security branch member alleged that both Sifiso Nkabinde of the ANC and David Ntombela of the IFP had worked closely with the Pietermaritzburg security branch since the 1980s. The Human Rights Commission obtained extracts of what purports to be the informer file of Bhekumuzi Gabriel Nkabinde alias Derek Nene. These extracts suggest that security branch members of the police, whilst not directly involved in violent conflict in Richmond acted in such a way as to raise suspicions that they were pursuing a covert political agenda.

In July 1993, Nene informed the security branch that a wanted criminal was making arrangements to obtain accommodation in Richmond. The handler notes:

'Source S R 4252 report that the only problem is if the police know that he is hiding in Richmond, there will be a lot of raids in Richmond to find him and this will hamper the area activities (SDU movements). Kapt, I feel this inquiry should be booked off and if any further developments this S A P 5 will be re-activated'.

In August 1993, Nene informs his handler that a certain IFP member had approached Mzwandile Mbongwa (the ANC youth leader) saying he wanted to move to Ndaleni. The IFP member told Mbongwa that he would steal firearms from Phatheni to pay for his mistake of living in an IFP area. The handler noted that the relevant IFP Patheni members have been informed concerning this issue. The IFP members were informed not to divulge the source of information.

In effect, the police were probably signing the death warrant of this IFP member. In early February 1994, Nene reported that Mzwandile Mbongwa had been accused of supporting the police internal security information. Mbongwa had blamed Nene's handler for spreading this rumour. Nene reported further that the raid by this officer on 28 January 1994 to SDU to structures in Magoda even sparked the suspicion even more as five top structures of SDU members were

arrested with arms. The SDU persons now wanted to kill Mzwandile Mbongwa, this has spread throughout the Richmond area. Mention was made in further entries that Mbongwa was planning to kill Nene's handler.

Mbongwa was subsequently killed a month later by Richmond SDU members along with Musi Ximba, Mzo Mkhize and Mfaniseni Latha. Prior to this a pamphlet was circulated in which Mbongwa was seen as Sifiso Nkabinde's main competitor for the ANC leadership in the area. Mbongwa, it is claimed, wrote a letter to the Midlands ANC shortly before his death in which he claimed that a Captain Vosloo (then in the security branch) had told him that he could arrange to have him killed by his own (*Sunday Tribune*, 19.10.97). Nene's agent number SR4252 was allegedly handled by Shane Morris and at least seven other SB members. On 16 March 1992 Sergeant Morris signed an affidavit that Nkabinde would be registered under a false name.

On 21 December 1992, Lieutenant-Colonel WP Butler ordered Shane Morris and Captain Chris Moolman to alternate as handlers. Both Moolman and Morris were originally based at the Richmond police station. Both were allegedly barred by Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mafumadi from working in Richmond in April 1998 on the grounds that they were allegedly obstructing investigations and colluding with Nkabinde (*Natal Witness*, 16.07.98).

From the early 1990s until 1997 Mr Nkabinde had been in the forefront of the ANC's attempts to maintain peace in KwaZulu-Natal, particularly in the Natal Midlands area. This is what former senior security police members have mentioned as Nkabinde's handlers in a confidential report. Mr Nkabinde's task, according to the report had been to alerted his handlers to the activities of military and paramilitary groups in Midlands. He would also report on demonstrations designed to undermine the safety and security of the state and the communities. He also had the brief to report on the activities of Umkhonto weSizwe in destabilizing South Africa through activities mounted from neighbouring states. Apparently the IFP was going to mention him as having played a role in the war that claimed many lives. Regional peace structures tried to arrange a ceasefire but it failed. Nkabinde told ANC rallies to discuss peace but the IFP refused to tell its supporters to do the same. Some questions had to be asked on this phenomenon.

- 1) Why did the ANC send comrades into a tense area without securing a deal with the IFP?
- 2) Why did the IFP refuse to meet until after the carnage?
- 3) Sifiso Nkabinde could have ordered a ceasefire, why did he not do so?
- 4) Who supplied the weapons which fuelled the contest killing?

In my interview with Mr Phungula of the M.K. Veteran Association (ANC), it was claimed that from the beginning Sifiso Nkabinde was a member of IFP. He murdered his elderly brother so that he could inherit the family will. The IFP wanted to punish him for the barbaric murder of his brother. He fled to Pietermaritzburg and managed to convince Harry Gwala that he is a member of ANC. Nkabinde pleaded for guns so that he can make Richmond the stronghold of the ANC in the Midlands. Harry Gwala was convinced by his plea. Gwala believed that the barrel of a gun was the best remedy for the opponent. Sifiso Nkabinde returned to Richmond heavily armed with the support of the ANC. That was the beginning of the massacres in that area. He became the ANC leader in Richmond and a trusted surrogate of Harry Gwala.

“The significant exposure of Sifiso Nkabinde by the ANC should not be treated in isolation from the broader questions it raised about the Third Force, violence and prospects for peace in KwaZulu-Natal” argues Blade Nzimande. After 1994, it was clear that the strategy to weaken and destabilise the ANC had become more evident and the aim now was not only to try and implant people to gather information about the ANC positions, but also to take over key ANC grassroots structures through agents of the third force infiltrated into the organisation. Contrary to what sections of the media have been claiming, the tensions in the

KwaZulu Midlands ANC have not been about an internal power struggle, but a reflection of a push by Nkabinde to take over the ANC on behalf of his apartheid masters.

Nkabinde admitted that he knew some of the men who were allegedly to have handled him at some stage. They were Martin Benard, Sergeant Shame Morris, Major JJ Pieterse, Warrant Officer Jerry Brooks and AC Vosloo. He admitted he had met Warrant Officer Brooks in Impendle in 1996 when Warrant Officer Brooks approached himself and Bhekani Russel Ngubo, a prominent ANC member, who was at the centre of clashes between police and ANC supporters in the area. His expulsion again raises questions about violence in the area in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Among questions to be answered is how did a police informer become so close to key ANC leaders, like Harry Gwala? The ANC sources stated that Nkabinde who became active in UDF structures at Richmond in the late 1980s was able to exploit the vacuum created by the death of series of ANC leaders in the Midlands. Some party insiders do not go as far as blaming Nkabinde for the deaths, but they do raise the argument that killings of top ANC cadres like Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo and Reggie Hadebe were orchestrated by the security forces to create such a vacuum. As one source says “In the case of these

comrades deaths, we have to ask why there was this selective process of assassinations which had the effect of ensuring that Sifiso, as an apparent militant leader with his own paramilitary network, was able to locate himself so close to Harry Gwala?" (Interviews with ANC members, who prefer to remain anonymous , 2001)

The other question to be asked and which needed an answer is why the ANC decided to move against Nkabinde later and not when it first became aware of his role as an agent? According to IFP critics, the expulsion of Nkabinde was an attempt to deflect the proposed commission of enquiry into no-go areas in Richmond. The party has called for Mr Nkabinde to be taken into a witness protection programme, saying he knew a great deal which could be embarrassing to the ANC self defence units during the KwaZulu-Natal conflict. Leaders close to the ANC were aware, as early as about 1995, that an IFP figure with close links to security forces had identified Mr Nkabinde as an informer. ANC National chairman Jacob Zuma admitted that the ANC "had known about" Mr Nkabinde for about two years and it appears that at least some documentary evidence had been available from about October 1996. The key question is why the ANC has been stalling the attempts by the provincial parliamentary sub-committee to probe Mr Nkabinde's role in Richmond through a commission of inquiry? ANC MPP John Jeffery denies the party has been blocking any inquiry. "It has been a problem of

following the right procedures rather than trying to cover things up.”

(www.mg.co.za/ Sifiso Nkabinde)

Comments political scientist Alexander Johnston, “This affair demonstrates that we are still living in a period of plots and underground activities. Our politics are far from normalized. It is also most convenient for the ANC their number one rogue turns out to be somebody else’s rogue”. (*Sunday Tribune*, 13.04.97)

On 7 April 1997 the ANC in KZN welcomed the decision of the National Working Committee (NWC) to expel Bhekumuzi Gabriel “S’fiso” Nkabine, an agent provocateur of the apartheid security forces whose task was to infiltrate the ANC, Umkhonto WeSizwe and to promote the so-called black-on-black violence. The ANC leadership in Natal stated that:-

1. The exposure of this agent provocateur who continued to give information about the ANC and to cause and foment violence among our communities up to today is the confirmation that the Third Force is still at work, especially in KwaZulu-Natal.
2. That the continued violence in areas of Natal Midlands was not accidental.

3. It vindicates the correctness of the ANC's assertion that the problems engulfing the ANC and the democratic movement in the Natal Midlands would have long been resolved if there were no Third Force behind them.
4. It confirms the correctness of the ANC that all those who claim to be ANC or IFP members and continue with political violence are not genuine members of either the ANC or IFP.
5. The ANC urges other organizations to expel those among them who are infiltrated by the former apartheid security forces to create strife and violence among our communities and political organizations.
6. It was interesting how some members of the IFP were behaving when there was a discussion on Richmond, an area under the control of Nkabinde.
7. The ANC demands that Nkabinde's handlers tell everything they have done with Nkabinde, where were they reporting, where did they get the money they were paying to Nkabinde and others, up to what level within the present security forces were their activities known, etc.?
8. The plans of S'fiso Nkabinde were known to the ANC KwaZulu-Natal leadership. The ANC knew the political organization he was expected to join after his expulsion. That will again confirm the assertion of the ANC that this political party is the creation of the apartheid Third Force.

9. The ANC demanded that the former NP apartheid regime dismantles all its covert forces. These spies were to be found in almost all walks of life – the media, political organizations, universities, trade unions, churches, etc.
10. That all patriotic forces must exercise maximum vigilance and unite in deference of democratic gains.
11. The expulsion of agent provocateurs within our ranks would strengthen the ANC (ANC KwaZulu-Natal Press Release).

After Sifiso Nkabinde was expelled from the ANC, he joined Bantu Holomisa then expelled member of the ANC and Roelf Meyer, one time the National Party cabinet member in the National Consultative Forum, later renamed the United Democratic Movement. The launch of the UDM in Richmond created a new carve-up of the area into zones of political influence. Nkabinde's power base in Magoda now became a UDM stronghold, while areas like Ndaleni and Smozomeni remained loyal to the ANC. The IFP retained its traditional stronghold in Phatheni and Mkobeni.

The conflict in Richmond became no longer IFP versus ANC but UDM versus ANC. Twenty days after Nkabinde's expulsion, nine of the ANC Richmond Councillors from Richmond resigned under pressure from Nkabinde. The Mayor

during the trial of S'fiso Nkabinde revealed a conversation he had with Nkabinde in which he requested an issue of resignations. Nkabinde's reply apparently was: "I told Councillors what to do. I expect them to do it" a day after resignations, "I want to be mayor, as I need a political platform to fight the ANC. I will make you the deputy mayor". Ragavaloo flatly refused and along with two independent councillors, he and his brother-in-law and fellow ANC councilor, Rodney van der Byl, were the only people to remain on the TLC.

A week later Ragavaloo, van der Byl and two independents organized a council meeting to explain their positions to the public, but the meeting was disrupted, when three busloads of Nkabinde's supporters gate crashed and prevented others from entering the venue. The next day, on 8 May 1997, van der Byl was assassinated in the driveway of his Richmond home (*Natal Witness* 10/5/1999).

On 22 July 1997 the day after the Richmond by-election, the community were shocked to hear of the execution style killing of two of the newly elected ANC councillors and three other ANC members at a house in Simozomeni. Councillors Bhekumusa Thomas Mchunu and Mbongiseni Elphas Mchunu, as well as ANC supporters Boy Dlamini, Mduduzinungwa and Mshiyeni Nyide were dragged from Nyide's house and ruthlessly shot in the back of the head. Twenty-one spent R5 and 1847 cartridges and two live R5 rounds were found by investigators combing

the area. In the morning after the killing two men were arrested by Inspector Deon Wilson of the NITU. He testified in court during the trial of Sifiso Nkabinde that he had apprehended the men after the community had accused them of complicity. However, later Wilson was obstructed by an army contingent who demanded that the suspects be handed over to them. A heated exchange ensued and Wilson finally released the suspects to the army. The two men were subsequently released when investigation revealed that they were not involved, but had initially confessed to the killings after being severely assaulted by other residents (*Natal witness* 24/7/1997).

On 7 August a UDM youth leader M'Southern Zondi and his girlfriend Phumzile Nxele were killed in their Magoda home at midnight. It is said that the reason for the murder of Zondi was that he wanted to defect to the ANC. On a Saturday, the NCF Midlands leader Sifiso Nkabinde led his supporters throughout the streets of the Magoda/Ndaleneni and Ndanikhona areas in a funeral procession.

The NCF leader Bantu Holomisa addressed the funeral service for Mr Zondi and Ms Nxele. It was attended by more than 500 people from Magoda. Shots were fired in the air during the service. General Holomisa questioned allegations of Third Force elements fuelling the violence in the Midlands. He said the ANC had first accused Nkabinde of being behind violence and had then laid the blame on the

so-called “Third Force”. General Holomisa said the tendency of ANC-led government continually to point fingers at the police as part of the problem raised questions about the ability of Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mafumadi to command and control the actions of his own policemen.

General Holomisa seemed to be out of date regarding events in Richmond. In about April 1997 Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mafumadi barred a number of senior policemen from the Richmond area. Included in the list, it was claimed were former Head of Richmond detectives, Johan Meeting, Public Order Policing Chief Herman O’Connell and Crime Intelligence Service Head Chris Moolman, all of whom were allegedly involved in obstructing investigations and/or actively colluding with the UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde. Furthermore, on 29 July 1997 Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mafumadi announced the redeployment of police officers saying he continued to be concerned about perceptions of police collusion in Richmond violence (*Daily News*, 27.07.97). Richmond Mayor, Andrew Ragavaloo and other councillors met Mafumadi in Pretoria and submitted a memorandum demanding the arrest of Nkabinde and others allegedly associated with the immediate removal of Superintendent O’Connell, Captain Coetzer, Captain van Staden and Johan Meeting of the NITU. O’Connell allegedly ordered the withdrawal of protection for all councillors on that day (*Daily News*, 29.07.97).

After the funeral of the NCF members, violence flared in Richmond forcing approximately 1000 residents, including old women and children to seek refuge in the center of the small Midlands town. More than seventeen houses were set alight and at least two people were shot during a weekend of running battles between supporters of the National Consultative Forum and the ANC. One of the elderly women I had interviewed who was the victim of fleeing her house at the time said:

“gunshots had been heard throughout Saturday night. Fearing of our lives, we did not go outside. Very early that morning we saw several houses burning and we all decided to leave the area, carrying only what we could. After we had left, our houses were set alight.”

8.2. Sifiso Nkabinde is arrested

He was arrested on 16 September 1997 on 16 counts of murder and 2 counts of incitement to violence. The mission to arrest Sifiso Nkabinde and his surrogates was known as “Operation Peacemaker”. The operation involved as claimed by B. Engelbrecht, one of the investigative team , the following:

- 1) The Midlands Police
- 2) The Special Investigation Team
- 3) The Task Force
- 4) Forensics
- 5) The Bomb Squad

- 6) The Dog Unit
- 7) A Media Liaison Officer
- 8) Legal Representative
- 9) Group 9 from Pietermaritzburg
- 10) B Company of South African Infantry Battalion
- 11) 6 SA Battalion Special Company
- 12) The South African Airforce with BK117 and one Oryx Helicopter

.More than 500 security force members were present.

(www.mg.co.za/ Nkabinde S; www.iol.co.za/ Nkabinde S)

The advance team managed to locate the geographical position of the house belonging to Sifiso Nkabinde. This was done successfully through a police informer. He claimed that the Nkabinde family double-storey house overlooks the whole of Magoda and is through a security gate. His general store was approximately 50 metres to the right of the house. From the Nkabinde home and store one can monitor the entry and exit of any vehicle into and out of Magoda. Again one of the objective aims of the operation was to be on the lookout of 13 suspects. They were wanted for questioning. They included Bob Ndlovu, Sorren Njilo, Mthoko Ntuli, Mamo Mtenjane, Simphiwe Dlamini, Themba Mchunu, Shane Patchay, Gemu Khoza, Mlezi Nzimande, Mashume Dlamini and Richard Dlamini.

The operation began at 3 o'clock on the morning of September 1997. Fritz Rost and a number of Task Force members were part of the main security force component tasked with arresting Nkabinde. Constable Rost claimed that when the police broke down the security gate to the premises, Nkabinde ran out on to the balcony of his bedroom on the first floor, but by that time the Task Force had already penetrated his house. When they reached Nkabinde in the bedroom, he was standing next to his bed. He offered absolutely no resistance during his arrest. He was flown to the temporary army base in Richmond by helicopter (www.mg.co.za/Nkabinde; www.iol.co.za/Nkabinde S)

The charges against Nkabinde were as follows:

Counts 1 and 2

Ordering the killings of Zamokwakhe Phungula, who was the Deputy Commander of the Self-Defence Unit (SDU) in Richmond, and Bongani Vivian Mhlongo. The two died during a “people’s court” on 9 October 1993 at which Mhlongo was accused of killing ANC Richmond Secretary Julius Mkhize. He admitted to the killing but claimed it was an accident. Phungula defended Mhlongo.

Counts 3 to 5

Ordering the killings of Mzwandile Mbongwa, Richmond ANC Youth League Chairman and former Chief of Communication for the Richmond SDU's, Mziwendoda "Muzi" Ximba, the League Secretary, and Mzo Mkhize, Mbongwa's bodyguard on 21 March 1994. It is alleged that the three men, who had been branded police informers and chased away from Richmond area, were called to the town on the pretext of attending a peace meeting. They were killed shortly after being dropped at a Richmond school by Rodney van der Byl, the ANC councillor who was killed in May last year. (Three men have already been found guilty of carrying out the killings.)

Counts 6 to 7

On 20 May 1997 conspiring with Mhlonizwa "Mpa" Mtolo, said to be the SDU commander in the Richmond area of Cuba, to kill Sotwili Mkhwanazi, an Ndaleni resident. And, on the same occasion, instructing Shisizwe Mchunu, at present in custody on a charge of arson, and allegedly a bodyguard of Nkabinde, to kill Bongani Ndlovu. According to the prosecution Mtolo warned Mkhwanazi, who left Ndaleni, but Mchunu went to Ndlovu's house and shot him dead.

Counts 8 to 13

He ordered the killings of Violet Khumalo and here four grandchildren aged 8, 11, 15 and 17. In June 1997 armed men entered their house at KwaNdengezi near Pinetown and fired more than 25 rounds as the family were preparing to eat dinner.

The victims were related to a witness of the killing of three policemen in Magoda, Richmond, in March 1996 who were warned they would be killed on Christmas Day.

Counts 14 to 18

Ordering the killings of two ANC councillors Bhekumuzi Thomas Mchunu and Elphas Mbongiseni Mchunu, and ANC members Mshiyeni Nyide, Henry Mduduzi Mntungwa and Sandile Alfred Dlamini. All were shot execution-style in Simozomeni on 22 July 1997 days after the ANC's victory in a by-election.

(Categorised by the researcher through material from www.mg.co.za, and www.iol.co.za).

It is very important here to attempt investigating the character of Sifiso Nkabinde before he became notorious through his activities.

Sifiso Nkabinde's Character Previously

Sifiso Nkabinde was described by relatives, members of the teaching staff in Richmond and acquaintances as a nice, quite man, gentle as a dove and a devoted church preacher (Methodist Church). His former principal of the school in Richmond who he had attended as a boy, told me that Sifiso had received high marks in courtesy, co-operation and religion. According to a member of the

teaching staff Sifiso as a boy “never talk to anybody and was someone you could push around” (Interview with one of Nkabinde’s teachers , 2002)

Nkabinde surprised everyone who knew him. He became a murderer, a spy and the most feared warlord around the region of Richmond.

I approached a highly qualified psychologist in Durban. inquiring about the character of nice and shy person who later turned up being a murderer. I wanted to know exactly factors that affected Sifiso Nkabinde. The answer was as follows:

“The psychologist reasoned that seemingly non-violent people who suddenly commit murders are probably typically shy, non-aggressive individuals who keep their passions in check and their impulses under tight control.

For most of their lives, they suffer many silent injuries. Seldom, if ever, do they express anger regardless of how angry they really feel. On the outside, they appear unbothered, but on the inside they may be fighting to control furious rages. They give the impression that they are quiet, passive, responsible people both as children and as adults. Since they are shy, they probably do not let others get close to them, so no one knows how they really feel.

Then, suddenly, something explodes. At the slightest provocation – one more small insult, one more little refection, one more bit of social pressure – the fuse is lit and they release the suppressed violence that has been building up for so long. Because they did not learn to deal with interpersonal conflicts through discussions and verbal negotiation, these sudden murderers act out their anger physically. That kind of a person could be dangerously unpredictable and could be fool hardly, with a warped sense of values and often disillusioned.”

From the psychologist’s analysis a person understands why Sifiso Nkabinde turned dangerous and the most fierce man in Richmond.

There was a jubilation in the community of Richmond when Nkabinde was arrested. The Mayor of Richmond, Ragavaloo said, “I think lost of people are still confused because they do not have access to the radio or anything. There were a lot of excitements”_(This was related to the researcher by one of the people who was present at the meeting outside the City Hall where this was said, personal interview , 2002).

The Democratic Party and National Party called for an urgent debate in the KwaZulu-Natal Parliament. This was aimed at tackling the ANC reports that it hid

the findings of an internal inquiry into murders for three years. The alleged investigation was ordered into the 1994 murders of four ANC youth league members: Mzwandile Mbongwa, Muzi Ximba, Mzo Mkhize, and Mfaniseni Latha. When I interviewed some individuals within the ANC, it was claimed that if Sifiso Nkabinde did not like someone within the ANC, these people would be labeled police spies.

Clashes took another turn. It was no longer the IFP versus the ANC. It was now the ANC versus the NCF. From April 1997 to August 1997 approximately 22 lives were lost. According to the Human Rights Committee, an average of 20 people have been murdered a month in KwaZulu-Natal for the last two months of that year, with Richmond accounting for just under half that figure. Sixteen months after the expulsion of Sifiso Nkabinde more than 80 people died (Human Rights Committee, Natal , Various Newsletters , 1997 and 1998)

The arrest of Sifiso Nkabinde did not change the violence in Richmond. On 4 October 1997, Samuel Sithole (20) was shot dead while walking on the road between Congo and Lusaka (Isihlahla) at about 9 p.m. A few minutes later Thulani Mhlongo (22) was sitting on a bed with a friend when gunmen burst into the house killing him in a hail of bullets. Shortly thereafter Mdumisini Mkhize (20) was killed in Lusaka section and Sicelo (Sizwe) Zaca (20) was killed in his house in an

attack by four men. A short distance away two brothers Njabulo and Sibonelo Dlamini, who were visiting Zaca were also found dead (Daily News, 09.10.97).

Local people claimed that armed men dressed as soldiers were responsible for the killings. Mdumisini Mkhize's girlfriend said a group of men who spoke Afrikaans knocked at the door claiming to be soldiers and demanded they open the door. As Mkhize opened the door he was shot dead. The gunmen proceeded to the next room where they killed Thulani Mhlongo.

The violence and murders thus continued without interruption.

8.3. The Trial of Sifiso Nkabinde

On 9 February 1998, Sifiso Nkabinde appeared in the Pietermaritzburg High Court. The security was extremely tight. A razor wire cordon was thrown around the court complex and more than 100 soldiers and policemen were deployed. Access roads to the court building were blocked off and vehicles diverted along other routes. Hours before the proceeding began, sniffer dogs combed the area for explosives and arms and a bomb squad unit, together with first aid vehicles, ambulances and mobile temporary police headquarters, were stationed at the main entrance. It is said that a few panicky pedestrians and commuters fled when roughly 50 soldiers, dressed in full army kit, alighted from their army vehicle and ran in a single file to take up positions outside the court (*Natal Witness*, 10/2/1998).

When Sifiso Nkabinde appeared before the Court of Justice, he was presented as a righteous leader who abhorred violence and did his utmost to stop it. After the state presented its case, Nkabinde was called to testify before Mr Justice Combrink. He continued denying the charges of murder. The state, represented by the Deputy Attorney-General, Mr Chris de Klerk was attempting to prove that while Nkabinde did not physically take part in the attacks, he instructed others to do so.

Nkabinde was represented by Mr Shane Mathews. Bushie Engelbrecht an investigating officer was called to take the witness stand. Engelbrecht was grilled by Shane Mathews on bugging of a telephone Nkabinde used in prison to communicate with, among others, his attorneys. Mr Justice Combrink said the courts were extremely concerned about the abuse of client/attorney privilege. He found this to be a denial of Nkabinde's constitutional right to privacy. Mr Justice Combrink emphasised that the constitutional right to a fair trial must be reflected during the legal process, as well as in the procedures that precede the court appearance. The Constitution he added "leaves the police with ample latitude to function properly and bring criminals to court with proper case and at the end of the day, a verdict of guilty cannot be retained if the court concludes that trial, for whatever reason, has not been a fair one". (These are reports as appeared in the *Natal Witness, Natal Mercury and Daily News* during the trial)

Engelbrecht claimed in his book “A Christmas to Remember” that the application for an order to tap the phones was applied for and arranged after he returned from Pretoria before the start of the trial. He received a call from Scholtz to tell him that an informer had approached them with crucial information pertaining to the case. On the grounds of an affidavit obtained from the informer.

“We applied for permission to install a listening device in the constitution room used by Nkabinde and also to tap a number of telephones, including the public telephone at his house in Magoda, the telephone at the Richmond police station and the home number of its then acting station commissioner, Ronnie Mangalal. The reason for this was that according to our information the local police were assisting Nkabinde and we had to investigate it.”

The application to tap the phones was lodged in Pretoria by Superintendents Rost and Scholtz and was brought before Judge Gordon, the only person with the authority to grant such orders. Before presenting the application, Rost thoroughly discussed the issue with the SAPS legal department so that he could be certain of the procedure to be followed in terms of the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act No. 127 of 1992. Permission was granted to tap the phones and rooms used by Nkabinde, but it was made clear that any conversation between the

accused and his counsel were not to be recorded. It was between 10 October 1997 until 10 January 1998, whereby permission was granted to tap the phones

During the proceedings the court asked for transcripts of the taped conversation or the tapes themselves and caused quite an uproar when it emerged that they had all been wiped out. With controversy surrounding the tapping of the procedure, the state's testimony that the tapes were wiped clean because they did not contain any relevant information related to the mandate as set out by the original order, made little impact on the court.

On the second day of the trial, it was established that the defence counsel's conversations with Nkabinde had been taped. Nkabinde's house had been searched and the defence claimed that the search was the result of a bogus conversation between Nkabinde and his lawyers about an arms cache and was hidden on premises of his home. Engelbrecht admitted that phones had been bugged, but denied having had any knowledge of what was apparently a deliberate phoney conversation between Nkabinde and his lawyers which took place before the start of the trial (Based on trial description in the *Natal Witness*, *Daily News* and *Mercury* of the period).

8.4. Sifiso Nkabinde is set free

In his 35-page judgement, Judge Jan Combrink described in some details the reasons for acquitting Nkabinde. Addressing a packed courtroom, Combrink said it was common cause that the deceased named in the various charges had died at the times and places mentioned. It was also common cause that all but one had died of multiple gunshot wounds and several had been shot execution style in the back of the head. It was also an accepted fact that Nkabinde did not personally participate in the attacks, but allegedly gave the order for them to be killed.

The judge continued: “The state’s case is that the accused had taken part in the planning and had instructed the killing of the deceased mentioned in the indictment. Indeed, that was the sole issue which occupied one and half months of trial, it has been dogged by the spectre of unconstitutionality and irregularly associated with the police investigation preceding the indictment of the accused, and continuing thereafter.”

With regard to the tapping of telephones, Combrink’s judgement states “During the application for the receipt of certain testimony in camera, it was revealed that, pursuant to court order obtained from Gordon J, in terms of the provisions of the interception and monitoring prohibition Act No. 127 of 1992, certain listening apparatus had been placed on the telephone used by the accused whilst on incarceration in the Westville Prison operative for the period 10 October 1997 to 9

January 1998. A similar device was placed in the visiting room in which the accused received family visits and also where consultations were conducted in preparation of his defence for this trial with counsel and his attorney.” The judgement stated that the tapping of phones used by Nkabinde as well as the consulting rooms where he used to confer with his counsel was an infringement of his constitutional rights in that it compromised the facilities available to him to prepare sufficiently for the trial.

The credibility of witnesses testifying for the state was lambasted by Combrink who said in his 30 years of being associated with the administration of justice, he had rarely seen such “manifest mendacity”. So much so that, when collectively viewed, one is left with the high inescapable conclusion that there was some tampering with the facts somewhere along the way”. The judge concluded that an overview of the evidence presented showed “this is the beginning of suspicion” that attempts were made to the court “as a cat’s paw in another man’s game”.

He went on “The administration of justice will simply to allow that cases are require to proven and they be proved beyond all reasonable doubt and no man will be convicted unless that test of credibility of evidence fall afar, far sort of that required to sustain conviction”. Nkabinde was free to go (*Mercury, Natal Witness and Daily News* of the period).

There was a national condemnation of the verdict. Critics, particular the ANC discerned the Judge was biased and again Combrink had the background of being a member of Broederbond. He also campaigned against Judge Shabalala to be the Deputy Judge President in favour of his Broederbond colleague Judge Willem Booysen (www.ioj.co.za/ Combrink J).

The acquittal of Sifiso Nkabinde led to the fleeing of many people from Richmond. People were aware that violence was going to escalate. The question to be asked was who could be behind supporting Sifiso Nkabinde with arms since he was no longer a member of the ANC? Where did he get the money to support his followers who defected from the SDU? A person can conclude that there was an invisible force who formented violence in Richmond. When Sifiso Nkabinde returned to his home in Magoda, he was met by two prominent members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (David Ntobela and Phillip Powell). Ntombela and the late Harry Gwala were bitter enemies for years, and when Nkabinde succeeded Gwala, the enmity continued. On one occasion it led to an armed stand-off between the two men – the sight of two provincial MPs pointing rifles at one another caused considerable scandal. However, as the ANC and IFP reproachment grew, Nkabinde and Ntombela began working together, even addressing rallies jointly in conflict-ridden

areas. Now Nkabinde was a free man again, and the relationship was renewed (Interviews with people in Ndaleni , 2002; they prefer to remain anonymous).

Following some meetings in Port Elizabeth with Bantu Holomisa, United Democratic Movement leader, Nkabinde's role in organising the Party in KwaZulu-Natal was confirmed. This has raised speculations about an alliance between UDM and IFP claimed Cheryl Goodenough of the KwaZulu-Natal briefing monitor.

Tensions in Richmond were high since the release of Sifiso Nkabinde from prison. In June 1998 two people were shot dead and two injured in Indaleni. A group of alleged UDM supporters opened fire on "everyone in sight: in the ANC supporting Indaleni, killing two people. Later , allegedly escaping back to Magoda, the gunmen robbed a house injuring two of the occupants. The police and ANC leaders had to dissuade an angry mob from marching on UDM dominated Magoda in retaliation.

During the same month two people were shot dead and one injured in Indaleni. An ANC house was fired upon by unknown attackers where two people, both from Lesotho, were killed.

A man was killed and another injured in the Congo area, Ndaleni, while walking along a public road where they were attacked by four unknown persons. Sithole, the deceased had previously fled his Magoda home after it was gutted to seek refuge in the ANC dominated Indaleni area. The woman walking with him allegedly escaped death by pretending to be dead after they were fired upon (Human Rights Report, 08.06.98 : 26). Three UDM members, including a two-year old baby were injured in the clash between t UDM and ANC. A man was shot dead by unknown attackers in the Cuba Section, Indaleni. The shooting in the area allegedly lasted approximately two hours. On the same evening one house was burned in Magoda and three other houses shot at in Ekupholeni Section, Indaleni. (Human Rights Report 1998 16/6/1998:4).

A Richmond family was allegedly harassed and assaulted by a group of policemen when they were watching a World Cup Soccer match. A group of policemen headed by Superintendent Venter allegedly stormed the house with their automatic weapons drawn and began swearing and pushing the occupants around while they searched the premises. A member of the family, also an ANC executive member, Fanyana Mkhize, was allegedly grabbed and shoved and later assaulted for asking what they were looking for. The police alleged they had seen a minibus emerge from an area where there had been shooting and that the occupants ran into the

Mkhize household – although they had not been able to link any of the house occupants with the shooting.

There are different opinions as to who the perpetrators behind the violence were. The ANC accused the UDM and vice versa. The UDM believed the ANC was trying to stir trouble in the area by attacking their own people to make it appear that the attacks came from the UDM. The ANC believed the attacks came from the UDM. There were also allegations that there was an outside “hit force” acting on behalf of the UDM trained in a variety of areas in KZN. Intimidation has been rife in the Richmond area with allegations of UDM supporters being forced to move from the ANC dominated Ndaleneni and an ANC councillor and ANC teachers in UDM dominated Magoda being given threatening letters.

(Interviews with ANC activists , Richmond , 2002).

A special team was appointed to investigate the latest spate of killings in Richmond. There were allegations of police involvement in the perpetuation of the violence.

At least 41 people were killed and 23 injured in Richmond during July. Many of the killings have been execution style murders at point blank range, with some victims being mutilated and disemboweled. According to community members many of the victims did not have strong political affiliations and had not been

active politically in the area. Many of them were children. In addition to the concerns over the violence, there was the potential for an escalation of violence in the run-up to the elections. There was also concern over the number of weapons in the area and the fact that some of the attacks have been carried out with high calibre weapons. There was concern that many of these weapons may have been brought into the area many years ago by apartheid security branch members. (Interviews with B.Cele and two anonymous interviewees from Magoda, 2002)

The weak criminal justice system which resulted in the failure to successfully arrest, prosecute and convict the perpetrators, led to strong community protest action taking root in Richmond. The police came in for much criticism for failing to solve the cases and the community had lost faith in the law and order forces and the government which had not been able to stop the carnage. Little visible progress was made in the arrest of perpetrators. The police promised a breakthrough in the Richmond violence and made a request to the community to come forward with information since it was virtually impossible to gather sufficient information to carry out arrests and to convict the perpetrators. Mutual trust between the police, SANDF and the community was vital to investigations. This trust was, however, broken down, with community members being too scared to come forward with information, in an attempt to resolve the conflict the security forces launched Operation PAX2 where numerous reinforcements from both the police and the

SANDF, numbering approximately 500 extra police and soldiers, were sent into the area. The aim was to flood the area in order to stabilise it as soon as possible through more detective work, visible policing and investigations that were intelligence driven. Police were patrolling on horseback and motorcycles in the more rugged terrain, cordon and search methods were introduced and road blocks have been set-up using sniffer-dogs to search for weapons. Among the concerns regarding the security forces were that they might have been involved in Third Force network within the police by the removal of certain high ranking officers. (Interview with three community leaders from wider Richmond, covering all the areas and sections). Safety and Security Minister, Sydney Mufamadi, responded by calling for senior police officers in Richmond and the Midlands to be “temporarily removed” from the area to restore the community’s confidence in the police. According to government sources, intelligence personnel in the area knew that at least four of Richmond’s top policemen were aware of who the perpetrators of the violence were. These four were removed after suspicion of their complicity in the violence that affected the area in the late 1980s. Police Commissioner Fivaz was asked in 1995 to remove the four from the province by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi but they were transferred to provincial police management because they threatened to sue the government (www.iol.co.za /Fivaz/ Richmond /KwaZulu Natal)

In addition to the problems the ANC had with the police, the UDM has problems with the SANDF. The UDM condemned the use of UDM condemned the use of “ex-MK members in the SANDF” and S’fiso Bengu, UDM spokesperson, allegedly blamed them for at least one of the ambushes on a taxi from Magoda. There was a belief at one stage that Magoda might have become a no-go area for the SANDF. The violence in Richmond disrupted the lives of those living in the area with many people having fled as violence has not been curbed despite the presence of security forces. The schools in the experienced poor attendance with pupils being afraid to attend schools and teachers having to be escorted to them (Interviews with a neutral policeman in Richmond , 2002. He has the reputation of being above party politics and is widely respected in the community).

As a result of the high level of conflict, the Provincial Government decided to appoint its own task team to investigate the Richmond massacres. The National Cabinet has agreed to spend more money to restore normality in the area.

The newly elected ANC provincial executive committee said that it would be embarking on a campaign of mass action to highlight the plight of violence victims in Richmond. This has been condemned by a variety of parties and individuals as dangerous and likely to exacerbate violence.

Eight people, including the deputy mayor of Richmond, were killed and six others injured in Richmond at the beginning of July 1998. A darts competition was in progress when a group of four armed men entered the premises and fired shots before they escaped in a motor vehicle. The deceased included Percy Thompson, an ANC member and deputy mayor of Richmond. The owner of the tavern said that he had received threats that the tavern was going to be burned down (*Natal Witness*, 08.07.98).

In an alleged revenge attack for the tavern massacre the previous day, two people were killed and a child seriously injured when a taxi from UDM-aligned Magoda was attacked in ANC-aligned Ndaleni.

A man was burnt to death in his car in the mains street of Richmond. One person was killed and another injured in Magoda near Sifiso Nkabinde's store. Three men were seen on the pathway near Nkabinde's shop. Mlaba saw the men who realized they had been spotted. Mlaba called for assistance and a group of armed men began to search for the intruders. During the search a person opened fire with an automatic weapon, killing Mlaba.

A woman was shot dead in the Angola section, Richmond, at approximately the same time as the previous attack. She was discovered with gunshot wounds beside

a road. As a result of the two deaths in the UDM aligned area, over 300 outraged Magoda residents congregated at Nkabinde's house while the police and SANDF met with UDM leader Henry Gwamanda and community elders. Nkabinde was allegedly away in Pretoria at the time. There were threats that Magoda would become an SANDF no-go area after the SANDF were accused of not apprehending an armed man with an AK-47 who was pointed out to them shortly after the body of the woman was found (Reports in *Natal Witness* during that period).

A woman was killed and three others seriously injured when a taxi from UDM-aligned Magoda was ambushed in ANC-aligned Ndaleni. A person was shot dead in Ekhupuleni. The deceased was found on a footpath.

A woman was shot dead in Maswazini at about midnight after the group of killers had allegedly knocked on the doors of a number of houses in the area.

A mother and her child were shot dead in the Cuba Section, Magoda, when an armed man approached a family gathered around a fire outside their home and opened fire on them.

Three youths were executed at the Indaleni Mission. The deceased were made to kneel with their hands behind their backs against a wall of a room in which they were hiding. They were then shot in the head.

Five people were shot dead in Silahlwa Ward Indaleni, and Richmond. A group of men armed with automatic weapons entered Mandla Khumalo's home and opened fire on the occupants, killing five people.

Sifiso Nkabinde's house was attacked by people who broke into his shop.

Nkabinde claimed that they saw three policemen leaving shortly after the attack.

The following morning he found a pager and a penknife with name engraved on it at the scene. The Independent Complaints Directorate investigated the case (all these cases were reported in the *Natal Witness* over that period).

One person was killed and two injured in Magoda. All three were teenagers who were gunned down while having supper. Sifiso Nkabinde took them to the police station after the attack where they were able to name their alleged assassin, a teenager who had recently stayed with the family.

Five people were shot dead and one injured by an alleged rampaging gang in Ndaleni. The first attack took place outside the Indaleni Mission Station where a vigil was held. The deceased was allegedly the brother of a state witness in the unsuccessful trial against UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde. Later a house in the area was attacked where four people were killed and one injured. Police allegedly came under periodic gunfire during the evening.

Six people, including three children were injured and a house damaged in a hand grenade attack in Maswazini. A Russian-made hand-grenade was thrown into the Zaca home and then the attackers opened fire. Police confronted a group of armed men who were allegedly using heavy caliber weapons and were shooting at random. Ambulances could not enter the area immediately due to the conflict and it was suggested that, in future, armoured-ambulances be used (All these cases were reported in the *Natal Witness* and *The Human Rights Newsletter* over that period).

A person was shot and wounded in a drive-by shooting in Magoda, Richmond. The police were patrolling the area where gunshots were heard. After investigating, they found the body of a man. He had been walking close to a forestry plantation on his way to town when he was shot by a man believed to be a passenger in a white car.

Security forces came under fire while conducting a cordon-and-search operation. A suspect opened fire then dropped the firearm and fled. He was later apprehended by the police.

A man was shot and injured in an ambush in Patheni when returning from a night vigil for his brother. The injured, Themba Sithole, and five other people were driving to the graveside when they were attacked. Fiver other people were driving to the graveside when they were attacked. A few minutes later, another car was shot at, but nobody was injured. During the same evening IFP leader, Paulos Vezi, was attacked and injured in an ambush in Patheni after returning from the night vigil for Siphso Sithole. Patheni known as an IFP area had, until then, remained relatively quiet in the violence torn Richmond area. Vezi reported that he had received death threats from people calling themselves ANC members after ANC leaders had made statements questioning the relationship between the UDM and the IFP.

Nine members of a family, including three toddlers, were shot dead in Isismozomeni. Some of the victims were not from Richmond but had come from Cape Town to attend the wedding of their daughter. The daughter and her husband

escaped being killed, as they were sleeping in a separate adjacent hut when the killers struck. The newlyweds heard the killers speaking English, leading to greater speculation that the crimes are being committed by a third-force. However, the police have warned that professional killers would sometimes use a language other than their own in order to disguise their own identity and mislead people.

Neighbours said they saw a group of people felling towards the UDM-aligned Magoda after the shooting was over. Because the area of Isismozomeni had not been affected by the violence since July 1997, security forces had not focused on the area as a flashpoint, thus leaving the area vulnerable. However, there had been security forces 500m away. The security forces had been guarding the house of a local councilor, who allegedly arrived at the scene within minutes of the attack but were not able to find the killers (*All these reports are included in various issues of the Human Rights Reports*).

8.5. Richmond in August 1998

At least six people were killed and seven injured in Richmond this month.

Although the number of deaths dropped dramatically when compared to the previous month, tensions were still high and the number of violent incidents were still unacceptably high. The local police station was closed this month amidst much controversy. The decision to close the station was made after it was decided that

the community was not able to trust the police in the area and in an attempt to increase community co-operation it was necessary to replace the existing police with less contentious officers. Police were fired upon but were uninjured while questioning a suspect in the Maswazini area.

A man was shot dead in Magoda. The body was found near a police armoured vehicle. The police maintain they did not hear any gunshots.

Two people were shot and injured in Richmond at the Indaleni Junction during a clash between ANC and UDM supporters. The clash took place when ANC supporters were waiting for buses to transport them to the funeral of the victims of a massacre that had taken place the previous week and UDM supporters were marching to the police station to submit a memorandum stating their problems with policing and the ANC. Allegedly as the UDM marchers drew near the ANC grouping, the ANC supporters called the police to stop and search the marchers, they then started to throw stones. Shots were fired from nearby bushes injuring the two men.

Three people were killed and two injured in the Cuba Section, Ndaleni. Gunmen forced open the door of the Jama household and fired at the family inside.

A woman was shot dead while walking on the road near Bumindenbu Store, Ndaleni. A man was shot dead at Ndaleni Mission, Ndaleni. Three people were injured when taxis were stoned at the Ndaleni Junction. Allegedly members of the ANC -supporting Ndaleni area gathered at the junction and stoned vehicles from the UDM supporting Magoda area. The stoning resulted in two of the taxis colliding and three people were injured. Police were allegedly forced to use teargas, rubber bullets to force the crowds to disperse (*Based on various issues of Human Rights Reports*).

8.6. Richmond in September 1998

Two youths were shot dead by unknown attackers. The deceased were youth from the

Magoda area. The youths, together with another youth, went in search of cattle. They were approached by unknown persons travelling in two separate cars. The drivers allegedly chased and caught two of them. The third youth managed to escape. The boys were later found in a plantation near the Maswazini area with gunshot wounds to the head. Two people were arrested in connection with the incident.

Gunshots were fired but nobody was injured at a funeral for the victims of five ANC supporters killed in the Cuba Section the previous month. The service was being held at the Ndaleni Mission. Several shots were fired outside the hall, despite a strong contingent of police and army. Following the sound of gunshots a disturbance was allegedly caused when police began searching a crowd of ANC supporters who were toyi-toying and singing liberation songs. Police and soldiers arrived and fired teargas to disperse the crowd. Provincial Health Minister, Zweli Mkhize, intervened to bring about calm.

Mbongeleni Mtolo, the driver of UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde was refused bail in the regional court this month in connection with the Richmond tavern massacre in which a group of men opened fire on tavern patrons in July. Eight people including Richmond Deputy Mayor Percy Thompson were shot dead in this incident. Captain Mbhele, the investigating officer stated that he had access to a witness, a UDM member who was present when a “plan was hatched” to carry out the massacre. Defence attorney Petrus Coetzee alleged that Mr Mtolo had been in Zululand at that time attending a UDM meeting and that there was an attendance register which reflected this. The state opposed bail claiming that the charges facing the accused fell under Schedule Six of the newly amended Criminal Procedure Act. The accused in these cases bear the onus of proving that exceptional circumstances

exists permitting their release. Magistrate Corrie Greyling stated that after weighing the interests of justice and the rights of the accused, there was sufficient evidence to suggest that “exceptional circumstances” existed and therefore bail was refused (*Based on various issues of Human Rights Reports and issues of the Natal Witness*).

8.7. Sifiso Nkabinde is assassinated

On 23 January 1999, Sifiso Nkabinde was assassinated in his car outside a Richmond supermarket. According to police reports there were four attackers, dressed in military browns, and they fired 80 rounds from R4 and R5 rifles. Nkabinde was in the company of a notorious former SDU member and VIP protection unit member, Simphiwe Dlamini, who was also injured in the attack. Dlamini told the *Sunday Times* that he had omitted some of what he saw in his statement to the police as he feared they would botch the investigation. The *Sunday Times* stated that they had learnt that two policemen alleged to have been Nkabinde’s handlers had visited Dlamini while he was recovering in hospital. The purpose of the visit was not clear. However, Dlamini was later allegedly implicating a former Richmond SDU member and bodyguard of the mayor (*Independent on Saturday*, 13.02.99).

8.8. Who is Mbongeleni Mtolo?

Mbongeleni Mtolo (26) was integrated into the VIP protection unit in 1995. He went absent without leave in 1997 and became a bodyguard of Sifiso Nkabinde. He was subsequently arrested and charged with an incident in which he and two others had allegedly attempted to murder Maxwell Ndlovu and others with an AK 47 on 10 August 1997 (*Natal Witness*, 10.10.97).

On 20 August 1997 Mtolo testified that two SANDF officers offered him R250 000 for information that could lead to the arrest of Sifiso Nkabinde. He stated that he had refused the offer that included indemnity for the three attempted murders. Director Engelbrecht denied Mtolo's statement saying that he had been interviewed in the presence of a policeman. Mtolo was refused bail. Director Engelbrecht claimed that one witness had implicated Mtolo in several of the seven Richmond murders and twenty attempted murders in the past 13 weeks (*Echo* 20.01.99). The army killed Mtolo on the night of Sifiso Nkabinde's death after he allegedly participated in a revenge attack on the ANC supporting Ndabezitha home in which eleven people were killed. It is claimed that he was also shot at close range pointing to the possibility that he might have also been shot by a co-perpetrator. At the time of his death, he was out on bail after being charged with murder in connection with July 1998 massacre at Bhavic's Tavern. His bail conditions had stipulated that he should not enter Richmond under any circumstances (NIM, 08.98, p.18).

There was tension in Richmond after the assassination of Sifiso Nkabinde particularly between UDM and ANC supporters. I visited Richmond in January 1999, just after the assassination. My mission was to interview the victims of violence and to observe the conflict in that area particularly as we were looking towards the 2 June elections in South Africa.

There were meetings with some individuals who were close to the investigation who wished not to be named. They spoke extensively covering the violence historically and at present. They claimed that the killers of Sifiso Nkabinde may have approached local and provincial politicians for payment after the hit following rumours that the ANC had put a price on the head of Sifiso Nkabinde. However, the ANC stated that they had not done so. The ANC on 23 January 1999 claimed that they received the news of the death of the Secretary General of UDM, Mr Sifiso Nkabinde, with shock. The statement made by ANC was as follows:

“The ANC reiterates its policy that it condemns all use of force to settle any political dispute under democracy. The ANC calls upon all our people across the political divide not to jump to unfounded conclusions. It is important that the police are allowed and assisted to carry out investigations without let or hindrance. The ANC calls upon the people to

assist the police to resolve all the crimes perpetrated against our people at Richmond.”

Sifiso Nkabinde was buried in Richmond. The burial was attended by the top brass of UDM like Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa. Beyond reasonable doubt the death of Nkabinde really brought about jubilation in ANC controlled areas like Ndaleni. People felt that they were going to the polls without fears.

8.9. Arms caches are discovered

After the assassination of Sifiso Nkabinde an arms cache was discovered by the Directorate of Public Prosecutions officials on 11 May 1999. It was pointed out to them by Inkatha Freedom Party MPL Philip Powell who claimed the weapons had been supplied to him by former Vlakplas Commander Eugene de Kock in the early 1990s. What remains a mystery is whether Mr Powell was acting alone. He said that recent media speculation that he was about to be arrested on charges of gun-running, had prompted him to approach the directorate which led to negotiations and unearthing of the cache (The Citizen 12.05.99). Phillip Powell, pointed out a 7 ton arms and explosives cache hidden in Nquthu, KwaZulu-Natal. According to former Vlakplaas Commander Eugene de Kock he had delivered six truck loads of weapons to Powell. De Kock said large quantity of those weapons which RPG rocket launchers grenades, R1 rifles, 9mm ammunition and 60mm mortars

originated from Mechem and the former South West Africa (Namibia). This uncovering of South Africa's biggest arms cache, throws into direct focus not only the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in introducing huge quantities of deadly, illegal weapons into KwaZulu-Natal but its role in secretly collaborating with some of the former apartheid states most notorious agents (*The Star* 13.05.99).

Many questions need answers:

*First of these is who directed the delivery of more than seven tons of weapons to Powell in 1993?

*Secondly, who else (other than De Kock and Powell) knew about the cache?

*Third, why if De Kock had already intimated the existence of the arms in 1995, they were only found in 1999?

*Fourth, is Powell going to get away with the excuse that his sense of responsibility was prompted by speculation that he was about to be arrested?

*Fifth, why was he never arrested?

*Sixth, can anyone clarify whether or not some indemnity deal has been struck and why?

* Seventh , why was Powell allowed to emigrate to England in order to further his studies?

In response to the questions Richard Lyster, a former Truth Commissioner discerned that

“Powell was only one of a number of senior IFP figures embroiled in the procurement and supply of deadly and illegal weapons. The initial link and request for weapons was made in 1990 by former SAP Security Branch and Vlakplaas operative, Broad van Heerden of ABSA Bank security division in Johannesburg and the IFP Themba Khoza”.

He continued,

“Van Heerden approached Eugene de Kock, who arranged for the manufacture and supply of a large number of illegal and unlicensed shotguns to Khoza and to former KwaZulu Police Commissioner Jack Bucher.”

According to De Kock, the manufacturing and transfer of the weapons was authorised by the SAP generals Basie Smit and Krappies Engelbrecht. Funds for their production were made available by the police. Aside from these specially manufactured weapons, most of the weaponry supplied to the IFP was originally acquired from the notorious SAP security branch counter insurgency unit, KOEVOET. Many KOEVOET members, including De Kock subsequently came to be based at the secret security branch farm. Vlakplaas meetings were held regularly

between a number of former apartheid operatives including De Kock, Willie Nortje, Chappies Klopper and Van Heerden and IFP member Khoza, Transvaal IFP leader Humphrey Ndlovu and IFP member of the KwaZulu-Natal legislative assembly, the Reverend Celani Mthethwa. The weapons delivered to these IFP members were drawn from the supply of illegal KOEVOET weapons supplied by De Kock and included M26 hand grenades, AK47's Makarov and KOTAREV machine pistols, landmines, magnetised car bombs and large quantities of ammunition. Some of these were delivered to Mthethwa's home in KwaZulu-Natal from Johannesburg (*The Star*, 13.05.99).

The questions then still remain regarding the nefarious relationship between the IFP and key hard core elements of the third force.

Power structures have developed in this transitional period on the way to true government which have their own rules and an independent existence. They are governed by strongly subjective factors and interests. These structures, apparatus, functionaries can sometimes abuse power against people in ways that seem to have little to do with the Revolution.

Terry Bell

CHAPTER 9

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 1995. Section 3(1) declares its task to be:

“Establishing a complete picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights... including the antecedes circumstances, factors and context of such violations, as well as the perspectives of the victims and the motives and perspectives of the persons responsible for the Commission of the violations by conducting investigations and holdings.”

Gross violations are defined in section 1(1)(xix) as:

“the violation of human rights through –

- (a) the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person;*
- or*
- (b) any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit an act referred to in paragraph (a), which emanated from conflicts of the past and which was committed during the period 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date within or outside the Republic, and the Commission of which was advised, planned, directed, commanded or ordered, by any person acting with a political motive.”*

It is worth mentioning that the TRC was divided into three committees. They are as follows: (1) The Committee on Human Rights Violations (2) the Committee on Amnesty (3) The Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation. The TRC had an investigating unit with police power of search and seizure and had the authority to subpoena reluctant witnesses to appear before it.

In general, the TRC was established as a mechanism to establish the “TRUTH” with the object of reconciling the past with the present.

Critics like Terry Bell in his book “Unfinished Business” discerned that in what was deemed to be the spirit of reconciliation, the TRC embraced among its staff members drawn from the existing security establishment. Several other matters,

including a civil action against President de Klerk for complicity, and mass murder would also quietly be settled in advance. The overall result was that no beauty, terrible or otherwise, was born; like the new “rainbow nation” the TRC was destined to wear the grubby swabbing clothes of compromise. For his part, Professor David Dyzenhaus believed the TRC was the result of a “compromise” negotiated between the various political parties engaged in the process of designing a new order for South Africa ([www.yahoo.com/ Truth and Reconciliation Commission/south Africa](http://www.yahoo.com/Truth%20and%20Reconciliation%20Commission/south%20Africa)). Since the handover of power was negotiated, it was not considered a realistic option to have Nuremberg-type criminal trials where perpetrators, or at least the main perpetrators of human rights abuses would be punished for their crimes. Those who felt compromised by any kind of inquiry favoured an option of official amnesia about the past, a forgetting underpinned by a blanket amnesty.

In a useful comparative article, Hayner notes the following four characteristics of a truth commission: First, a truth commission focuses on the past. Second, truth commission is not focused on a specific event, but attempts to paint an overall picture of certain human rights abuses or violations of international humanitarian law, over a period of time. Third, a truth commission usually exists temporarily and for a predefined period of time, ceasing to exist with the submission of a report of its findings. Finally, a truth commission is always vested with some sort of

authority, by way of its sponsor, that allows it greater access to information, greater security or protection to dig into sensitive issues, and a greater impact with its report.

Elements who perpetuated political violence applied for amnesty. They frankly admitted that they committed atrocities against Africans. They did not deny that they were elements of the Third Force. There was enough evidence before the TRC that murder, torture and sabotage were commonplace and reached the top brass of the security forces and government. Former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in his application for amnesty that P.W. Botha had instructed him to blow up a building, while the former Commissioner of Police admitted his complicity in the killing of eight student activists on the East Rand. A police brigadier and his death squad already appeared twice before the Truth Commission to support their amnesty application for the deaths of more than 40 activists while a host of senior policemen amongst them generals also appeared before the commission (TRC Hearings , Gauteng).

F.W. de Klerk before the Truth Commission, claimed that it has never been the policy of the government, of the Nationalist Party, that people should be murdered, that they should be assassinated ... He said: "Totally unacceptable things for which we are so sorry and which we abhor, all of us so much, have taken place without

the knowledge of superiors” (TRC, 05.97). The applications of these murderers of innocent people were approved by the TRC. They were set free and are enjoying the fruits of democracy which they never fought for. The conclusion of the TRC was as follows:

- (1) The Commission finds that, while there is little evidence of a centrally directed, coherent or formally constituted “Third Force”, a network of security and ex-security force operatives, acting frequently in conjunction with right-wing elements and/or sectors of the IFP, were involved in actions that could be construed as fomenting violence and which resulted in cross violations of human rights, including random and targeted killings.
- (2) The Commission finds that during the 1980s, such networks established partnerships with pro-government individuals or groups at a local level who then acted in concert to perpetrate such violations. Further that the sanction of illegal activities by security forces operatives during the 1980s provided the basis for their continuation in the 1990s.
- (3) The Commission finds further that such networks functioned at times with active collusion and/or knowledge of senior security force personnel and that the former government, either deliberately or by omission, failed to take sufficient steps to put an end to such practices.

- (4) The Commission finds that the success of Third Force attempts to generate violence was at least in part a consequence of extremely high levels of political intolerance, for which all parties to the conflict are held to be morally and politically accountable (TRC Report /Interim)

The TRC , thus, despite its weaknesses at least accepted some of the truths that have been told in the context of this thesis.

To live without doing good is a great evil as well in the political as in the moral world, and hence every useless citizen should be regarded as a pernicious to society.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

CHAPTER 10

10.1. Amazing turn of affairs

Peace accords were signed between the two rival parties, that is ANC and IFP. Furthermore the death of Sifiso Nkabinde gave a final hope to the community in Richmond that peace, harmony and cultural identity was going to prevail in their life time. However, things went in different ways.

It should be remembered that the emancipation of Africans from the draconian policies of apartheid meant political freedom, but not economic liberation. Whites continue to own the means of production. They continue to determine how they are going to control consumers in a free enterprise society.

Niccollo Machiavelli in his book the “Prince” energetically laid a foundation as to how the “Prince” should govern his principality. He discerned that

“Whenever those states which have been acquired as stated have been accustomed to live under their own laws and in freedom, there are three courses for those who wish to hold them: the first is to ruin them; the next is to reside there in person; the third is to permit them under their own laws, drawing a tribute, and establishing within it an oligarchy which will keep it friendly to you”. He continued by suggesting that if there is no way to retain them, simply ruin them

(www.yahoo.com /Machiavelli , 4-5 “The Prince”).

The then government of South Africa failed to create bogus governments in the Bantustans and resorted now in ruining the Black community of South Africa, particularly of Richmond through economic entrapment. I would like to elaborate the plight sustained by the community of Richmond through economic suppression.

Many people in Richmond have been taught that there is freedom, and South Africa belongs to the people, but almost all of the Richmond people are tenants, debtors and hired hands in their own region of the Midlands, working for someone else, paying rent to someone else, or paying high interest rates on mortgages, loans and installment purchases to someone else. In these relationships the advantage is

on the side of the employer, the landlord, the manufacturer and the bank (mainly ABSA). The boss hires them as workers because he can make a profit from their cheap labour; the landlord rents to them so that he can make an income on the rental ; the manufacturer or retailer sells to them – because he can make more wealth on his product than he put into it, and the bank or loan company extends credit so that it can get back substantially more than it lends.

10.2.1. Business corruption and ruining of the Richmond community

Jean-Jacques Rousseau discerned that our minds have been corrupted in proportion as the arts and sciences have improved (www.altavista.com/ Rousseau ,2-4). Take Egypt, the first school of mankind, that ancient country, famous for its fertility under a brazen sky; the spot from which Socrates once set out to conquer the world. Egypt became the mother of philosophy and the fine arts; soon she was conquered by Cambyses and then successively by the Greek, the Romans, the Arabs and finally the Turks. Take Greece, once peopled by heroes, who twice vanquished Asia, once before Troy and once defending their homeland. Letters, as yet in their infancy, had not corrupted the disposition of its inhabitants; but the progress of the sciences soon produced a dissoluteness of manners, and the imposition of the Macedonian yoke: from which time Greece, always learned,

always voluptuous and always a slave, has experienced amid all its revolutions no more than a change of masters.

The power of business in Richmond particularly the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce is not total, “but as near as it may be said of any human power in modern times, the large businessman controls the exigencies of life under which the community lives” as Veblen had observed almost a century ago(www.yahoo.com/Veblen).

The business class in the Midlands command scarce and vital resources, the availability of livelihoods; they fix the structure of prices and set the terms and tempo of production; they decide which labour markets to explore and which to abandon; they determine the quality of goods and services and the standards of consumption and employment; they distributed their productive outputs according to principles applied mostly by themselves, dividing income among labour, management, suppliers and those political and social causes they deem worth to support. Sometimes they exercise trustee power over religious, recreational, medical and charitable institutions.

When human services are not based on need but on ability to pay, money becomes a matter of life and death. To be poor is to run a higher risk of death, illness,

insufficient medical care, malnutrition, personal insecurity, sometimes police brutality, unemployment, job exploitation etc. (Parenti , 1974 :29).

Owners, trustees and landlords have “rights” but workers, students and tenants have “demands”. Under the property law, management may call the police or if need be, the army to lock out discontented workers, but workers in Richmond cannot call the police to drive out the management. Similarly University management may bring in the police to control the behaviour of striking students, but students cannot call on the police to control the behaviour of the management. Landlords can have the police evict rent striking tenants, but tenants cannot demand that police evict landlords when they do not adhere to their responsibilities and duties.

In most legal contracts and disputes between landlord and tenant, the landlord’s rights usually automatically are upheld by the courts, the burden being on the tenant to prove violation. Low-income residents soon learn that housing laws dealing with collection of rents, eviction of tenants and protection of property are swiftly enforceable, while those dealing with violations of building and safety codes, rent over-charging and the protection of people seem impossible to enforce.

The bias written into the law, which reflect the one-sided and often unjust property relations of society, are compounded by the way the law is enforced. The rich businesspeople have the advantage both in the way the law is written and the way it is applied. For the same reason, low-income people are gravely disadvantaged. Even when the low-income people have the law on their side, the poor usually have little else working for them. Although they are in greatest need of legal protection, they are at least likely to seek redress of grievances through the courts, having neither time nor the money to do so. When they find themselves embroiled in court cases, it is almost at the initiative of a landlord who regularly use the court as a means of asserting his/her property interests.

Business crime is socially more damaging than most working class crimes, since it may involve health, safety and earnings of millions of workers and consumers. Nader once estimated that each year a certain orange juice company steals more money from the community by watering down their product than bank robbers steal from banks.

10.2.2. Power and power relation in that community

Power and power relations in the Richmond community need to be focused on. In this way we will be able to understand the root cause of corruption and ruining of

that community. Power that corrupts and absolute power that corrupts absolutely include issues of power in society, with reference to just the power to put a stamp on a document or to hold a key to a cell door, or the right to determine prices and interest rates unilaterally (Van Der Merwe, 2001 :17).

Power then in Richmond belongs to those who possess the resources which enable them to control the choices and behaviour of others. Power presumes the ability.

As a consequence, power presumes the ability to control the actions and choices of others either through favour, fear, fraud or force and to manipulate the political and economic environment.

10.3. Capitalism in disguise

Liberation movements of South Africa in denouncing apartheid were generally concerned with the political rather than the economic evils of the system. Yet the whole history of apartheid makes it quite clear that the then government took over only after the economic conquest, and then only to protect and strengthen these important sources of raw materials that had become the life blood of Afrikaaner Volk.

It will be a mockery of history if liberation movements that whole-heartedly reject political domination and at the same time whole-heartedly embrace the very economic system that enshackled them in the first place.

This, it seems to the community of Richmond, would be season enough of not embracing reasons far more important than the fact that apartheid was capitalism in disguise. One is that the very nature of capitalism is incompatible with the developmental needs of underdeveloped people. For capitalism very definitely is not a socio-economic system concerned with social and economic advancement of all the people.

Collective bargaining, the process through which the welfare of the workers was sought, was a species of a continuous economic warfare, seeking a larger and larger share of the profits. The outcome was usually a greater victory for private enterprise when wage increases are granted because the increased costs, and often more, are passed on to the public at large.

Unemployment is considered by the business class as a normal aspect of the free market enterprise system . No one has a right to a job. You get a job if you are lucky. You keep it if profits are good. Business is not a social welfare service. Business may provide jobs, but this is not the primary purpose. The main purpose

is to maximise profits, not to create jobs. Indeed the system seeks to eliminate jobs through new and updated labour saving inventions, culminating in automation where a few maintenance technicians can man an entire factory that formerly employed thousands of workers. Who cares about the unemployment of the labour force? For as an official of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, pointed out, “the more machines, the fewer people and therefore, the easier the control problem.” (Interview in Durban 2002)

African capitalists like Mzi Khumalo can be just as heartless as their white counterparts. They have to be, and the same reason: “Business is business.” The bigger it grows in profit-making efficiency the more machine-like it becomes. Producing and maximising profits, not improving human beings, is the dominating motive and the accumulation of profits and capital (the latter included not only money, but also such things as machines, factories, rail roads, raw materials etc.) is the key objective.

Free enterprise inspired the hope that a captive public would at least be assured of fair prices thus controlled by the market. Today in Richmond the doctrine remains that capitalism learned very early that free competition meant free self-destruction and that co-operation is in fact the basic law of survival. Today there is nothing more thorough going co-operative system in that community than that of the

capitalist system of the elite business class. People who scream (such as COSATU) against monopolies are in effect protesting against a great betrayal; for a while they themselves have been imbued with the competitive spirit of capitalism and competitive way of life, their model, capitalism has so developed in terms of economic power through its own co-operative system that it controls their very lives.

The new breed of businessmen, assisted by their respective government, science and technological triumphs resulting from applied science, became the undisputed masters of that community. Richmond represents the completeness of their material victories.

It is a wonderful system. Who would deny it? It is perhaps, the best system for the times and circumstances of its slow birth and rapid developments. The benefits to humanity flowing from it are every where attested. Who would deny them?

Yet,, obvious to that community at least – such a system will not serve best the people if it is to be the overall, dominant system of economic, social and political life now. Both the philosophy and practice of capitalism oppose the fundamental basis of African life, its urgent need for united socio-economic programs for the entire population, its need of system of production primarily for use, not profits

and distribution guided by philosophy of social justice that is quite different from that derived from Darwin and Spencer: “the survival of the fittest”. I agree, rather, with Karl Marx that the direction of civilisation is to help the unfit to become more fit for survival.

As has been pointed out before, in Richmond each year the business sector spent a lot of rands to induce the people to consume as much as they can – and through installment plans – more than they can afford. The inducements seem to work: The decisions about the quality of the food they eat, the goods they buy, the prices they pay are exposed to in local and national newspapers, in magazines and on television and radio.

10.4. Mass media as an instrument of manipulation

Another phenomenon that corrupts the minds of the Richmond community is both the electronic and printed media. The primary function of television, radio and newspapers is not to keep the public informed but to make money for their owners, a goal that does not coincide with the need for a democratic press.

In thinking about the role of mass media effects people of Richmond should be aware of what have been termed intended and unintended influences. According to McGuire the major social receiver's cognition, attitudes or behaviours are shaped towards some desired direction. Most often the world of mass media is a compromising of intended effects, deliberate attempts on the part of the communicator to influence the recipient in some way. South Africans have lived in a fully modern state for decades with one exception – there was no television until 1975. Tension between Afrikaner and English-speaking communities concerning content stalled the introduction of television in our country.

Some of the content of television programming is heavily devoted to depictions of violence. A number of studies have estimated that every hour of prime television programming contains 5 violent acts, where on Saturday programming contains an average of 20-25 violent acts. This means that the owners and managers of the mass media determine which person, facts and ideas shall reach the public. The business owned media had little to say about the relationship between political and business people; or how to overcome poverty and inflation.

While critical socio-political commentaries are censored out of entertainment shows, there is plenty of politics of another sort. In the Oprah show and situation comedies, adventure programs and detective stories, comic strip and children

cartoon shows, conventional American values are preached and practiced.

Television has been and still is the instrument of manipulation, particularly the SABC television channels. In many programmes various kinds of aggressive behaviour are indulged in and even glorified.

It should be remembered that in the past, the government had no mercy on media that paid attention to controversial events and took a critical view of official doings, the journalists were encountering intimidating discouragements from public officials. Today the most visible evidence of the SABC's new approach has been the reconfiguration of television channels. Prior to this repositioning, television in South Africa served the interests of the middle classes only: predominantly, White, Coloured and Indian, with an increasingly large percentage of Black people falling into this category (Ruth Teer-Tomaselli, 2001:118).

Violence on television is almost omnipresent, often linked to sex, money, dominance, self-aggrandizement and other attributes that represent "manliness" in the male-chauvinist American culture. For example, the images of film stars like Chuck Norris and Steven Segal. In television women appear primarily in supportive roles as housewives, secretaries and girlfriends. In television advertisements women seem exclusively concerned with getting a "new" shampoo into their hair, waxing their floors, making sweet coffee for their spouses and in

other ways serving as mindless. This is pure manipulation and denigration of women.

According to the information processing theory of Rowell Huesmann young children exposed to dramatic films and videos with extensive interpersonal violence will:

- Learn scripts for social behaviour that emphasise aggressive solutions to individual problems.
- Learn self-regulating norms that are more accepting to violence.
- Become desensitized to violence, making it more acceptable for them.

These effects will be exacerbated if:

- Media exposure is relatively new and the viewers identify with the aggressive characters, distance themselves from the victims, and perceive the aggressors behaviour as realistic.
- The current culture, both at community and peer level, supports the legitimacy of violence.
- The potential targets of the violence are dehumanized as a group, in the media or in the cultural sphere.

People who have weak academic skills watch television more regularly, watch more television violence and believe that the violent programmes they watch are true to life (Heusmann and Eron, 1986).

Black people particularly those living in Richmond have little representation in the television shows except as uncouth, violent people, hoodlums, servants etc. The tribulations of the Richmond community – their struggle to make ends meet, the high rate of unemployment, the lack of decent recreational facilities, the machinations of unscrupulous landlords, the loss of pensions and seniority for unity reform, the dirty, noisy, mindless, dangerous, alienating quality at places of work, the abuses suffered at the hands of the bosses, the lives wrecked and cut short by work-connected injury and disease. These kinds of reality are almost never thought worthy of dramatic treatment in the plastic, make-believe sphere of television. The experiences of the majority of poor people in Richmond are ignored because they are not deemed suitable subjects by the upper-middle class professionals who create programmes and because the whole question of class struggle and class exploitation is a forbidden subject for television still influenced by the elite class (both old and new).

10.5. The consequence

What then is the view of the people from the grassroots level upon on what I have mentioned regarding the relationship between haves and have nots ? The outlook is grim. For them there is no bright future. The poor Blacks may continue to live in their dream world of singing, dancing, marching, praying and hoping, because of the deluding signs of what looks like victories, still trusting in the ultimate justice of the business class. For the White business class, still masters of Richmond Town, do not have to yield. They have never and will never change their attitudes towards Black people. Concessions and some demands, yes.

Nothing that the poor people of Richmond accept as leaders any and all “Blacks” who hold important positions, the Whites who control these positions directly or indirectly, actually determine who the leaders of the Blacks shall be even in nominally independent Black business organisations. The dangling attractions of foundation grants are there to silence the outspoken but money-hungry “leaders”. Indeed some of these leaders were quick in discovering that the easiest route to a handsome grant or “loan” is pretended outrage and shouting “militant slogans”. The White business sector know this all too well. They are quite eager to pour millions of rands into all kinds of Black community projects precisely because they know that these phoney leaders will do nothing that will really improve the conditions under which the Black masses live.

Blacks are still hopelessly naïve if they do not yet understand that the White business class never did, and do not now, intend to include Blacks in the doctrine equality in business or anything that means real equality. The Black middle class strata who are so frantically fighting to escape from the Black race by way of “integration” will continue to meet everlasting opposition from the White business class.

The masses of poor White people in Richmond Town also live on those slogans and ideals of equality. They are a pitiful people, often half-starved themselves, yet living and having their being in the happy thought that they are members of the White race. They enjoy the glory reflected from the domination and power achieved by the ruling minority of their race for centuries, too ignorant to realise that they are used as tools of hate to support the wealth and power concentrated in the business class. When these poor Whites secure the kind of jobs that move them up in the glory land called “middle class”, they get the most concrete evidence of their innate superiority. They find that the economic system is so structured that,

- (1) To secure better jobs and advancement, the number one qualification is to be White.
- (2) That even where only a token number of non-Whites are employed, they may be required to have University degrees (sometimes a Masters) while

the higher salaried Whites, including the supervisors, may not even have a high school education.

All this gives comfort and assurance to the poor and once poor.

In 1993 before he became President, Nelson Mandela said “How many times has the liberation movement worked together with the people and then at the moment of victory betrayed them?” These are examples I have mentioned.

If the people of Richmond Town relax their vigilance, they will find their sacrifices have been in vain. If the ANC does not deliver the goods, the people must do what they have done to the apartheid regime. They must struggle for true liberation and emancipation.

Without a reasonable coherent idea about where we should be going, we are in danger of taking wrong turns that may permanently preclude our descendents from a decent life.

- John Isbister

CHAPTER 11

11.1. Resolving political violence

Political violence in Richmond affected that area in a number of ways. First it caused direct and indirect human casualties. The majority of the poor, however, died largely as a result of food shortages. It should be remembered that many retail stores and markets closed during the crossfire of the faction fighting and shortage of health facilities was evident. Secondly, the political conflict had long-term impacts on humans such as evictions from their homes, post-traumatic stress and other psychological effects, the loss of skills and the impact of infancy and childhood malnutrition. It did create a long-run culture of violence. Thirdly, it was responsible for the loss and damage to physical and material infrastructure, in part as a consequence of disrupted or neglected devastated places and as the direct result of political violence. Fourth, political violence resulted in a breakdown of authority (Interviews with B.Cele, Mr.Phungula, and four community leaders in various sections of the area. A businessperson belonging to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the area concurred with the opinions of the community leaders on the devastating effects of violence).

Some influential thinkers conclude that solving political conflict through violent means is irrational. The claim, as advanced by Karl Popper and others, is that to resort to violence as a means of settling political dispute is irrational and unreasonable (www.google.com Popper). Other alternative being congruent, to settle a political dispute by responding or arguing it through is evidently preferable to using violence. If I reason with an opponent, I may persuade him by my

arguments and get what I want without injury to either of us. I may be summoned to see the force of the position of my opponent and to give up my claims. That I should be open to either possibility is characteristic of what Popper takes to be the attitude of reasonableness, a commitment to give and take discussion.

The apartheid government and its securocrats resorted to violence in pursuit of their political ends, and as a consequence they gave insufficient time and thought to reasoning with their opponent. If that political dispute in Richmond had been decided by reasoning, many people would have lived longer, many people now dead would still be with us and many would have been spared serious injury. Can we therefore conclude that, as Popper claims resorting to violence in solving a political dispute is the precise opposite of reason?

The African community of Richmond are highly spiritual. A truly conflict resolution can develop only from such a spiritual and moral foundation. Africans already possess the kind of spirit that should permeate their problems, govern their economic activities and guide their political action. In practical everyday living this would mean actualizing brotherhood and sisterhood through an each-for-all and all-for-each way of life, especially in economic activities.

Several steps must be taken after the bloody political violence in Richmond.

First, efforts need to be made to raise the awareness of political leaders and N.G.Os in order to ensure clearer and more compassionate understanding of what conflict

resolution requires. Such a survey should include a detailed profile of the causes and character of the conflict, as well as political parties, groups and individuals become engaged in peacemaking.

11.2. Peacemeal approach

Alex Morrison discerned that peacekeeping is an action designed to embrace peace, security and stability which are authorized by competent national and/or international organizations and are undertaken co-operatively and individually by military, humanitarian, good-governance, civilian police and other interested agencies and groups.

(www.altavista.com. /Peacekeeping/Morrison A).

The term peacekeeping came into general usage in the early 1960s following the publication of a report on United Nations military operations prepared by the World Court. Peacekeeping, in its original sense, was meant to signify stability, observation and truce between belligerent opposing parties or groups. Then in order to bring about stability in Richmond, certain forces should be in the forefront to carry out those functions. For example, the army and police are primarily concerned with the establishment of security with respect to the law of the national

government. However, the police force usually played a secondary role in re-establishing of law and order.

Politicians may lead in matters of community development through a peaceful approach, but equally useful initiatives can be mounted by conflict resolution specialists and even by members of other peacekeeping disciplines. It is their task to perpetuate, by their influence and their innocent and amiable rule, a respect for the laws of the community and harmony among the citizens. It is their duty to reunite divided families by happy marriages; and, above all things, to correct by the persuasive sweetness of their lessons and the modest graces of their conversation the divisions of the past or the present. A peacemaker is the guardian of morals and the undivided security for peace, exerting on every occasion the privileges of the heart and of nature, in the interests of duty and virtue (www.google.com/ Rousseau).

Every barrier that resulted from political violence should be prevented. Professor Chancellor Williams argues that the doctrine of peace and human equality has never meant the triumph of ignorance and incompetence over intelligence and industry. It never meant forcing those at the bottom to the top regardless of inability or lack of will. But it does mean that the ladder of opportunity should always be there for everyone to rise as high as he/she is able to climb and willing to go (www.altavista.com/Peacekeeping).

A commission for peace must be appointed. Its major tasks must be as follows:

- (1) To determine the direction of peace.
- (2) To interpret “peace” as men and women working on the highest level of human endeavours to understand the meaning of life while trying to improve it.
- (3) To enlist co-operation of different political or ideological entities, groups or individuals and any and all other peoples of goodwill in an all-out drive for a better community.
- (4) To maintain an emergency assistance programme for formalities or communities in distress.
- (5) To assume the initiative in seeking the active co-operation of any institutions which are concerned with improving human relations and therefore peace itself.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau in “The Social Contract and the Discourses” (1993 in www.google.com .Rousseau) discerned that he embraces a community in which the individuals, content with sanctioning their laws, and deciding the most important public affairs in general assembly and on the motion of the rulers, had established honoured tribunals, carefully distinguished the several departments, and elected year by year some of the most capable to govern the state; a

community, in short, in which the virtue of the magistrates thus bearing witness to the wisdom of the people, each class reciprocally did the other honour. If in such a case any fatal misunderstandings arose to disturb the public peace, even these intervals of blindness and error would bear the marks of moderation, mutual esteem, and a common respect for the laws; which are sure signs and pledges of a reconciliation as lasting as sincere. If providence had added to all these a delightful situation, a temperate climate, a fertile soil and the most beautiful countryside under heaven, I should have desired only, to complete my felicity, the peaceful enjoyment of all these blessings, in the blossoming of this happy country; to live at peace in the sweet society of fellow citizens and practicing towards them, from their own example, the duties of friendship, humanity and every other virtue, to leave behind me the honourable memory of a good man, and an upright and virtuous patriot.

There are shining victories to be won in the cause of peace and social justice. We shall reach the new freedom by not submitting to economic slavery ... forward with the people.

Daily Mirror, editorial (1995)

CHAPTER 12

12.1. Levels of transformation

In order to capture the true sense of our soul, transforming power is essential for the collective conscious will of our people. The poet is right when he says “We walk the way of the new world”. Nothing can ever achieve for us the victory we seek but a recapture of our own minds. There are various levels of awareness leading to transformation. The first level is skin recognition, which occurs when a person recognizes that his or her heritage is black but the person cannot grasp any further reality. The second level is environmental recognition. At this level, the person sees the environment as indicating his or her blackness through discrimination and abuse. The third level is personality awareness. The fourth level is interest-concern. This level demonstrates interest and concern in the problems of blacks and to deal intelligently with the issues of the African people of Richmond. The fifth level, is when the person becomes totally changed to a conscious level of involvement in the struggle for his or her own mind liberation. Only when this

happens can we say that the person is aware of the collective conscious will. An imperative will, powerful, incessant, alive and vital, moves to eradicate every trace of powerlessness.

People do not speak any longer about how many restaurants, how many movie theatres, how many factories the of town of Richmond has, but does a town have schools controlled by Africans, a museum, book store, a documentary center, and a cultural-spiritual gathering place which houses all the arts. Does a town have good health services? These become the yardstick by which communities are measured for and by African people.

We are seriously in battle for the future of the culture; vigilance is demanded in order to preserve the culture of the people of Richmond. Politicians must no longer be allowed to speak in grand terms or as clever lobbyists about employment and housing until they have addressed the value and spiritual issues which continue to plague the community of Richmond. Thus, black awareness is greater than the other levels of awareness because they are merely stages toward perfection, not perfection itself. Once awareness is achieved no one needs to tell you that you have it or ask you if you have it, it is consciously revealed to yourself and those who surround you. You wear it on your face, in your walk and dress. By contrast, skin recognition is the lowest level of awareness because one only has to exist for it to be experienced. It is the person we know who lives day by day without considering

what he is meant to be damaging in his life is the collective will of the people. It is the person who understands that he or she is black because he or she was born black but does not know what it really means. These are the people who are easily victims of the environmental recognition factor. After they know that they are black in colour, they may begin to experience and associate certain phenomena with blackness. In this way, Frantz Fanon understood that we could readily associate our difficulties with the social environment caused by our difference, that is, one could see discrimination as inherent in certain societies. Personality awareness is one of the most common levels. It occurs when the brother or sister only talks black, acts black, dances black and eats black, but does not think black. Similarly, the writing about blacks, speaking on blacks, and reporting blacks to whites has not achieved the full level of awareness (www.google.com/Fanon).

At the interest-concern level of awareness a person may find opportunity to be involved in collecting funds for various worthy causes in the African community. Indeed culture is the most significant stage of awareness, that is culture in the sense that Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, and Maulana Karenga have written about. This is at macro-level of education and includes science, music, engineering, architecture, dance, art, philosophy and economics. When we move away from a Eurocentric framework we become more innovative. We know that it is difficult to create freely when you use someone else's motifs, styles, images and perspectives. Thus the African awareness is the total commitment to liberation of Africans in

Richmond, by a consistent determined effort to repair any psychic, economic, physical or cultural damage done to Africans by the apartheid government of South Africa.

12.2. Consciousness

The community of Richmond needs to seek collective consciousness. However, consciousness is now closer than it has ever been while our sails have always been set in the proper direction, various winds of political and cultural change have kept us away from the open channel.

The Africans who formed the Native Congress later to be known as the ANC in the early years of the 20th century were successful in bringing African leaders together, but those meetings never reached the expectations of activists and leaders such as Chief Albert Luthuli. They were pleasant enough affairs; one could meet other blacks who had something to say about the liberation of South Africa but the idea of African consciousness never materialized.

Consciousness precedes unity. This is what Steve Biko understood when he advanced the tenets and content of the Black Consciousness Movement. What Steve Biko recognized and argued is that consciousness must be addressed by the masses. Our consciousness grows at each stage until we are finally clear in our communities (SPP 1999 1996a)

The particular nature of this consciousness expresses peoples' shared commitments, fraternal reactions to assaults on our humanity, collective awareness of people destiny, and respect of our ancestors. When the people of Richmond come to accept this consciousness they will experience the rise of peace in that region. Prof Molefi Kete Asante discerned that consciousness is more than acceptance, it is response, it is action demonstrable and meaningful in terms of psychological and political actions (www.google.com/Consciousness ,/ 123-141).

The people of Richmond must maintain this approach of consciousness accompanied with the spiritual satisfaction we have found in our history of harmony. This history of harmony, stemming from a strong sense of God-consciousness in nature and each other - for us life is culture, spirit and harmony.

12.3. Awareness

Since the Richmond community have been living within what is essentially a free enterprise capitalist system, when they face up to the fact that neither they nor any other shouting group are going to “destroy the system” ,then they will be in a position to deal with it. They not only need to wholly accept it, but they should reject “Black Capitalism” as a solution of the economic bondage of the masses; for it must certainly be clear by now that my whole focus is a system that directly

benefits the people lower down, the great common people, and not just the further enrichment of blacks who are already well-off and far ahead. The people of Richmond have the freedom to organize and do for themselves things they were never allowed by the apartheid government.

The first awareness that should be adopted by the community of Richmond is a massive organization, the very existence of which means the presence of an organized “power” to be reckoned with. Second, the community economic development programme, promoted by the unified community organization as enterprises of a united people, as distinguished from those of private individuals and corporations is an urgent material necessity.

The aims would be the creation of career and general employment opportunities, a community foundation and central banking system to maintain and safeguard the financial resources required to carry on the work of the community – and without which they can only remain a pleading and begging people. Third, the barrier to community consciousness would have been set forth first if people of Richmond were proceeding in the order of importance of difficulty. For it is perhaps, the most tragic and formidable. The mental blockage of total liberation was developed due to the way Christianity has been used to capture, enslave and exploit the African people of Richmond for over many decades.

Another major obstacle to community awareness and consciousness that was hardly ever openly discussed must not only be debated but attacked in a community programme in the home. Obviously only a massive community organisation can deal successfully with any of their serious problems. It is the attitude of indifference and disrespect of Africans toward Africans. To the average African, another African is not as important as someone, anyone, of another race. Therefore African clerks or salespersons will serve whites much quicker , politely and efficiently than they will serve members of their own race.

This evil spirit inherited from oppression pervades all “classes” whether lawyers, carpenters, doctors, painters, nurses, shop owners, school heads, teachers, repairmen, garbage and trash men, paper hangers, taxi drivers etc. The only thing you can count on being first class are the charges which are often higher than what the whites pay for the services. The same Africans give at the highest level of their experience.

One could enlist three stages of development in the history of scientific thought : Ability to deal with problems of simplicity, ability to deal with problems of disorganised complexity and ability to deal with problems of organised complexity.

Warren Weaver

I believe the time has come for higher expectations, for common goals pursued together, for an increased political will to address our common future.

- Gro Harlem Brundtland,

“Our Common Future”

CHAPTER 13

13.1. Community development

Almost everyone seems to agree upon one phenomenon of the future, and that the community of Richmond should be striving for “development”. The term development with or without its common explanation, as in economic, political or social development is used throughout to name the task facing the wider community. Some social scientists believe that it is however, a problematic term, masking more than it reveals. Development claimed John Isbister in his book “Promise not Kept” is a word much like modernisation, it seems to imply that there is a single path, and that the rich class offer the poor class an image of what they can be if they are successful (www.altavista.com /Unequal Development 221-234).

The first priority for community development simply has to be the meeting of basic human needs. The poor in Richmond are still desperate for decent shelter and clothing, for sufficient nutritious food, for public health and medical care and for elementary education.

Developing of a community from poverty sustained after political violence is a long process. It requires long debates and vigilance for the imperative will of the people to become a reality.

There are various interpretations offered for the developing of a society. It is said that the modern world is based on research and development and on the goal of efficiency. It is driven by the search for profit and hope of improving of all peoples' livelihoods. It is based on competition and on the laws of the marketplace that reward growth and lead to improvement.

The purveyors of modernisation theory discerned that the task before the underdeveloped community is to transform themselves from tradition to modernity, that is to say, to follow in the footsteps of the now developed countries. Modernisation theory is the mainstream school of scholarship regarding poverty and economic, social and political development in the underdeveloped countries.

The exponents of modernisation see no need for fundamental political and social change in the community. They regard themselves as the reformers. They are on the side of the poor people, and they think, that more can be done to help them. What is needed, they think, is better policies, more technology, more aid, free markets, sounder planning. Most importantly, they see no necessary conflict

between the rich and the poor. The ideal is partnership and the serving of mutual interests (www.altavista.com/modernization)

The other school of thought is the dependency theory. Its exponents believe that the rich are responsible for the underdevelopment of the poor community. For the poor to eliminate poverty, they must fight fire by fire. The poverty of the community is neither traditional, nor accidental. It is the necessary companion created by the rich of the developed countries. As a condition for its own development, the industrial world required cheap raw material from the colonised countries. The expansion of the colonizers therefore shaped the structure of the poor; deforming it, impoverishing it and rendering it incapable of balanced development.

For dependency scholars, revolution is the best remedy to heal the wounds of poverty. I believe economic development should mean the securing of freedom from violation of human and basic human rights, respect for ethnic and religious differences and the existence of political forms that allow people to express their conflicts. If the people of Richmond are to enjoy relatively peaceful lives within the community limits, they will have to find a way of eliminating the extremes of both wealth and poverty, a way of allowing the majority of people to live a comfortable but modest life.

The business class must join in partnership with the poor, so that they could adopt the struggle against poverty as a common endeavour. The majority of dependency theorists are skeptical that there is anything the rich class is likely to do to help the poor in their development (www.altavista.com /dependency in development/Frank/Cardoso)

The Marxists tend to agree with the dependency theorists, that the rich classes are unlikely to be helpful to the poor. Both Marxists and dependency theorists are correct in their assessments, that a great many of the policies of the apartheid government that have been implemented have been harmful or misdirected or smokescreens for exploitation . If the relationship between the rich and the poor had been exploitative, then it is crucial to focus on the ways in which an exploitative relationship can be transformed into a productive one. In other words, it is important that the rich class view themselves as active, and not passive .

Why should people in the business sector take on the responsibility of being helpful to the poor? The answer is that the wider community is completely interdependent , both economically and socially.

In one of the great works of social science in the twentieth century, “The Great Transformation”, Karl Polanyi showed how in nineteenth century Britain the

economists model of society – a model in which individuals are thought of as pleasure-seeking individuals with concern only for themselves and not for their neighbours, was attempted, and collapsed. The market society glorified by the economists brought riches to some but left millions destitute, and after a generation the society discovered that it could not tolerate this. Polanyi advocated the idea of a society as a single organism, in which the individual cells are connected to each other and dependent upon each other. If one part of an organism is injured, the entire organism is threatened, and all other parts rush to its defense (www.altavista.com/Polyani K)

13.2. Social policy makers of Richmond

The social policy makers (often called decision makers) are those individuals who occupy positions giving them the right to make decisions that may, as the phase goes, risk lives, fortune, and sacred honour. Two questions need to be asked: (1) What images and goals do the policy makers have? and (2) What style and influence do they have?

Social policy makers develop their own goals. The role of social policy makers is to promote the security and regional interests of that community. However, it is often the case that leaders from different parties have different specific goals. As Graham Allison has suggested, where one stands on a particular policy issue often depends on where it sits (Social Policy Programme 1999) The IFP is likely to have different goals than the ANC. While some of those goals are couched in terms of

how the party should protect and promote its interests, the goals also reflect the policy makers estimate of how certain goals better serve the interests of the party they serve.

In addition to the images and goals, social policy makers have two significant attributes. First it is the “style” and second “the individual influence”. Style signifies the experience that individual social policy makers have in dealing with events or processes, that affect themselves , their party and their community. Chief Majozi, for example, believed that as ancestors had granted him the authority to be the chief of the people of Richmond, he as the Chief must maintain the gist of absolute power. However, as an individual, Majozi was both weak and indecisive. Consequently, his decisions proceeded from indecision to the blind commitment to a warlord. Harry Gwala, on the other hand, was self-confident (perhaps too much so), but woefully inexperienced in conflict resolution. What he knew of the IFP was perhaps what he had read in the newspapers. Harry Gwala was initially a captive of the images and goals of his advisors. He did learn with experience, but the years of isolation from South African politics, being incarcerated in Robin Island ,had taken their toll.

Starving people cannot lead a community or develop social policy. All social policies have been articulated by inspired individuals who have adequate access to food sources. Prof. Chancellor Williams in his book “The Destruction of Black

Civilization” must be properly understood when he says that the lack of food leads to genocide, mental retardation, sluggishness, mental fatigue and poor sense of security. Indeed, people must be famine free and unified. People must maintain strong community, be in control of their land and its resources and have the sense of equal justice for all in order to administer the affairs and problems of the community.

The idea of community development is always in the mind of a relatively small group of people (social policy makers). In the course of its fulfillment, the community idea will act in all directions of thought and action and as such it becomes ever present.

13.3.1. How to begin

This, like every great movement, will be initiated by just one individual. No greater gathering or crowd starts a movement. One person has already thought matters through and resolved that a beginning must be made. He should not be the usual “leader” whose fiery denunciations of wrongs against blacks may be counted on to stir emotions. The one person needed is simple the one who is dedicated with a sense of mission for his community, seeking nothing but the sons and daughters of the community, willing and ready, but either not knowing what to do or afraid of his/her own capabilities, and “leaving it to somebody else. ”

Yet all one person has to do is to ask five or six other people, social policy makers, to study “the plan” and then meet later to discuss it, just five or six persons, not one of whom need to be a “big name”.

This small initial group of five or six could have each member become a committee of one, each to nominate three other people to study. The plan before the next meeting, at which time the twenty members could become the nucleus for a general organizing committee. Further nominations to the organizing committee should be representative of all groups, students, labourers, clerks as well as professionals.

The representatives on the organizing committee may be from different townships of Richmond. This core committee, after a series of meetings during which the master plan has been studied in detail and revisions or amendments have been proposed for future action, could then proceed to develop and carry out plans for the formation of a Local Richmond Organizing Committee composed of representatives from various sections of the area .

The work of the local Richmond Organizing Committee would be crucial. It would have to:

1. Summarise the main features of the plan and outline them in the simplest terms of publication, distribution and broadcasts to the community.
2. Determine ways and means of funding the organizing procedures.
3. Determine the best general membership enrolment procedures such as moving township by township, setting a one year membership goal for each township, instead of attempting to organize throughout the Richmond region all at once.
4. Divide each township into constituencies, each with an organizing committee with a chairman; the same divisional scheme for towns and cities, each section having a committee and a chairperson.
5. Draw heavily on young people, who really started the movement and who should, therefore, be a most powerful force in carrying it on.
6. Clarify the scheme of organization to emphasise the individuality of membership, i.e. an association or union, etc. may join as such, but its main role would be setting the example for its members who may or may not wish to join; the organization would have its own membership card and each of its members who join will have his or her membership card. In the case of organization by families – the most significant innovation – each family would have a family membership card and each member of the family from age of 4 on would have his or her own card.
7. Set the local Richmond membership goals as 2 year plans, 3 year plans, 5 year plans etc., but always in terms of thousands.

8. Determine and place for the first general assembly for the formal ratification and launching of action – programme.
9. Have an information and publicity committee that will maintain various media distribution methods in order to keep constantly before the people the plans, purposes or goals of the movement, the division of responsibilities, duties and activities and the progress being made.
10. Propose annual awards to individuals and groups who have been outstanding in their work for unity of community through organized action.

Everything then is a guideline for thinking and rethinking about how to deal with the situation in which people of Richmond live. The functioning organization would be under overall administration of a Local Council of Social Policy Makers, headed by the chairperson. Every community division, would also be organized under councils of leaders.

13.3.2. Social policy and elimination of poverty

Effective social policy for the Richmond community must and can activate an alternative strategy, whereby problems of poverty and unemployment are addressed, and economic growth is understood as an instrument of human development. Economic growth sets to meet the basic human needs of all people and then moves on to quality of life – moving from a decided and acceptable programme of regional austerity to community prosperity, via a more self-reliant,

human needs orientated, national, philosophy of development (His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II, 1989:15).

Poverty is omnipresent in Richmond town. It leads to low productivity, lack of motivation and resignation to fate, which contributes significantly to the persistence of helplessness and then back to poverty itself. For the Richmond community to achieve real socio-economic growth, they must free the enormous productivity potential of all their people, especially those who are disabled by their very poverty and by the failure to meet their basic needs.

Social policy makers must concentrate, not on partisan politics or foreign ideologies, but on their own African humanism that is so basic to their African culture. They must look for their own version of democracy for community participation, taking into account their own culture, their own history, their own time, their institutions and see them not as an obstruction, but as living base from which modernization and change can and must take place.

Basic needs and minimum standards are not only material; they are cultural and spiritual. Therefore, cultural and spiritual need satisfaction is a very important part of social policy. The Richmond community's social policy objectives need to relate themselves to the peoples' own culture. Cultural integration as a vital part of

social policy, does not mean isolation from world realities; it means relating to them in terms of their own strengths.

The Richmond community will not achieve a minimum standard strategy without the genuine and active participation and consent of the people themselves. It is only when the people can see that local government has a policy that can and will be in their direct interests and benefit. This needs to be for the benefit of the community as a whole. Other essential elements of a social policy include community mobilization and conscientisation, encouragement for community to become aware of their entitlements, their responsibilities, as well as their own potential for taking control of their own lives and circumstances.

Any effective social policy will give priority to looking critically at patterns of distribution, for example looking at the distribution and equality of community housing, education, employment and many other factors related to community development.

The significant statement which must be recognized and accepted, is that the poor remain poor because they have unequal access to resources, such as land, health, education, employment, credit facilities etc. This is because the possibilities of economic opportunity are, too often, not open to them. Social policy makers must

ensure that the needs of the community are fulfilled without hesitation. They must work hard for the imperative will of the people of Richmond town.

Each variable in any system interacts with other variables so thoroughly that cause and effect cannot be separated. Relationship is everything.

- Marilyn Ferguson

Sons of Lo Liyong, I salute you. May your spear never rest, like the thirteen offensives launched against our enemies to many moons ago! May that spear always find the target, for this cannot be the last word! Despite times advancement, the battle is not yet won, the homesteads must be repaired, using any means necessary!

- *S. Raditlhalo*

CHAPTER 14

14.1. Housing people

Housing can be described as a programme of organization of physical space, which implies a relevant use of land and the investment of considerable resources, usually public, with the principal aim of providing lodging to social groups that are able or not to obtain it on the open market (De Carlo, 1977:.33 in www.altavista .Third World Housing 12/27).

Housing programmes have probably been proposed and realized in every era of human history. In ancient Egypt the Pharaohs were concerned with housing when they had to provide lodging to multitudes of workers who were occupied with the construction of the pyramids. The Romans did the same with their ex-servicemen who settled in the suburbs of the capital at the end of their military campaigns. The same applied to King Moshoeshe I who accommodated people from various clans around South Africa, fleeing from the consequences of Imfecane. The same was carried out by the British authorities for their garrison who decided to settle in Natal.

During the political upheaval in Richmond many people lost their houses, burned by the invaders of the opposition party. Many people got assisted from churches in the area, given shelter inside the various halls.

The new municipal authorities thus had to make an exceptional effort to accommodate back those people who were evicted from their houses during the periods of upheavals. This can be truly achieved by introducing significant changes and a better planning and implementation of the programmes.

The Basic Housing Programme came to be a suitable alternative which will cover low income families. The Richmond municipal authorities can purchase private sector finished houses and assign them to the beneficiaries. Regulations must be

simplified in order to permit families with lower incomes, in particular those suffering under critical conditions (Umjondolo), to apply for these houses.

There has to be a unified general subsidy programme which will be best suitable for middle income families. The subsidy should go directly to the beneficiaries who, individually or collectively select a house available in the market.

The special workers housing programme must be another option for groups of organized workers sponsored by public or other institutions. The houses will be contracted for by the organizing entity. The value of houses is higher than that of those under the basic housing programme. The rural subsidy programme must be geared towards lower income families in rural areas. They can choose among three alternatives: buying a house, contracting its construction, or employing self-help procedures.

In addition to the abovementioned programmes, the municipal authority should initiate several new programmes in order to improve existing housing, or to provide title deeds for families that illegally occupied urban land (shanty houses). Other programmes can be designed for rental housing, using leasing mechanisms, in order to induce the private sector to build units for low and middle-income families so as to relieve pressures on the rental market.

The grand strategy by the National Housing Committee in March 1998 which can be considered favourable for the Richmond community is as follows:

1. Basic steps to be followed for different categories of need

Depending on the categories of need outlined above, a set of basic steps and procedures will need to be undertaken by those organizations, statutory bodies and community groups who will make up the partnership of support providers established for each particular housing support project.

1.1. Who takes the initiative?

Before moving into these basic steps it is important to indicate the various roles provincial governments, local governments, organizations, bodies and community groupings can adopt in being the initiator/s or catalyst/s for the establishment of a housing support project. For example:

1.1.1. a provincial government can:

- promote the support programme to local governments, support providers and communities, and
- where required it can assume the role of the Legal Entity in circumstances

where it lacks the necessary skills and capacity to fulfill this role.

1.1.2. a local government can:

- identify opportunities via its Local Development Objective (LDO) process, for

- supporting groups of families who intend to build or organise the building of

- their own houses; and

- respond and provide support to initiatives undertaken by the Legal Entity itself

- and act as the Legal Entity on a basis agreed upon with the families concerned.

1.1.3. Any organization, body or community grouping can:

- identify a group of families/potential beneficiaries and seek to establish an agreement regarding a support arrangement and establish themselves as the Legal Entity.

1.1.4. A group of families/potential beneficiaries can:

- take the necessary steps in establishing itself as the Legal Entity and build the capacity required for it to provide support to its members.
- identify an organization, body, CBO or NGO to whom it has confidence in forming a partnership to fulfill the role and functions of the Legal Entity.

1.2. Steps to be followed:

For each of the situation categories A,B,C or D, described previously in paragraph 3.3.2.2., a set of steps to be followed has been provided to act as guideline steps in the preparation, application and implementation of a Housing Support Project.

2. Category (A) situation

This is where families, referred to here as “Owners” are living on serviced sites with ownership rights.

2.1. Initiating Actions

A commitment is required from the local or provincial government to the principle of supporting the Peoples’ Housing Process in their areas of jurisdiction. A community will need to mobilize itself and establish a Housing Support Project Committee to identify those families who wish to participate in such a project.

2.2. Project Preparation Activities

The Legal Entity in collaboration with the “owners” is required to prepare a project proposal including a business plan and completed housing subsidy

application forms. The PHB will, if the project application meets its required criteria, approve the project and allocate the top structure subsidy money to the account administrator and the establishment grant of the Legal Entity. As soon as the PHB and the Legal Entity have entered into a legal agreement on the basis of the project approval, the project can commence.

2.3. House building

The Legal Entity will establish the Housing Support Project Functions and Facility. The group of beneficiary families will establish building guidelines and rules and each beneficiary family will design its house and once approved by the Local Government, the family, supported by the Legal Entity will commence with the construction of the house.

2.4. Subsidy Disbursement (Top Structure)

On receipt of a progress payment certificate from the Certifier appointed by the Legal Entity, the account administrator will receive the subsidy funding from the PHB and will pay the beneficiary family for the amount of work done.

3. Category (B) Situations

Here families referred to as “Non-Owners” are living on serviced sites without any ownership, leasehold or deed of grant rights, but on the basis of rental arrangements.

3.1. Initiating Actions

A commitment is required from the Local and Provincial Government to the principle of supporting the Peoples’ Housing Process. The Local Government will need to establish a register for bona fide residents, and assist the community to mobilize itself and elect a Housing Support Project (HSP) Committee. This Committee will identify those families who wish to participate in this project.

3.2. Project Preparation Activities

The community will need to determine the extent to which the services are to be upgraded and the Local Government, in collaboration with the group of residents concerned, will determine the related services and administrative costs involved. The Legal Entity in collaboration with the “Non-Owners” will prepare a project proposal including a business plan and completed subsidy application forms.

The PHB will, if the application meets its required criteria, approve the project and allocate the top structure subsidy money (having subtracted the historical costs of the serviced sites as well as the cost to upgrade the services where applicable from the subsidy amount) to the accounts administrator and the Establishment Grant to the Legal Entity. As soon as the PHB and the Legal Entity have concluded a contract on the basis of the project approval, the project can commence. The transfer of ownership to beneficiaries can now take place since the township register will have been established.

3.3. Upgrading of Services (where relevant)

The Legal Entity will undertake the services design and on its approval by the Local Government, receive payment by the PHB. On completion of the upgrading of the services, involving the community where possible, the PHB will pay the Legal Entity for work done.

3.4. House Building

The Legal Entity will establish the Housing Support Project Functions and Facility. The group of beneficiary families will establish building guidelines and rules, and each beneficiary family with technical support from the Legal Entity will design its house and once approved by the Local

Government, the family supported by the Legal Entity will commence with the construction of the house.

3.5. Subsidy Disbursement (top structure)

On receipt of a progress payment certificate from the Certifier, appointed by the Legal Entity, the Account Administrator will pay the beneficiary family for the amount of work done.

4. Category (C) Situations

Here families referred to as “Occupants” are living on land in respect of which they do not have any rights at all.

4.1. Initiating Actions

The Local Government will need to establish the suitability of the site for residential development. A commitment is required from the Local and Provincial Government to provide/upgrade services and support families to upgrade services and/or build their own houses.

The Legal Entity should assist the community to elect a Housing Support Project Committee, which will in turn identify those families who wish to participate in this project and establish a register of bona fide residents. The

Legal Entity and community will establish the planning criteria for plots, roads and other land uses, determine the degree to which services are to be upgraded, and formulate the required service agreements.

4.2. Project Preparation Activities

The Legal Entity having established the service and administration costs, will in collaboration with the community, prepare the project proposal including a business plan and completed subsidy applications (as a pre-screening) to determine whether the potential beneficiaries qualify for subsidies. A formal submission of the subsidy application will have to be submitted for approval to the PHB once a property identified in terms of the Township Register has been sold off to the beneficiary, subject to approval of the housing subsidy concerned. The PHB will approve the project application if it meets its required criteria, and allocate the top structure subsidy money (having subtracted the estimated costs of the land and services from the subsidy amount) to the Account Administrator and the Establishment Grant to the Legal Entity. As soon as the PHB and the Legal Entity have concluded a contract on the basis of the project approval, the project can commence.

4.3. Township Establishment and Upgrading of Serviced Sites

The Legal Entity will be required to acquire the land, (where relevant) finalise the planning layout, and undertake the design of services. On the approval of the engineering designs and specifications by the Local Government, and the General Plan by the Surveyor-General, payment for the planning and services design work will be made by the PHB to the Legal Entity.

The Legal Entity utilizing the skills of community wherever possible, will peg out the plots, roads and services and install the required services. On the handover of the serviced sites to the Local Government, the Legal Entity will be paid by the PHB. The Legal Entity via a conveyancer will now transfer ownership to each beneficiary family subject to the selling off of the sites as described in paragraph 4.2.

4.4. House Building

The Legal Entity will establish the Housing Support Project Functions and Facility. The group of beneficiary families will establish building guidelines and rules and each beneficiary family, with technical assistance from the Legal Entity, will design its own house . Once approved by the Local Government, the family, supported by the Legal Entity will commence with the construction of the house.

4.5. Subsidy Disbursement (top structure)

On receipt of a progress payment certificate from the Certifier, appointed by the Legal Entity, the Account Administrator will pay the beneficiary family for the amount of work done.

5. Category (D) Situations

This includes families referred to as “Landless People” who include families who do not have any place of their own. They could live in hostels, backyard shacks and various other forms of accommodation.

5.1. Initiating Actions

The Legal Entity will need to prepare an inventory of suitably located available land. The Legal Entity will need to organize the landless families into groups, establish a register, and elect Housing Support Project (HSP) Committees. The legal Entity could be a Local Government or a Provincial Government. If the land belongs to it, it will allocate blocks of land to organized landless groups. However, if the land does not belong to the Legal Entity it will have to determine how the identified land is to be acquired.

5.2. Project Preparation Activities

The Legal Entity in collaboration with the organized groups, will establish the planning criteria for plots, roads and other land uses, and together with the Local Government will determine the services and administration costs. It will prepare the project proposal including a business plan. The PHB will approve the project application if it meets its required criteria, allocate the top structure subsidy money (having subtracted the estimated costs of the serviced sites from the subsidy amount) to the Account Administrator and the Establishment Grant to the Legal Entity.

5.3. Township Establishment

The Legal Entity will be required to acquire the land (where necessary) and while involving the group of families concerned, it will finalize the planning layout and undertake the design of services. On the approval of the engineering designs and specifications by the Local Government and the General Plan by the Surveyor-General, the respective progress payments will be made by the PHB to the Legal Entity.

The Legal Entity utilizing the skills of the community, if so agreed, will peg out the plots, roads and services and install the required services. On the handover of the serviced sites to the Local Government, the Legal Entity will pay the PHB. The Legal Entity will now sell off the properties to the beneficiaries subject to the approval of the subsidies by the PHB and

transfer ownership to each beneficiary family once the PHB approval has been obtained.

5.4. House Building

The Legal Entity will establish the Housing Support Project Functions and Facility. The group of beneficiary families will establish building guidelines and rules, and each beneficiary family will design its own house. Once approved by the Local Government, the family, supported by the Legal Entity will commence with the construction of the house.

5.5. Subsidy Disbursement (top structure)

On receipt of a progress payment certificate from the Certifier, appointed by the Legal Entity, the Account Administrator will pay the beneficiary family for the amount of work done.

6. Sequence of Activities

The tasks set out in paragraph 4.3., 4.4., 5.3. and 5.4. can run in parallel in the case of the Legal Entity being either the Provincial or Local Government. The PHB can extend this arrangement to other Legal Entities should they be able to provide the same level of security, as would the Provincial or Local Government concerned.

7. **Conclusion**

How each Housing Support Project is established, will inevitably depend on numerous factors and consequently these guideline steps do not necessarily need to be strictly followed in each respective situation neither are they to be regarded as comprehensive.

In the case of any conflict between these steps and the guidelines contained in the Implementation Manual: Housing Subsidy Scheme and Other Housing Assistance Measures, the guidelines in the Manual (including Part 10 yet to be approved) will prevail.

The way is always illuminated by those who have traveled it before you, so be not afraid of its turns because light is always around the next curve.

- *Molefi Kete Asante*

CHAPTER 15

15.1. Education as an imperative will of the community

The compelling reason why the Richmond region requires a new and revolutionary programme of education is the fulfillment of the basic needs of that community. Education is the only key, to the door opening into the road of progress for the Richmond community. It is a key that cannot be tampered with or taken lightly. The unusual, not the usual, is the order of the day.

However, suffice to say education is not enough. “Education” can mean almost anything. The all-important question, is what do we mean by “education”? What kind is it to be? Is it to be the usual kind pursued by the nation-states of other entities? What is education supposed to do, anyway? Is it supposed to produce better men and women? Or is it only concerned with intellectual development? Is it book reading and learning?

Each nation’s educational system is developed from its own culture, needs, and patterns of life. Professor Chancellor Williams discerned that “there is borrowing from other lands as a matter of course”. He continued ...”civilization is a process of borrowing. But what is borrowed by a particular country is not done blindly.

Rather they are selected values that can be easily integrated with one's own cultural values, enrich them, and further the realization of the national aspiration."(www.google.com/Consciousness/ 125/129).

Elementary education in Richmond, for example, must be the area of the greatest initial emphasis, study and development. Literacy should be a requirement of citizenship, illiteracy needs to be outlawed and ignorance be considered a crime. This focus is very important because:

1. The people themselves want to double the pace of progress in order to come on par with the rest of South Africa.
2. Parents should no longer be divorced from their children and left in darkness. In addition to basic education, they require the kind of parent education in home and community life that will enable them to be worthy guides for their children and active participants in the social life of their community.
3. Illiteracy and ignorance are the chief obstacles to peace and development, and economic wellbeing is the basis of a fuller spiritual and moral life.
4. The basic education programme must include and be based on home and school processes of learning, caring and teaching, and the use of every educational agency in its implementation: the community co-operative organisation and community extension services, the press, radio and

television (there should be a public radio and television in every community center).

5. The basic education programme is to have as its main goal the development of better human beings in terms of co-operatives, good manners, brotherhood, goodwill and service to community.

Indeed education will require an expansion of the whole concept of a talent. In this post-modern era talents are conceived of and limited to such things as academic excellence, classical concepts and interpretations, abstract thinking, quick thinking, good memory and ready recall, speed in reading and understanding, speed in mathematical reasoning and conversational ability.

There are other talents, generally unrecognized as such, which need to be also recognised and glorified also be made an integral part of the education measuring yardstick. Some of these are the gift for ready co-operation; and respect for oneself and others; the talent for helping others, a quality akin to a natural love of people; the talent of being at home among strangers, even among those whose language and customs are decidedly different from one's own; the talent for order and beauty, and the talent for creation and of building –regardless of whether it expresses itself in building a poem or building a house, painting a caravan or new ideas for better roads or a more beautiful village.

The re-education of teachers would have to begin in a well-organized programme. It would be idle to undertake any comprehensive educational reform such as discussed in these pages without preparing the present teachers for it and at the same time reorganizing training programmes for new teachers. All this requires study, patience and time.

Since parents and other adults are to be in school as regularly as the children, although at a different time, adult education instructors should be especially trained for this process. We should stop playing at education by employing as teachers the mediocre educators and persons unfit for other principled occupations. Education is an honourable profession and demands the best in the country to be teachers and educators. The tasks ahead are not for the mediocre and un-enterprising. Nothing is more important for Richmond's future than the character of the teachers who will determine the shape of things to come. Furthermore, all that is needed is a system for recruiting and training the more capable young men and women with salaries comparable with those of other professions.

I have no doubt at all that when the people of Richmond, after careful studies, will formulate some such comprehensive programmes for an all-out advance and begin their own self-help activities, widespread aid from the rest of the province will not be wanting. Consequently the task in the field of education is the greatest because

education means more than formal or school room education, for this fundamental education is only the beginning. Co-operative living will call for:

1. Education in better human relations based on friendship and love.
2. Community education in general economic principles, practices and business administration, with particular reference to their application in the context of a co-operative society.
3. Community education in health, with a programme for training medical aides, nurses and others to serve under the direction of the local physician or physicians.
4. Home and family education, especially for mothers.
5. Experimental education in the diversification of crops and the cultivation of new products from native resources for greater home consumption.
6. A new training programme for community leaders and organizers, especially women and youth.
7. A new approach to religion making it an actual way of living.
8. Definite programmes for intertribal friendship and joint planning.
9. Community-wide fun activities for young and old – these are some of the essential of what we mean by “community education”.

Community education, therefore, must be directly concerned with almost everything. Its distinguishing characteristic, however, will be the specific

programming of each objective, rather than leaving matters to chance or assuming that desirable goals will somehow be reached just because they are desirable.

Education is to be free. It is to be free at every level, including its professional component. It is to be free because its purpose is for better living and service in a free society. It is to be free because individualism is replaced with the sense of community, and the primary aim is not competitive self-advancement over one's fellow human beings, but efficient service for everyone . Perhaps no single programme could better express the basic aim of such a society than removing education from the list of commodities one must buy and sell for a profit.

The major emphasis has been an improving man himself as the first essential of education. The community itself, organized as one vast co-operative society, will be actually carrying out the development of better human beings through better human relations.

Education alone will solve the problem of political and violent conflict in Richmond. Education will end tribalism perpetuated by colonizers and other forms of prejudice and hatred among people. Education is the foundation of the future.

However, the mass illiteracy among parents, leads to education been limited to the young and this process is in fact destroying the family, creating the greatest

tragedy in the process. For, generally speaking, the child is taken away from the family completely, housed in a boarding school, trained (not always deliberately) to look down upon his illiterate parents, to feel quite superior to them and, in many cases, to hate them and all of their ways. For example, the son of a black shoemaker became estranged from his family and former friends upon receiving his university degree. A case in point was Dick Mthakathi, a young black at Natal University .

Mthakathi refused to go home during any of the long vacations because to quote him, "I can no longer associate with my family and old friends. I would not know how to talk to them. We have nothing in common now, you know." This attitude needs to be stopped! No student should be ashamed of his parents, nor educated away from them. Neither talk nor exhortation will change this deplorable situation, only a programme that is planned to this end will be able to achieve it.

Not only must the parents become better educated generally, but the home education must be envisaged as the necessary supplement that would help the parents to make the home a healthy and happy place to be, the pride of every child. Beauty, happily, requires no wealth. Yet one must have a desire for it just as one must have desire for neatness and cleanliness.

Some of the most beautiful homes we have seen through the various media were the homes of ordinary farmers in Greece, very much the same kind of plain, oblong structures we have here in South Africa, but kept white-washed or painted white or sky blue or pink, surrounded with flowers and evergreen – simply charming. No matter where the simplest house is located, it can be made attractive with a little effort. Elsewhere I have mentioned that all of the beautiful flowers I saw in Richmond were generally in the fields and the forests, not around homes.

15.2. Creative fine arts and drama

Art, dance, music, literature and theatre must be introduced in Richmond because they not only speak to people or of people but by people. In essence, the poets must speak to the community. Art is culture bound; to deny an African community its culture by claiming that African culture is narrow, is one of the continuing problems with white-washed brains. Fine arts in every society seek to express in their works what is natural to them. A committed and functional art advances the people and enhances their culture. Otherwise, it is shallow commercial art, in the mould of individual capitalist expression. Ice skating, ballet and opera are art forms emanating from an Eurocentric context for European audiences. This is as it should be. It does not mean African people in Richmond cannot perform those forms of art. If an African wants to compete in ballet, she must understand that the criteria are not universally derived but cultural specific. He or she must submit to the rigours of the European view of what ballet is and what it is not.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau in “The Social Contract and Discourses” argued that before art had moulded our behaviour and taught our passions to speak an artificial language, our morals were rude but natural, and the different ways in which we behaved proclaimed at the first glance the difference of our disposition. Human nature was not better then than now; but men found their security in the ease with which they could see through one another. ([www.google.com.Rousseau](http://www.google.com/Rousseau))

The community of Richmond is not exempted from the above-mentioned statement by Rousseau. However, the predicament of art in Richmond would be different if that community artists had practiced their cultural image. Prof Molefe Asante believed such development would add even more lustre to the power of our creative ethos as we control the dissemination, presentation and interpretation of African art (www.google.com.consciousness)

The Richmond community must be mindful that art is an expression of impressions, not an expression of the expression. Therefore, it is a responsible consideration to rely upon a consciousness impression. In the art of the Africans, it is the conscious expression of that impression and experience, whether individual or collective, that will drive their way forward.

The architecture is an interesting and important one aspect of such a process. The architects have also in many instances consciously sought to construct buildings that have peace at the core of their displays. In Richmond architects must create a concerted effort, in association with town planners and urban designers, to grapple with the complex issue of the effect of the built environment on the characteristics and lifestyle of the inhabitants.

The field of literature can be highly significant in contributing to the peace in Richmond. Literature has served in the past, both as a vehicle of inspiration in the community with its tales of the heroic deeds of our ancestors, but also as a vehicle for some of the most profound expressions of horror against violence and the vital need to build the structures of peace deep and fast.

15.3. African music

Music is the most significant phenomenon that cures the soul and there is no better form of artistic expression than this. Ortiz Walton's comparison of the African and Western aesthetic in music, points to some of the trends in Western cultural history that account for the predominant mode of European music. Walton says that written music cannot be considered improvisation. It can be seen that in the European attempt to plan and predict, the opportunity has been lost to develop the art of improvisation and spontaneity on music, because as Walton says, " (music) became highly rationalized with the Greeks." (www.google.com/Aesthetics). (It

will be remembered that Plato associates music with despiritualized mathematics; he thought that both should be an important aspect of the education of the Guardians habits) (www.google.com/Aesthetics)..

Later the church further “rationalized” music in its attempt to control its content of ethol, “which has been added into the following centuries, casting Western music into a rigid, unalterable, fixed phenomenon”(Ortiz Walton, 1972,:154-155). Walton again adds that the makers of European instruments reflected the European predilection for rationalization:

“... a new technology of tempered instruments... valueless horns resembling their African prototypes, and keyless woodwind instruments, were replaced by the highly rationalized and mechanical keys and valves. It is difficult to comprehend these developments in the West except as a passion for the rational.”

While the Eurocentric tendency was for this “written, controlled music to become elitist and for a passive audience to be “confronted” with a performance, in Africa the cultural priorities and values demanded a communal music form in which there was no real separation between “performer” and “audience”: every one is involved. Walton says “contrasted with the music-for-the-elite philosophy prevalent in the West, African music retained its functional and collective characteristics.” The element of improvisation was developed rather than abandoned, and it found its way into black music in this country. Similarly the unifying element of audience participation was also retained.

The emphasis on communal participation in African music gave rise to antiphony or the rise of antiphony or the “call-response”, “question-answer” form that has carried over the musical creations of Africans. Control, technical precision and theoretical complexities are valued in European classical music, and symphony therefore has limited aesthetic potential to the African ear (Joseph Okpake, 1970:18).

What few have understood, however, is that the African predilection for rhythm in its various complexities is not happenstance, but is intimately bound to African melanated bio-chemistry and to the cosmic nature of the African view (Asante, 1974:83). Cultural music then is the only continuous anchor to the ancestors of our past. Without the full embracing of our cultural music , the people of Richmond cannot have a genuine re-creation. In fact, our history shows that the cultural African music, sooner or later, establishes itself as a transmission of the new vision within the community. It must be understood clearly that there is no classical music to you other than that what comes out of your culture. When a person says that Beethoven , Bach or Mozart is classical let us understand what is being said, they may be classical to Europeans but not to us. When the Europeans use the concept “classical” they use it to refer to the highest of their art forms. To me because of Pan Africanism, what they refer to is European concert music because the only classical music I know is the Polyrhythms and Syncopated Eights or

Miriam Makeba, Black Mambazo of Ladysmith, Zim Hgqiwane, Mankunku Ngozi, Dolly Rathebe, Dollar Brand and Hugh Masikela. I cannot deny the possibility of others speaking of classics within their contexts. Their nationalism is applauded. However, I do not have to share it when the African tradition is so rich and varied.

When young men and women, as conscientious cadres participate in the cultural music. they become innovators, the social awareness partners of Afro-Renaissance. Places where children receive their cultural and historical training can be utilized. Cultural musical training cannot be left to school only. In Richmond there are many places where buildings have been unused or under-utilised on Saturdays. They can be used as music schools for the youth and everyone.

Unknown to many people of Richmond, classical African music is among the most authentic contacts with the Gods of our ancestors. The manifestations are present for any interested observer to behold. For I am not speaking here on the basis of opinion or hearsay, but on concrete demonstration associated with human and communal values and aesthaetics.

The fact that many young men and women have not made the connection between these manifestations and our ancestors is the result of ancestral discontinuity, caused by the legacy of oppression. Indeed the collective musical experience of the

people of Richmond harks back to the time when our ancestors called “ingoma” with the polymetric beats of the drums. Thus it should be clear that neither the music nor its instruments which give the power and spirit; it is the spirit of our ancestors found even in the blues and jazz night clubs of our communities. We are people in tune with our God-force whether in all spheres of life and action. The feeling is the same; it is not merely a musical phenomenon. People of Richmond must cease giving credit only to music.

Nevertheless African classical music and dance may be the essence of our African past and present. What I mean is that the panorama of Africa is not merely unfolded but expanded and amplified in the musical drama.

The development of character is the supreme task of the college. Intellectual brilliance without ethical standards is at once a social menace and educational fraud. The college, as studium generale, should be on a spiritual crusade. The spiritual aspect of college life should be designed to meet the demands of human nature at its best. The college without it is hollow.

- *Evans "Essential of a Liberal Education"*

CHAPTER 16

16.1. The college of Art, Science and Technology

In this college the teachers/educators become evangelists of the art of living. This type of a college today in Richmond must come down into the market place, open its eyes to dirt and squalor and try out both reconstruction and reform. Only when the college curricula contain courses about human evil and pain will its graduates be motivated to discover the happiness which comes from serving the common good.

Evans' "Essentials Case Liberal Education" critically examined and logically organized factual knowledge that would lead people of chaos by creating workable knowledge, that would both interpret human objectives and establish methods and means by which the objectives are to be realized.. According to him there are four great goals for human achievement, i.e. (1) the art of self-discovery (2) self-

discipline (3) self-development and (4) self-denial (www.altavista.com /Liberal Education , 12-23)

Liberal education cannot be imposed, like the gospel, but students themselves must believe and must see definite and compelling reasons for each study. College teaching of that nature is a glorious opportunity that inflames youth to good idealism.

16.2. College division of community services

The principal task of the college will be to maintain a direct line of communication with the people in their respective communities throughout Richmond. The most significant direct line of communication with people is to be the college division of community services. The exact nature of these services will be determined by the exact nature of each community's needs as determined not by the college, but by the people of the community, who then apply to the college for advice or direct assistance. In all cases, the college community services would be those primarily concerned with problems requiring research studies or expert knowledge for community guidance.

General community improvement data such as health, economics, homes and gardens, leisure-time activities, whose doing what and where, list of new books and articles on community improvement, must be published in a college community bulletin.

Regular community forums for the discussion of various questions are to be important aspects of public education, and they will be helping to provide informed speakers of all persuasions, knowledge and professions.

Co-operation should be the central fact in that community and not just as a nice sounding word but as actual practice. Therefore, the role of the College of Arts, Science and Technology is a completely new one. Such a college must work as a unit with the government, especially with the ministries of education, agriculture, commerce, trade and industry.

The national government, the college and the Richmond people can work together towards common goals. No group will need any special brand of freedom peculiar to itself, such as "academic freedom". Freedom of thought and action must be equally characteristic of all individuals and groups, limited only when these exceed the bounds essential to the welfare of the society as a whole. Freedom claimed Prof

Chancellor Williams is not an ideology, it is, first of all a biological necessity for growth.

Richmond neither needs nor can afford an independent college with programmes unrelated to the immediate needs and aspirations of the people. The college's direct line of communication with the people that we have been discussing could not be established in the same lines as the traditional colleges such as the Endaleni College.

A direct service to the people in their communities would have to be carried on in the closest collaboration with agencies of government working in the same service areas. The regional ministry of education and the ministry of agriculture should have staff which are also integral parts of the college system and vice versa, certain members of the college must be ex officio members of the government departments concerned.

16.3. College board and examinations

The college board and examinations must have the roles suggested by its title. The section should be devoted largely to basic research and field studies in order to

determine the desired standards for materials of instruction and teaching standards for elementary schools, high schools as well as private school, and for the college.

The development of examinations for all levels of instruction must be a challenging undertaking for the boards section . During the evaluation of students however, at least half of the results should come from teacher-determined processes. Increased teacher participation in the preparation and administration of examination must tend to eliminate the patterns of external examinations, while at the same time the re-vitalizing the teaching profession itself should be a priority.

The main purpose of the college board and examination should be to help make such a community college among the best in the country. However, the journey to this goal will be long and arduous. Serious field work is involved because so much of the materials of instruction will have to be developed from the soil and culture of Africa. The board must have the task of inspiring and promoting the authorship of textbooks by Africans.

16.4. College inter-departmental co-ordinating council

This council is to be the agency of co-operation within the college in Richmond. Nowhere have the ideas of being free and independent been more miscarried than

in the Richmond schools and the Endaleni College during the apartheid era. Beginning with the secondary school, the education process was departmentalized and each department became isolated from the others in striving needlessly for prestige. The lecturers tended to see their subject as unique, indispensable and unrelated to other fields of knowledge of which it was in fact an inseparable part.

This over emphasis on the importance of one's specialty is doubtless due to an underlying feeling of insecurity in a highly competitive society. Heads of department were very sensitive about their autonomy and guarded it with ever jealous eyes. They were merely following the tradition of their college itself in relation to other colleges that formed the traditional type of college. Snobbery was a high principle and unashamedly so. Each department was a little kingdom to itself. All that lack of unity might have gone unchallenged if the students were not the chief sufferers in that fragmentation of the educative processes. Even such closely allied fields as mathematics, physics and civil engineering etc. were, through departmental isolation, alienated from each other.

The college co-ordinating council must undertake to bring about interdepartmental co-operation through organized seminar procedures. If the community is to be co-operative, the spirit of brotherhood and coordination must permeate the college no less than in the other fields of national and social life.

Finally, in education in Richmond town the message to the people, is that the founding of the college for the advancement of science and learning is of paramount importance. Here again I am not concerned with patterns of a Western model. It must be something more than a body of scholars meeting annually to read and discuss scholarly papers. Rather the college must be equally engaged in discovering talent now hidden in the bush and promoting its development in various ways. One of these should be annual award travel scholarships, prizes etc. for such creative works as the best textbooks produced by South Africans, particularly in primary education; the best volume of South African poetry; the best play or musical production; the best South African novel, history, opera, symphony etc.

Since co-operation and not competition is the key to re-invent the community faith, the college must be working in close association with the community. This means that the college, like the government must be one with the people; that high scholarship and science will now be enlisted in the service of the people directly; that the people will now look all the way up to the college for guidance in the performance of their tasks; that local government will look to the college for scientific studies necessary for sound and intelligent decisions, and that the teachers, once detached from the people in their ivory towers, will now be found in

the market place in touch with ordinary mortals, will now be regarded as companions of the people and among their guides as leaders.

There has to be the assistance of government for the college. It should be systematically organised and long-ranged. It should include:

- 1) The establishment of the teacher training.
- 2) A regular system of teacher recruitment.
- 3) Recruitment of technicians for the college along the same line as the one for teachers.
- 4) Books for curriculum including selected magazines, newspapers etc.

These are urgent needs, growing directly out of African circumstances and the conditions of Richmond.

We should use our own values, our own priorities, and our own needs, in all our decisions and say “No” to anything that challenges these values.

- *King Moshoeshoe II*

CHAPTER 17

17.1. The Role of Religious Groups

It needs to be said that not all effects of Christianity were negative in the historical development of African society. In fact the balance of gains and losses is highly complex. Steven Biko’s statement quoted in Chapter 2 does not condemn Christianity per se, but rather the association between Christianity and western imperialism. The Christian churches with their messages of redemption have provided a tool to liberation groups in their struggles for self-determination. In South Africa, where almost all African organizations were banned by the then government, the Protestant churches and their leaders stood out as centers of Black resistance.

From the ancient times Africans were religious people. They believe in Goddess Unomkhubulwane. Today in Richmond many Africans are affiliated to different religious organisations. During the violent and political conflict religious groups have made a significant contribution to a peaceful approach. Even during the

medieval era, religious visionaries and people of spiritual understanding have sought to harness the undoubted energy of faith and spirituality for building peace in their countries. In all the religious and spiritual traditions core teaching and values can be found which emphasize that one of the primary religious responsibilities of humankind is to live peacefully and to build conditions of social and community justice that will make it possible for man's true humanness to flourish.

Unfortunately, it is also true that all too often the genuine religious traditions of the planet have been hijacked for nationalist or imperialist ends and organized violence and oppression have often been cloaked in a culture of religion property. This is the phenomenon explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

How do we begin to revamp the religious groups in Richmond? In other words, how can they make the best contribution to peace? It is necessary to understand that the church in Richmond is only secondarily a theological institution, it is primarily a social institution concerned more with fellowship than with dogma. This is especially conducive to the role it must play in peacemaking.

There must be a cadre of ministers who will drive the church towards political consciousness and peace. I am aware that there will be many controversies over strategies as well as objectives, but in the end the innovations of the cadre of

ministers will have permanently altered the structure of the African church. They will see themselves in the fighting images of Rev. John Lungalibalele Dube, the Rev. Dr. Allan Boesak and Archbishop Dennis Hurley. Such cadres of ministers must prepare themselves in the logic and methods of peace. What is greatly appreciative about the young generation of ministers is that they recognize the tremendous social and political power within the Black church and they must wield that power.

Mahatma Gandhi was largely responsible for the widespread and often successful adoption in the 20th century of non-violence as a means of political change. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, including his own Hinduism as well as Christianity, Gandhi offered a critique of violence at two levels: (1) On a personal ethical level, violence causes harm to the actor as well as the victim, even if the violence is used for a just cause. (2) In politics and society, violence does not resolve conflict but at best only suppresses it, and violence often simply replaces one form of unjust domination with another. Violence is therefore an ineffective tool for genuine and enduring change.

Gandhi devised a remarkably disciplined technique of political conflict resolution through (1) non-violence (Satyagraha), involving non-cooperation with governmental authorities who oppress people; (2) civil disobedience against unjust laws and (3) the willingness to suffer violence in the pursuit of a movement aims.

Gandhi's non-violent action had an enormous influence, through Martin Luther King, Jr. and other activists, on the civil rights of the 1950s and 1960s in the USA (www.google.com /**Peacekeeping**)

Those ministers who formulate clear political and social philosophies based on the African center will completely alter the church's emphasis.

Once this occurs, the value of the church to our general revival will become even clearer. The awareness of ministers will represent only the first change awaiting the church. Along with the administrative changes will come new directions that support the aims and objectives of the church. Black people have always had some consciousness of God even though this God consciousness was more characterized by social relationship than anything else. Many Black ministers are responding to this transformation toward a theology with a peaceful meaning.

God must speak out on the subject of peace building, and the churches must interpret God's answers for the church members. This interpretation must not be merely a re-painting of the Madonna to look black. It must be a theology which reflects peace in Richmond.

What the community of Richmond should do, is to guard against the charlatans who would use the church for personal gains. They must be exposed when they are

discovered, and there must be measures taken to ensure that charlatans will be uncovered.

Religious groups must act together to urgently find a meaningful and effective answer – a strategy that will meet basic human needs of the community in Richmond and will guard their human rights. Church ministers should not only seek to understand the causes of poverty, but will also be prepared to denounce those mechanisms that generate such injustices.

In South Africa, there is already a road that seeks to discover an African theology, as part of the need to re-discover African identity and resources. The urgent need in Richmond community is that of an African culture based on knowledge needs to be re-invented as a powerful counter-balance to Westernized domination and non-African consumerism. The African theology must transmit, through African Christian churches, the Christian message in the context of an African culture.

Africanisation of the church and theology is an essential support of the African identity. Church ministers must be involved in the rehabilitation of African culture and history as the first step on the road towards liberation from domination by the elite business class. They must see the need to maintain our traditional religion forms as part of the Richmond community and social security. This will constitute an essential part of their identity. The relationship of Christian daily existence

needs to be integrated into an African theology that can touch the hearts and minds of the Richmond community, who in fact, have never lost touch with their religious traditions.

The search for such an African theology with its investigations into the past must not blind the community of Richmond to the urgent human need of the present. On the contrary, it must dynamically be related to the Christian challenge of absolute poverty and social problem of so many people. It confront directly their sense of justice, their very concepts of sharing and fellowship. Theology must by definition, express the word of God in the language of the issues and the questions of today in Richmond.

If Christian religion becomes embedded in the culture of the Western world merely because historically, it was introduced into the non-Western world by Western missionaries, it will be difficult for it to appeal to non-Western inner feelings and sentiments. In order to reconcile those feelings and sentiments with the worship of God to bestow on the re-construction, Africans need to take control of their destiny and to develop their future for themselves, according to their own cultural, spiritual and material needs. The English language is neither more nor less significant than Zulu, it is and should be highly honoured. One needs to ask whether God speak to the Archbishop of Canterbury in English. Since the Archbishop of Canterbury was an Englishman, one would expect his God to have

spoken to him in his language as God speaks to Africans in Richmond in Zulu. There is nothing more sacred about one language when it is compared to another. One language may have special significance to one person more than to another. It needs to be understood how Christianity made English the language of millions of non-English, thus spreading a specific culture in a most powerful manner. To read the Bible correctly one had to do so in English. This meant that those non-English speakers who wanted to become Christians had to go many steps further than the native born Englishmen who already knew the language of God. Thus unaware that God could speak to him and probably did in his own language, the African ran off to learn a foreign language.

If your God cannot speak to you in your language, what then? What is your language? It is your consciousness. Thus for Africans at Richmond the language would be Zulu. If church ministers wished to preach the word of God in that community, then they must learn an African language. Our problems as Africans come when we lost sight of ourselves, accept other peoples' doctrines, false Gods, mistaken notions of what is true in our history and thus assume individualistic postures. Thus it must be said to African church ministers not to baptize people with non-African names. Why do we have to go through baptizing African people with English names? Before Christianity came in force into South Africa, no indigenous Africans had ever heard names like Joseph, Nelson and John. These names came with Christianity.

Theology cannot be reducible to simple politics, so religion cannot be reducible to purely spiritual relationships with the supernatural. African Christianity and African theology must emerge as a social force, capable of actively protesting against any injustice it finds in the society it serves, and on behalf of those who experience injustice and to whom all of the churches are and ought to be accountable.

In Richmond, situations of deprivation and racism, must call upon the churches, as they indeed call upon governments as well to conversion, as it were, to create something new. Real development for the Richmond town, means implementation of all development activities by the people themselves, it means development which rejects blind imitations of their models from alien cultures, traditions, beliefs and our own sense of justice in community; it means caring, sharing and fellowship.

Such a search for Richmond town needs the involvement of the churches whose vehicle will be the dynamics of a living faith open to the real questions of that community. As Julius Nyerere has said – “in poor nations, the church should actively stand on the side of the poor and the under-privileged. It must lead men and women to holiness by joining them in their struggle with injustice... its members ought to behave as servants of the world, willing to share their

knowledge with those they so frequently acknowledge as their brothers and sisters in Christ” (www.google.com/ Nyerere J)

Certain conditions in a country can bring about the internal peace, stability and confidence which unshackle to the mind. There is now time to think. No more trekking with bleeding feet for hundreds of miles across rocky deserts. No more seeing your kinsmen fall out to welcome death along the way. A home at last, better farms, plenty of foods. And now ... time to think.

- *Chancellor Williams*

CHAPTER 18

18.1. The role of women in developing Richmond

The purveyors of modernization theory discerned that women can become more active in the labour force when a country has solid female education, higher levels of economic development, rapid and more industrial opportunities for women. For their part, dependency theorists argue that the growing debt crisis will force more and more women to the informal labour market. Both modernization and dependency theories are relevant when studying the determinants of female labour force participation (Bradshaw and Noonan, 1997:17).

In 1994 a large number of women in Richmond who had been young girls at the time of my initial research about their economic survival strategies were interviewed. What struck me then was that while many were involved in various forms of informal trading activity such as sex work, smuggling cheap second-hand clothes purchased in Durban into Richmond, working as barmaids or house

servants all but four of the thirty, unmarried, young women stated categorically that they were looking for “real work”. When interviewing women who were involved in prostitution, it found that only few of them got any pleasure out of their situation. For the majority of them it is simple – a very tough job and nothing else. Irrespective of whether they liked the work or not, their standard of living depended on their attitude to work, their sense of responsibility and on diligence. The two women who were hawking vegetables had almost no education. The remaining women interviewed had standard VIII or above and many had had further training, e.g. typing. It is clear that when women attain higher educational levels, their aspirations also rise above a career in the informal trading. Some of these women had children to care for and this meant that they had to spend most of their earnings on domestic expenses rather than on consumer goods.

The parlous state of the Richmond economy probably means that most of these women will be condemned to a “career” in the informal trading just like their mothers. Women with few modern skills and little education can market their domestic skills in a socio-economic setting which allows them to care for their children. Without question the women in this sector are exploited, poor and overworked. Faced with structural and cultural constraints, unable to secure employment at the lower end of the formal trading job hierarchy or to many, someone with a relatively well paid formal occupation, women have little choice but to pursue such income generating opportunities as are available to them.

The daily entry of hundreds of African rural women into towns like Richmond on five day passes had been a feature of the town's landscape even before the turn of the century. The majority of these women brought rural produce, such as fowls, eggs, sticks, herbs and skins – to sell in the town. Utshwala (alcohol), too, had always been sold in this way, and it became an increasingly prominent aspect of the trade. In 1906, for example, the magistrate of Umlazi division reported that African women and girls were constantly conveying large quantities of beer, by rail, to Durban.

“It was a Friday practically the first day of what may be termed the weekend. Some sixty to seventy large gourds, calabashes and paraffin tins, full of kaffir beer, surrounded by ... chattering native girls, occupied a great deal of the station platform. Their number was considerably augmented as time slipped by. When the train departed for Durban, it carried away 168 vessels containing beer. These native females, mostly girls ranged from 20-30 years of age. In conversation with them it was elicited that this beer was destined for brothers, sweethearts, and, in a few cases fathers, at work in Durban, who defray all the expenses” (IY.A,SNA, Vol. 1/1/351, 295/1906, Magistrate, Umlazi to under SNA, 1 October 1906).

Based on their traditional production of beer within rural homesteads, African women retained a significant degree of control over the distillation of agricultural surplus into beer and, by the later decades of the nineteenth century, rapidly turned this situation to their advantage by engaging in the widespread of sale of Utshwala (African beer).

In 1881 the Zulu King Letshwayo was questioned before the native laws and customs commission as follows:

Question: Have you any law preventing people from drinking or selling beer made in your country?

Answer: No, that is the food of the Zulus, they drink it as the English drink tea.

Question: Does it not make them drunk?

Answer: Some get drunk when they drink too much.

Question: Are they punished?

Answer: Not unless a man does something wrong when he is drunk.

Beer was not only the food of the Zulus. Beer drinking was common throughout South Africa. People brewed beer from the grain corn or fruit of their plentiful lands. Brewing could take from four to fourteen days. The final product was a thick, pink-coloured drink. It usually had a low alcohol content. It was refreshing to drink and also rich in nourishing vitamins. Cetshwayo had said, it was like a staple food rather than an alcoholic drink.

Women were usually responsible for brewing beer. Naboth Mokatle in his book "The Autobiography of an Unknown South African" said:

“Beer brewing from the days of my ancestors until today has been the occupation of women. Every woman in my tribe is expected to know how to brew good and nourishing beer.”

At the same time drinking beer was strongly associated with manhood. Men were expected to be beer drinkers. An old Zulu saying “Utshwala buqinisa Uzimba” means “beer strengthens the body”. Beer this was also important at certain events because it helped to build friendly relations with other people. When a praise-poet sang the praises of a chief or the history of his people, there would be a beer drink and a poem such as this Basotho one:

Mabele Khunoa nu ea ralithaku, u panya – pomya u tsoa kae
Moroko? Ke khale ke theasa le Mangope ke u batla.

(Sorghum, the red sorghum: The blinking daughter of the grain,
where have you come from? I have searched for you up and down
the valleys and galleys)

So it was not just drinking beer that was important. Rather, beer drinking helped to strengthen bonds between people. In this way beer played an important role in the everyday life of rural communities.

Although Umqombothi beer brewing and setting was primarily the women’s work in Richmond, there were secondary activities which were conducted by men. There were a number of men who sold firewood which they brought from rural areas to be used for the frying of the fermented maize flour. Certain men assisted with the arduous work of straining the maize millet residues from the standard 16

litre batches of Umqombothi, though they were usually alcoholics content to be paid in drink.

Limited quantities of gin (locally called ugavini or African gin) was distilled and sold in the Richmond townships. It was usually made in more remote and shanty areas mainly by men. Gavini (gin) was regularly retailed by women, distributed to them in plastic bleach bottles by quick witted boys, sure-footed enough to elude the police.

When the researcher returned to Richmond in 1999, it was found that the brewing of Umqombothi beer and its retailing out of individual women's rooms was practically defunct. It became clear that an apparent shift in informal trade activity had occurred. The women told me that while in the 1970s they had "fed and educated their children well through the production and sale of beer, this had now become impossible to do".

What had happened was that the production of maize beer had been taken over by a capitalist enterprise. A certain white firm had discovered how to malt the fermentation of maize beer through additives, thus making its production and sale on a large scale economically feasible (Interviews with three women in Richmond , 1999).

The rebuilding of local society and the involvement of women at this level are some of the key points to ending negative conflict in Richmond. The women in Richmond are at once the backbone, mainstay and the main driving force in the social revolution that affected the region of KwaZulu-Natal. Women in South Africa have always been more dauntless in courage than their men and uncompromising foes in action against social injustice and oppression. They so much personify industry itself that we are certain that the future of African civilization rests largely on their hands.

Women in Richmond need the opportunity through training to reintegrate the rapidly disintegrated families , replacing the feeling of shame on the part of the youth being educated with a feeling of pride, and adding a new sense of inspiration for the work of their men. The Richmond women already have almost inexhaustible resources in power, will and courage. What is needed is the kind of educational guidance that will enable them to realize a fuller personality development through service to home and community.

The other role for Richmond women will be in the community. Their place has never been limited to the home. They have ever been on the go, often serving as beasts of burden. This latter role as beasts of burden is still in evidence everywhere in South Africa. The role must be brought to an end. They must be given the dignity and respect they have earned with sweat and the hardest toil

without complaining. They must be relieved of this “hardest toil” in order to become healthier and better mothers, a job second to none in building a community.

I am speaking here not for the well to do, nor the socially distant “upper class”, but for the market women and particularly those I have seen ambling along the roadsides with loads upon their heads that only a male should carry, not to mention their child also strapped on the back. In so far as women of Richmond are concerned, the better educated must either break from their Western style of life and work shoulder to shoulder with their underprivileged sisters or they must admit that social policy in Richmond has not really touched them and that they are still colonized at heart.

The women’s club must become less concerned with social tea parties and address themselves to the question of what they can do, specifically, to improve the conditions of life for women generally. They need to become an active force in the general education programme for women. The future of Richmond is largely in the hands of its women. They are anxious to serve, as they have always served; but they must have training at present. Their better prepared sisters have the responsibility of leadership, not from a distance, but by mingling and working with the masses.

Here the social policy becomes very real indeed. This will be a quite shock to many of the well-to-do or wealthy families because they will be at once confronted with the servant problem. There must be a new attitude towards their "servants", and a new kind of relationship. What is needed is a firm resolve that benefits Richmond in its totality. Freedom and redemption shall flow to the whole of the Richmond community, not in theory but in factual reality. Having made that resolution, with God's a good system of a "master/servant" relationship can be worked out in various ways, no doubt differing somewhat from family to family. Education in this kind of relationship will be important.

The better educated women are, obviously, in a key position for this particular social change. Study and group discussion through the same democratic process in attacking all problems can be used. These women could assume the leadership in shaping the new relationship that will be consonant with the dignity and sense of worth which should be the new birth right of every member of the community.

One of their most important tasks will be in the field of family and community organisations for united action in attacking the many problems of transition from apartheid to freedom. They must be organized to this end, each community having fixed purpose and definite goals to be reached. The women will be the best organizers if they are carefully trained for this task. The overriding importance of

every local undertaking is that it will be a contribution towards building a community.

Women in Richmond can play an important role. They have a new status, whether they know it or not. They have a new mission, and new responsibilities. That mission is community building, and the lines of march are quite clear. The better educated woman who is not an active member in the vanguard role should now hand her head in shame.

Richmond women are now called upon to show the mettle they unquestionably have in the whole community. This can be done on the same economic front where African women have already demonstrated their superior worth. Economic action must come first in Richmond because the whole structure of the society will have to be based on solid economic foundations.

The women in Richmond as “mothers of men” are called upon now to assume a far more positive role in bringing about a better community. This can no longer be left exclusively to men , because they have been making a mess of things for so many centuries that turmoil has come to be regarded as the normal order of things. Women can no longer remain helplessly in the background when civilization itself now depends so very much upon them. Prof Chancellor Williams discerned that

“women have always been the more spiritual members of the human family, the living personification of love itself and the civilizing influence on men.”

What is needed now is a very definite sense of mission, and a drive with religious approach to reach set goals. The drive itself calls for the organization of women in that community. This matter of carefully organizing the people for action is going to be at once one of the biggest and most important undertakings in Richmond because it is going to be through organized action under honest and intelligent leadership, so that real progress will be made. The women, because of their well-known drive and interest, are particularly fitted for this task.

The major goals of the community itself will have to be clear-cut if the people are to work actively in order to achieve them through social action programmes. Social action means co-operative action. However, the emphasis is on carefully planned and organized social action. Study and planning for local economic development in terms of community enterprises, improved and more diversified farming, community health, better housing, and more planned pleasure for young and old are key issues of a solid and carefully-planned programme.

It is going to take more than ordinary patience for the tasks ahead. This is another reason why the role of womanhood is more important than ever. They have more patience than the men, and apparently, can see farther down the road. Often when

men give up the women say “keep going”. The men, in their various heavy tasks, are going to need the combined supporting strength of their women.

Women are the natural educators of the young, a fact that immediately points up why they should be well trained for this responsibility. Even if they had only an elementary education, their beneficial influence on the young would be far reaching. An entirely new outlook and a more fruitful relationship may be expected from the kind of education that will enable the women to make home the center of a more pleasant life, give children the kind of training they need for their rapidly changing community, and extend their motherly influence by working closely with the young people of the community in their respective organizations. The women and youth of Richmond must be mobilized as the supporting arms of all development programmes.

There is so very much that can be done to develop the community's economy without foreign aid. There are areas that import millions of rands in goods that should be produced at home. Even eggs, butter, cheese and meat are imported. It is an immense failure to find so little interest in such urgent needs as poultry raising and green vegetable gardens.

A new field in a new frame of reference will be that of specially trained women economists as community advisors. Under their leadership, home economics can

be expanded to “market economics”. More sanitary and attractive market places, new food products and dishes from what is grown in Richmond, such as amadumbe, amabhece, beans, etc. and new crops not now grown, but for which both the soil and climate are waiting can be explored.

In many areas they will be training centers for the “little factories” that should begin to spring up here and there over the country – roofing, painting, canning, shoe-making, furniture, various household utensils, soap, cloth, clothing etc.

The chemistry of food should be another challenging field for women in Richmond. Women chemists can take a leading role in developing cosmetic factories for the new Richmond women will be demanding all kinds of beauty preparations as well as new variations in hairstyles and dress fashions . The field of fashion and style alone offer limitless opportunities to pioneering women.

The “Better Homes for Better Babies” drive will have to be centered primarily on nutrition and a more healthy environment. In this letter the women should become the “watchdogs” of the community’s health in general, leaving only the particulars to the doctors.

When women of Richmond undertake comprehensive programmes for their advance and that of their community, the response of the women in other provinces

may surprise them. At the same time the immediate need is a well-developed programme of basic and home education for women as a part of the movement to reorganize the family, restore the dignity and respect of parents and elders, and make the youth in the schools and colleges prouder and prouder of their relatives, their home and their community. This is the challenge to Richmond women. Only a positive action programme will enable them to meet it.

It should be remembered that modern feminism, which owes its rise in part to the civil rights movement, has sometime argued that violence is itself a function of patriarchy, that is, the male domination of society and politics. On this view, patriarchy necessarily suppresses and controls women as the corollary of or even the pre-condition to, the domination of other human beings through racism and colonialism. True human liberation therefore demands the overthrow of male supremacy. Some feminists, such as Andrea Dworkin, argues that in a context of unequal power, sexual relations between men and women inevitably constitute a form of violence (that is rape), despite the illusion of women's consent. The feminist legal theorist Catherine McKinnon has endeavoured to ban pornography as propaganda which implants literal, and not just metaphorical violence to women, both in its production and in the attitudes and behaviour which it inspires(
www.altavista.com/feminism/debates).

The immediate need is a well-developed program of basic and home education for women as part of the movement to reorganise the family, restore the dignity and respect of parents and elders, and make the youth in the schools and colleges prouder of their relatives, their home and their community. This is the challenge of womanhood. Only a positive action programme will enable them to meet it. Since there are no finer women in the world, failure to mobilize for the service women are anxious to render is failure to use the country's best hope. The serious and heavy duties of women and youth are now almost inseparable.

Prof Ali Mazrui discerned that a revolution in gender equality is needed because we are under-utilizing the talents of our women. We should find ways to release those talents and energies, so that our women can contribute more to the upliftment of everybody. This is not some issue about women's rights : it is women empowerment and this means Africa's development as a whole (The Star 06.07.2002).

Youth of South Africa, the suffering of your people has been far too much and far too long! We ask you to turn your attention towards the plight and common good of your people.

(Statement of the National Executive Committee of ANC Youth League, 16 June 2002)

CHAPTER 19

19.1. The role of youth in Richmond

A peaceful solution in Richmond is still yet to come, because if the people of Richmond are really going to advance on a broad front, that approach is going to be in education : Radical changes will have to be made in the organisational structure of the education system if the necessary changes in content and purpose are to be carried through.

What is more, some of the best schools such as the Endaleni College must rise – the Technikons must become so famous that the youth of other provinces will be coming to Richmond to complete their education.

Many youths of late have the problem of attitude towards the present government. South African White controlled newspapers continue to emphasize the propaganda line that “African intellectuals are anti-government”, or that the “better classes are

anti-government". The campaign is subtle, almost "underground". We found it to be very real, not imaginary, and carried on so completely in every part of the country that it appeared to be well organized. It is effective because it appealed to tribal differences and to the vanity and superiority complexes of the so-called "elite". The data collected during my research study show that an impressive number of youth come from these families. If then these youths are bitterly anti-government they are so because of this family status and circumstances. I can say that this "falling into the hands of the enemy" will be a setback for the peaceful resolution in Richmond.

For the old colonial formula of "divide and rule", always easy to carry out in tribal regions, is now applied on a higher level.

The youth must be aware that they must pay attention also to the fact that many tribal chiefs are opposing the present African leadership in certain areas because, while they are also supportive of freedom and independence, they wanted power to be in their hands, leaving the masses of people exactly in the same backward conditions of life as they were. These tribal chiefs are therefore deadly foes of the "new" leaders.

When dealing with women I discussed another problem that involves youths directly. This is the attitude of educated young people, even half-educated young

people, towards their illiterate parents and other relatives. This attitude tends to further destroy the family organization that is going to be needed more than ever before. The road to peace in Richmond is going to be one on which every evil obstacle in the way of the advance must be overcome through a carefully planned programme of action.

What the youth does is going to determine in large measure the future of Richmond. That is the period of laying solid foundations. How well the youth supports the leaders of today will determine the future of Richmond. It is easy enough to become specialists in criticism, standing aside. However, the best way to correct anything that is going wrong during this crucial period is to join the team, prove one's own worth by the contribution made, and then offer friendly and intelligent counsel.

It is felt that the first preparatory role of the youth should be a careful study of the politics of South Africa after democratic election in 1994. They will need this broad perspective to see the place of Richmond in its settings and that of South Africa in general. They will need this background in understanding the long march of the human family, its beliefs, the institutions developed to realize needs, the pitfalls and the successes. To be ignorant about politics is to be ignorant of what you are trying to do now. Politics will show the youth where they have been, how they arrived where they are, whether they have traveled the best routes. If they

study politics, this will lead them to the same conclusions we ourselves have reached. Then the answer will be obvious to those who wanted to know how the youth should play a significant role during peace process in Richmond. This can be as follows:

1. *They can help to reorganize the education system of Richmond from bottom to top.*
2. They can help developing an African democracy in that area. This means laying the economic foundations for a spiritual – moral society in which built-in freedom and individual initiatives use the guarantees of real independence and the highest personality development, a system in which one serves himself best when he serves the community first.
3. They can help by studying the economics of co-operative organization and business administration, of how to adopt African needs around the already co-operative family system, and then proceed with the training of other co-operative instructors and leaders for the task of completely organizing the community.
4. Youth can work with community in studying and planning ways and means of improving community and social life – how to beautify your village, improve health, education, sports or play activities for all, how to increase farm production, poultry, livestock or what small industries, if any, the community should develop.

5. Youth can help bring new life to the village and countryside. No one should have to leave his or her home to live in big town for either work or fun. Both pleasure and work activities must be planned for. For the object of work is a fuller, happier life.
Youth, however, must be warned about impatience and expectation of quick, overnight results. They have to learn what things can be rushed through quickly and what things require long study and careful preparation before attempting operationalisation and implementation.
6. They can mobilize each other in the organization for self-improvement and the promotion of creative activities: poetry, music, plays, the novel, experiments and inventions.
7. Mere words of condemnations and ridicule change nothing. Like the Apostle Paul of Athens, “you must praise people and much of what they are doing now, and then being on their side, you can lead them to something better. But you must first be on their side.”

These seven points, are sufficient answers. They indicate the vastness of what is to be done. It is not one man’s job. It is a co-operative program for people with little or no money, but with an indomitable will to go forward. Furthermore, the youth must make the marked advance in political maturity and the democratic process of solving problems through give and take discussions. The object of these discussions is like science, to arrive at truth, to discover through the exchange of

ideas what is the best thing to do in a given situation. What ideas are best, not whose ideas they are, is the important thing. It does not matter how “big” or important any one individual may be in a meeting. His ideas should not prevail just because he is a big man for his ideas are not always either big or best. Stated another way, one must not support that because of his high education means that his judgement is necessarily superior to the collective judgement of an uneducated group. I think both Aristotle and John Stuart Mill were correct in their view that the collective wisdom of the people is generally superior to that of any one of them, no matter how wise that one may be.

This matter of development through the exchange of ideas in discussions and the attitude of the leader in such discussions is important if there is to be real community development, and not merely its shadow. One can have all saints in the regional government, while scores of little dictators may be running things in local communities, not by any law, but because they are “bosses” in one category or another. For example a store manager, a head clerk, a shop supervisor, a schoolmaster, an education officer, and/ or a supervisor of this or that, all expecting special deference and even fear on the part of the people under them. Other dictators could be the better educated who at meetings expect everyone to yield to their opinions as though they were newly given on Mount Sinai.

19.2. Challenges for the youth of Richmond

It is the youth of that region who must join hands with their present dedicated leaders. They must study and develop economic, social and political sciences consonant with their own cultural values and needs ,and must take the initiative in reorganizing the education system from the bottom up, the top being education with a civilizing mission that may be a model for that community.

In undertaking the task of building a community in that region, the youth must be fully aware that every minute that they are engaged in the work of turning community wishes and noblest aspiration into a practical, living reality is as valuable as wisdom herself. They should not forget a key central point for a single minute. That central point is that while economic salvation for the poor masses can come best through united action, the co-operative way is far more than an economic system . It is actually religion in action. It is a system of practicing what the churches teach but do not practice. It is organized comradeship on a community-wide basis. It is one for all and all for one – a traditional African social, moral and economic principle developed into modern life. It bars competition for the basic essentials of life: No one should have to compete for food to eat; no one should compete for decent clothes to wear and no one should compete for a decent house to live in. Above all the co-operative society is the only kind of society in which a human science can create the conditions necessary for

the progressive development of more humane, highly civilized human beings. This is the bottom line

Different kinds of “regulation” are necessary in order to establish the co-existence of human beings. The regulation of relations between the individual and the community as a whole, of which he is a member by “association” or by contract or with institutions of that community are regulated by public or constitutional. The laws themselves whose role is to prescribe the regulations and to indicate how they should be made to work, are made by the individuals of the community or by the community of individuals and yet the laws also originate from some supreme, ancestral and unwritten laws.

Ghita Ionesch

CHAPTER 20

20.1. Transforming the judicial system

Justice is a very important element in resolving political violence in Richmond because punishment of the perpetrators of mass murders builds the foundation for genuine regional peace. When justice is done and seen to be done, it provides hopes for those physically or psychologically affected by conflict. Deep-seated resentments are removed and people feel that a clean slate has been provided for co-existence. This is one of the goals for solving the political violence in Richmond.

However, using justice as an element of conflict resolution will not be a straight-forward process. In the past obstacles occurred within the judicial system whereby

murderers were acquitted. For example, Tim McNally, the Attorney General of KwaZulu-Natal did not fulfil the obligations of punishing those who tried to defeat the ends of justice. When Almond Nofomela confessed that he was involved with senior police in the death squads, the McNally Commission dismissed Nofomela's confession and believed the evidence of the mass murderer, Eugene de Kock. McNally prosecuted Dirk Coetzee, Nofomela and David Tshikalanga, a murderer of Griffiths Mxenge instead of using them as state witnesses against senior police officers in order to destroy the chain of command of police death squads (Interviews with B.Cele , and Mr Phungula , who followed the cases very closely because of their interest in it)

McNally declined to use Romeo Mbambo and Gcino Mkhize of the Esikhawini death squad as state witnesses against their political seniors. He also failed to produce results for an instruction by Judge Van Der Reyden indicating that some IFP political leaders should be investigated. McNally was also severely criticized for his handling of the Magnus Malan trial.

In 1996 a former Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, 14 senior SADF officers and five Caprivi trainees were acquitted on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder arising from the Caprivi training. The court dismissed evidence that the accused had been involved in the 1987 massacre of 13 people in

KwaMakhuta and that Inkatha members had been trained in the Caprivi to act as hit squads against the ANC and the UDF in KwaZulu-Natal ([www.iol.co.za /](http://www.iol.co.za/) Malan Magnus)

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission decided to investigate the same case as this provided a better vehicle for revealing the truth about the past than in comparison with the Courts (*Rapport*, 25 May 1997).

In March 1997, the TRC was presented with a report on the Caprivi training compiled by Howard Varney who was the Chairman of the civilian board responsible for the investigation task Unit on the Caprivi training. The report showed that the prosecution had mismanaged the Malan case, while the trial judge, Mr Justice Jan Hugo, had failed “to get grips with the documentary evidence regarding operation Marion – the code name for the Caprivi training” (*Sunday Times*, 30 March 1997).

The report indicated that in the mid-1980s, the State Security Council (SSC) had discussed, among other things, the development of an offensive paramilitary unit for Inkatha. It argued that members of the SSC must have known that, if Inkatha were given such a capacity, it would use it to launch attacks on its political opponents.

Hence, all of those who had participated in the SSC discussion were “accountable for the acts of murder and problems that flowed from the creation of the project” (*Sunday Times*, 30 March 1997). D. Ntzebeza, the head of the TRC investigative unit, said that the commission would study the report to see if the TRC supported the verdict in the Malan trial (*Business Day*, 10 April 1997). In May 1997, one of the commissioners, Mr Richard Lyster, said three Caprivi trainees would give evidence, but this never happened (*Rapport*, 25 May 1997).

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs and President of IFP, responded that the commission was effectively trying to re-open the Malan case. Judge Hugo had found the training legal and, if individual trainees had committed crimes since then, this could not be attributed to Chief Buthelezi or the IFP. In July 1997 six individuals were subpoenaed to give evidence regarding the Caprivi training to the TRC behind closed doors. Those subpoenaed included Dr Neil Barnard, a former head of the National Intelligence Service, General Basic Smith, a former senior officer in the South African Police, implicated by the Goldstone Commission in alleged “Third-force” activities and General Jack Buchner, a former Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police (KZP) who had been similarly implicated (*Rapport* 29 June 1996) .

Dr Barnard told the commission that he had always opposed the creation of paramilitary unit in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s. At that stage, secret planning was always under way to begin negotiations with the ANC. A paramilitary unit would escalate conflict, result in further deaths and delay a peaceful constitutional solution (*Business Day*, 16 July 1997).

The commission arranged a special two-week hearing in Durban in August 1997 to canvas the activities of the Caprivi trainees. The TRC served notice on 114 persons – including Chief Buthelezi, Mr F.W. de Klerk, General Malan, various cabinet ministers, and 33 IFP leaders who could be detrimentally implicated by the former Caprivi trainees and the SADF (*Rapport*, 29 June 1997).

Varney told the TRC that the Caprivi trainees had acted “at the behest of the most powerful individuals within the apartheid state and its surrogate homeland structures. Chief Buthelezi had deliberately sought and been given an offensive capacity for Inkatha by the SADF (*Cape Times*, 7 August 1997). Judge Hugo had erred in his interpretation of the relevant documents, which made it clear that the training had aimed at building up “an offensive capacity to carry out attacks against enemy agents”.

Daluxolo Luthuli, said he was the leader of the Caprivi trainees, described the part played by himself and Mr M.Z. Khumalo, the personal assistant to Chief Buthelezi in training and deploying the Caprivi group. Addressing the media after the hearing, he said that Chief Buthelezi “must have known about hit-squad activities”. (*Business Day*, 15 August 1997) and should be served notice by the TRC. Chief Buthelezi must have known what his personal assistant, his senior KZP officers, fellow IFP leaders and IFP foot soldiers were up to, he said (*Cape Times*, 15 August 1997).

The former SADF generals told the TRC that they could not be held responsible for any illegal conduct in which the Caprivi trainees might later have engaged. They described Mr Varney’s evidence as “biased and false” and said it contained “lies and deliberate distortions”. The training had been for a lawful purpose and had taken place in the context of frequent attacks on Inkatha by the ANC and the UDF (*The Citizen*, 16 August 1997).

As the hearing proceeded, the IFP withdrew from peace talks with the ANC in protest against the TRC’s alleged bias (*Business Day*, 11 August 1997). Chief Buthelezi called for the commission to be abolished because “it was doing nothing to either reveal the truth or to reconcile people” (*Business Day*, 15 August 1997). In October 1997 the IFP asked the public protector to investigate the TRC’s anti-

IFP bias and its apparent intent to discredit political parties in opposition to the ANC (*The Citizen*, 9 October 1997).

In April 1998 Luthuli and six former KZP officers – mostly Caprivi trainees- applied to the TRC for amnesty and gave evidence that they had been involved in numerous killings and massacres, such as the one in Kwa Makhutha in 1987. In all, the seven applied for amnesty for 56 incidents in which more than 100 people had been murdered (*Sowetan*, 7 April, 1998).

Under such circumstances the then office of Attorney-General needed to be transformed and an investigating director of prosecutions for the National Prosecuting Authority Act was to be appointed in order to oversee and prosecute perpetrators of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal. The transformation of justice is essential to the historical process of humanizing that community.

What then are other directions of transforming justice? We must study our traditional and earliest judicial African systems. If the community of Richmond should embrace and follow the traditional patterns of justice, peace will prevail. There would be no bias in punishing the perpetration of political violence.

20.2. Constitutional Law and fundamental rights of the Richmond people

The National Constitution extended the rights of regional government to draft its own constitution. The region of KwaZulu-Natal should also apply our traditional patterns as well in order to maintain peace in that region. It should be remembered that Africans preferred to dwell on the constitutional theories and not the constitutional practices. They would proudly speak of the freedom and absolute powers of the Chief or King (Isilo Samabandla). Some will even tell you that the King owned the land in the country. They are not trying to deceive when they mean that he has absolute power to carry out the will of the people. It was so well understood that supreme power rested in the people that it was never thought necessary to state such a fact. Likewise, they would say proudly that the King owns all the land in the country since everybody but a fool knew that he did not, that nobody owned the land and that the King's role was that of custodian and overseer, his principal duty being to see that the land was fairly distributed among all families.

I would like to highlight different versions and modifications of the laws occurred in traditional society of Richmond drawn from the African Traditional Constitutional and Customary Laws:

- i) The people are the first and final source of power.

- ii) The rights of the community of people are and of right ought to be, superior to those of any individual, including Chiefs and Kings.
 - a) The will of the people is the supreme law.
 - b) The King or a Chief are under the law, not above it.
- iii) Kings, Chiefs and Elders are leaders, not rulers. They are the elected representatives of the people and the instruments for executing their will.
- iv) Local government and people are one and the same.
- v) The family is recognised as the primary social, judicial, economic and political unity in the society, the family Council may function as a court empowered to try all internal matters involving only members of the extended family group.
- vi) The elder of each clan is its chosen representative on the Council.
- vii) Decisions in Council are made by the Elders. The Chief or King must remain silent. Even when the Council decision is announced, it is done through a speaker. Decrees or laws are issued in the same manner to assure that the voice of the Chief or King is the voice of the people.
- viii) The land belongs to no one. It is God's gift to mankind for use as a sacred heritage, transmitted by our forefathers as a bond between the living and the dead, to be held in trust by each generation for the unborn who will follow, and thus to the last generation.

- ix) Each family, therefore, has a right to land, free of charge, sufficient for its economic wellbeing; for the right to the opportunity and means to make a living is the right to live.
 - a) The land, accordingly, cannot be sold or given away.
 - b) The land may be held for life and passed on to the family's heirs and so on forever.
 - c) The Chief is the custodian of all land, the principal duty being to assure fair distribution and actual use.
- x) All moneys, gifts, taxes and other forms of donations to the Chief or King still belong to the people for relief or aid to individuals in times of need.
- xi) Every member of the state has the right of appeal from a lower to higher court.
 - a) The procedure was from the Chiefs Village Court to the District Court, to the Provincial Court, to the Kings Court.
 - b) Such appeals were allowed in serious or major crimes only.
- xii) Fines for offenses against an individual went to the victim, not the court.
 - a) Part of the money received from the loser was returned to him as an expression of goodwill and desire for the renewal of friendship.
 - b) Another part was given as a fee to the Trial Court as an appreciation of justice.
- xiii) Royalty in African terms means royal worth, the highest in character, wisdom, sense of justice and courage.

- a) He who founded the nation by uniting many as one must be the real leader, guide and servant of his people.
 - b) The people, in honour of the founder of the nation, thereafter will elect Chiefs from the founder family lineage if the heirs meet the original test that reflected the founders character, whose spirit was supposed to be inherited.
- xiv) The trouble of one is the trouble of all. No one may go in want while others have anything to give. All people are brothers and sisters. Each is his brother's or sister's keeper.
- xv) Age grades, sets and classes are social, economic, political and military system for:
- a) Basic and advanced traditional educators .
 - b) Individual and group responsibility roles.
 - c) Police and military training.
 - d) Division of labour.
 - e) Rites of passage and social activities. In chiefless societies the age grades are the organs of social, economic and political action.
- xvi) Bride Price (umakoti) or Bride Wealth is the gift that signifies mutual acceptance on the part of both families and is intended as a family security bond which may be returned in part if the wife turns out to be worthless or utterly unsatisfactory. (Bride Wealth tended to stabilize the institution of marriage that is Lobola. This was not "wife-buying")

- xvii) The community as a whole is conceived of as “one party” opposition being conducted by leaders of various factions.
- a) Factions of opposition are usually formed by the different age groups.
 - b) Debates may go on indefinitely or until a consensus is reached.
 - c) Once a consensus is reached, and the community will determine all open opposition to the common will must cease.
 - d) Those whose opposition is so serious that they are unwilling to accept the new law may “splinter off” either individually or in groups under a leader.
- xvi) In warfare the object is not to kill the enemy, but to overcome him with fear, such as screaming war cries, loud noise, etc. Where killing is unavoidable it must be kept at a minimum. In the case of defeat there must be some kind of ruse to enable the enemy to retire in honour.
- xvii) The African religion, not being a creed or “article of faith”, but an actual way of thinking and living, is reflected in all institutions and is therefore, of the greatest constitutional significance.
- a) Politically, the role of the Chief as High Priest who presents prayers of the people to his and their ancestors in Heaven, is the real source of his influence, political or otherwise.

- b) Socially the rites of songs and dances (to drive away evil, etc.) as well as the purification and sacrificial rites for the atonement of sins – are important.
- xviii) Since religious and moral law must prevail and the race survive, a man may have more than one wife, for he is forbidden to sleep or cohabit with his wife, either during the nine months of pregnancy or during the suckling period of one or two years thereafter.
- a) The wife may not prepare meals for the husband or family during the menstrual period.
 - b) The husband is strictly forbidden to have any kind of relationship with one wife during the set period that belongs to another wife.
- xix) The supreme command of the fighting forces is under the Council, not the King. If the King becomes the Commander-in-Chief, it is through election by the Council because of his qualification as a general or field commander. This position ends with the war and the armed forces return to former status under the Council or more directly under the respective Paramount Chief.

The Midlands ancient community are self-governing people. They were not a Utopian society in any idealistic sense. There was a practical community in every way. The laws were natural laws and order and justice prevailed because the community could not otherwise survive. There was in fact, a government of the

people; theirs was, in fact, not a theory, but a government by the people; and it was in fact, a government for the people.

20.3. Citing the traditional and fundamental rights of the Midlands community

The following is a representative number of human rights, also drawn from customary laws and traditional constitutions. At the same time it must be taken into consideration by the contemporary Richmond community. Every member of the community had:

- 1) The right to equal protection of the law.
- 2) The right to a home.
- 3) The right to land sufficient for earning a livelihood for oneself and his family.
- 4) The right to aid in times of trouble.
- 5) The right to petition for redress of grievances.
- 6) The right to criticize and condemn any acts by the authorities or proposed new laws (opposition groups, in some areas called “The Youngmen”, were recognized by law).
- 7) The right to reject the community’s final decision on any matter and to withdraw from the community unmolested – the right of rebellion and withdrawal.

- 8) The right to a fair trial. There must be no punishment greater than the offense, or fines beyond ability to pay. This latter is determined by income and status of the individual and his family.
- 9) The right to indemnity for injuries or loss caused by others.
- 10) The right to family or community care in cases of sickness or accidents.
- 11) The right to special aid from the Chief in circumstances beyond a family's ability.
- 12) The right to general education covering morals and good manners, family rights and responsibilities, kinship groups and social organization, neighbourhoods and boundaries, farming and marketing, rapid mental calculation, and family, clan etc.
- 13) The right to apprentice training for a useful vocation.
- 14) The right to an inheritance as defined by custom.
- 15) The right to develop one's ability and exercise any developed skills.
- 16) The right to protect one's family and kinsmen, even by violent means if such becomes necessary and can be justified.
- 17) The right to the protection of moral law in respect to wife and children – a right even the Chief cannot violate.
- 18) The right of a man, to rise to occupy the highest positions in the state if he has the requisite ability and character.
- 19) The right to protection and treatment as a guest in enemy territory once one is within the gates of the enemy's village, township or city.

- 20) And the right to an equal share in all benefits from common community undertakings if one has contributed to the fullest extent of his ability, no matter who or how many were able to contribute more.

Consequently, these constitutional principles and practices were held on to and carried by Africans to every part of Midlands KwaZulu-Natal. For the Richmond community to adopt the above mentioned principles will not be an exciting choice but a timely one.

Wherever there is life, even if it be only a possibility, the harbingers of death must go to destroy it. See the footsteps they have left over all the world. Wherever they have been they have destroyed along their road, taking, taking, taking.

- Ayi Kwei Armah

CHAPTER 21

21.1. Transforming security apparatus

I was interested in how these people (security forces and third force) dedicated themselves to a system that is oppressive. How had they overcome their doubts, their fears? What was the source of their inner strength to swim against the tide and battle an omniscient and barbaric regime? Such issues of the moral and historical responsibilities of individuals were largely passed over in publications within the system of apartheid particularly the Afrikaaner turbloid.

In a system of apartheid errors of judgement were practically inevitable. The deliberations of the Securocrats usually degenerated into a formal, time-wasting marathon. In the rare meetings of the Nationalist Party, P.W. Botha's lengthy monologues were generally followed by discussion of commonplaces and superfluous peripheral matters.

The securocrats appeared absurd, their activities at best was senseless game, at worst immortal. I would reckon that the security apparatus be cut by at least half without loss of efficiency. But it is true that in the age computer hackers, and technological intelligence, which does not come cheap, has to be used, human agents cannot be completely replaced. So even if security service is indispensable, their size can be considerably reduced if their tasks are precisely defined. They can be used against crime, and the burgeoning narcotics and co-operation is essential in limiting the spread of farm robberies.

What concerns me more is that if security apparatus is not reduced, the temptation will forever remain for government to spy and control their own people. It goes without saying that they will be used to abuse civil rights. Control of security apparatus in a new democratic government is difficult if not impossible. Even supervisory committees limited to a few, hand-picked members of parliament are unable to pierce the essential secrecy. The endless history of scandals in parliaments is a proof of that.

As long as there are political conflicts and army ready supposedly to solve them, no nation will dispense with a service to reconnoiter the intentions and capacities of a potential enemy.

21.2. Transforming the police

During the apartheid era, particularly during political and violent conflict in Richmond, police had the power to jail anyone for up to two or three days without pressing charges. Once charged, a suspect have a “hold” placed on him by the Attorney General or come law enforcement officials and be kept in custody until trail time. The large number of arrests during conflict, without charges or conviction, suggested that frequently the purpose of arrest was not to convict but to harass, intimidate, and immobilize.

In many situations the prejudices of the police officers are crucial determinant of who gets arrested. When members of the UDF in Endaleni were attacked by neighbourhood IFP in 1987, the KwaZulu police arrived on the scene, arrested the victims and allowed their assailants to walk off untouched. Studies show that ANC have many more personal experiences with police brutality than IFP.

A factor sometimes determining the seriousness of the charges is the degree of injury sustained, not inflicted by the individual during the course of his arrest. Police were inclined to bring heavier charges against someone whom they have badly beaten, if only to justify the beating and further punish the “offender”. The beating itself is likely to be taken as evidence of guilt. “I cannot believe a police would hit anyone for no reason”, announced one judge in a trial of a student who had been repeatedly clubbed by the police while participating in an anti-apartheid demonstration. In the eyes of the police, arrest is practically tantamount to guilt,

and the police will supply the allegations necessary for conviction, the courts are treated as a mere adjunct to their purpose (Paul Chevigny, 1969 :276-277).

After being charged and booked, the suspect is held in custody to await trial. During trial the judge has the option of doing anything from releasing the defendant on his own recognizance to imposing a bail high enough to keep him or her in jail until his trial date – which might come a couple of years later, as was the fate of numerous UDF arrested in police raids in Richmond.

Police brutality can occur openly within very halls of justice. In the trial of the surviving UDF members, the two prisoners entered the court one day reporting that they had been beaten and burned with cigarettes by police. When defense attorney tried to draw the attention of the presiding judge to the marks and bruises that were visible to court spectators, he denied being able to see anything of the kind and refused to step forward at the attorneys request to get a closer look.

The police brutality was often fatal. A UDF student was forced to lie face down in a Richmond police station and a policeman cold-bloodedly pumps a bullet into his head. A Black man, father of five children, is killed by an angry White off-duty policeman whose car has been accidentally scraped by someone else. A Black man, father of three, driving at Magoda without a license, becomes frightened when finding himself followed by police and flees his car, only to be shot dead by

a policeman who utters no warning. A Phatheni resident, finding his house surrounded by armed police, flees in terror out of the back door and was shot dead.

Few of these police involved in these cases and others ever been indicted for murder. Most have been exonerated by commission of enquiries despite the highly incriminating testimony of eyewitnesses. A few have been suspended from the force, and a few have been tried for “justifiable homicide” or manslaughter and acquitted.

When the police charge, beating, gassing demonstrators, they usually operating with a court injunction which allows them to exert force in order to protect the interests of the business sector.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission recommended:

- A comprehensive review of intelligence practices. The former government encouragement of covert practices led to a serious lack of accountability. Moreover, the liberation movements themselves were forced to act in a clandestine way. In order to develop a new ethic among the security forces, it is imperative that the intelligence culture be subjected to intensive review.
- An investigation into front companies. The private security industry in particular needs intensive scrutiny, as security companies frequently provided a cover for security force operatives.

However stance took by the government in 1991 of calling for National Peace Accord, particularly with the sole purpose of setting code of conduct for the security forces worth to be taken into favourable consideration. Below is the consensus reached at the accord on police conduct.

Code of conduct of the South African Police

All members of the South African Police shall commit themselves to abide by the Code of Conduct in the following terms:

As a member of the South African Police, I undertake to adhere to the following Code of Conduct to the best of my abilities:

As POLICE OFFICIAL I will observe the oath of loyalty which I made to the Republic of South Africa by performing the task that is required of me by law, with untiring zeal, single-mindedness and devotion to duty, realising that I accept the following principles:

- In order to preserve the fundamental and constitutional rights of each individual by the use of preventive measures, or alternatively, in the event of disruption, to restore social order by the use of reactive policing.

- The authority and powers accorded to the Police for the maintenance of social order, and the subsidiary objectives they adopt are dependent upon and subject to public approval, and the ability to secure and retain the respect of the public.
- The attainment and retention of public approval and respect include the co-operation of the public in the voluntary observance of the laws.
- Any offence or alleged offence by any member of the South African Police, of the common law or statutory law, including the Police Act and the regulations promulgated in accordance thereof, shall be thoroughly investigated and in the event of any violation thereof, appropriate measures shall be taken. Such an offence or alleged offence, depending on the nature thereof, may be referred to a Police Reporting Officer or the Commission established in terms of the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation Act, 1991, or to a commission that shall be specifically appointed for that purpose. All assistance and co-operation possible shall be rendered to a commission such as this, and the Police Reporting Officer and where investigations are undertaken by the Police at the request of the commission or the Police Reporting Officer, a special investigation team shall be used for this purpose.
- The extent and quality of public co-operation proportionally diminishes the need for corrective measures.
- The favour and approval of the public shall be sought by:
 - enforcing the law firmly, sensitively and with constant and absolute impartiality;

- giving effective and friendly service to each individual regardless of the political and religious belief, race, gender or ethnic origin;
 - reacting as quickly as possible on requests for help or service;
 - making personal sacrifices in order to save lives; and
 - encouraging police community relationships, and by promoting participation by the community.
- The least possible degree of force be used in attaining the aim of policing, and then only when persuasion, advice and warnings have failed to secure co-operation, compliance with the law and the restoration of order.
 - Judges' Rules should consistently be applied by all police officials.
 - Police officials must adhere to the executive function of policing and refrain from taking it upon themselves to perform a judicial function.
 - All police officials in uniform shall wear a clearly distinguishable mark of identification.
 - The integrity of policing is reflected by the degree of personal and moral responsibility and professional altruism evident in the behaviour and actions of every individual member of the police.
 - The stability of society, and the vitality and continuity of democratic ideals are dependent upon policing that:
 - is consistently aware of the sensitive balance between individual freedom and collective security;

- is consistently aware of the dangers inherent in illegal and informal coercive actions and methods; and
 - will never give in to the temptation to sacrifice principles by resorting to reprehensible means to secure good ends.
- The professionalisation of policing depends primarily upon intensive selection, training, planning and research.
 - The needs of the community shall be considered in the training programme of the Police, and the contribution made by communities in this regard, shall be taken into account.
 - Every member should strive and apply him/herself to individual and institutional professionalism by self-improvement and study.
 - Any offence by any member of the police, committed in the presence of a fellow member of the police, shall be dealt with by such a fellow member in accordance with the powers and duties conferred upon him or her by any act relating to such an offence. In addition such a fellow member shall forthwith notify his or her commander.

In order to maintain these principles, I undertake to:

- Make my personal life an example worthy to be followed by all;
- Develop my own personality and also create the opportunity for others to do likewise;
- Treat my subordinates as well as my seniors in a decent manner;

- Fulfil my duty faithfully despite danger, insult and threat;
- Develop self-control, remain honest in thought and deed, both on and off duty;
- Be an example in obeying the law of the land and the precepts of the Force;
- Prevent personal feelings, prejudice, antagonism or friendships from influencing my judgement;
- Receive no unlawful reward or compensation; and
- Remain worthy of the trust of the public, by unselfish service, seek satisfaction in being ready to serve and to dedicate myself in the service to my God and my country.

“SERVAMUS ET SERVIMUS – WE PROTECT AND WE SERVE”

I think it will be very important to explain what supposed to be the role of the South African Police and SANDF in protecting the South African society and how the moral conducts of both forces were violated by the then government with sole purpose of maintaining White superiority complex.

South African Police Services general principles

1. The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, race, religion, gender or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts.

2. The police shall endeavour to prevent crimes and shall attempt to arrest and investigate all those reasonably suspected of committing crimes and shall take the necessary steps to facilitate the judicial process.
3. The police shall be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall therefore conduct themselves so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public. Through such accountability and friendly, effective and prompt service, the police shall endeavour to obtain the co-operation of the public whose partnership in the task of crime control and prevention is essential.
4. The police, as law enforcement officers, shall expect a higher standard of conduct from its members in the execution of their duties than they expect from others and in pursuance hereof, supports prompt and efficient investigation and prosecution of its own members alleged to have acted unlawfully and shall commit itself to continue the proper training and retraining of its members in line with the objectives of professional policing and the principles set out in Chapters 3 and 4 of this Accord. The police in particular, shall emphasize that there is no place in the police force for policing practices based on personal or racial prejudice, corruption, excessive force or any unlawful actions.
5. The police shall exercise restraint in the pursuance of their duties and shall use the minimum force that is appropriate in the circumstances.

6. Parties, organizations and individuals acknowledge that they too have a contribution to make in the process of sustaining, developing and encouraging a police force of which all South Africans can be proud. This involves a respect for the professionalism of the police force, and assisting the police in the performance of their legitimate duties.

The police shall observe the following more detailed set of requirements:

7. The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and acts of political violence, and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, religion, gender, race or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts.
 - 7.1. The police must always respond promptly to calls for assistance and intervention.
 - 7.2. Where prior notification is given of possible violence, the police must take all reasonable steps to prevent such an outbreak of violence.
 - 7.3. The police shall endeavour to disarm those persons illegally bearing dangerous weapons in any gathering or procession.
8. The police shall endeavour to prevent crimes and shall attempt to arrest and investigate all those reasonably suspected of committing crimes and shall take the necessary steps to facilitate the judicial process.

9. The police shall be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall therefore conduct themselves so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public.
10. The police shall expect a higher standard of conduct from themselves than they expect from others.
11. The police shall exercise restraint in the pursuance of their duties and shall use the minimum force that is appropriate in the circumstances.

Clandestine or covert operations

12. No public funds shall be used to promote the interests of any political party or political organization and no political party or political organization shall accept any public funds to promote its interests which shall have the effect of interfering negatively in the political process.
13. The government shall not allow any operation by the security forces with the intention to undermine, promote or influence any political party or political organization at the expense of another by means of any acts, or by means of disinformation.
14. If any of the signatories to this accord has reason to believe that any operation is being conducted in breach of this clause, it may lodge a complaint with the Police Reporting Officer or the Commission as the case may be.

15. In addition to any civil/criminal liability he/she may incur, any individual member of the police who is found to have breached this clause shall be dealt with in accordance with the Police Act, Regulations and Standing Orders.
16. In addition to any civil/criminal liability he/she may incur, any individual member of the defence force who is found to have breached this clause shall be dealt with in accordance with the defence statutes and codes and the Code of Conduct for the members of the defence force.
17. In order to monitor ongoing compliance with this provision the Commission, or a person authorized by it, shall upon receipt of any request by a party, or a complaint or on information received by it, be entitled by warrant to enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member, and seize any record or piece of evidence.

Dangerous weapons

18. The parties agree that the disastrous consequences of widespread violence and the urgent requirement of peace and stability on which to build the common future make it necessary to act decisively to eliminate violence or the threat of violence from a political sphere.
19. In pursuit of this understanding the parties agree that no weapons or firearms may be possessed, carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

20. All political parties and organizations shall actively discourage and seek to prevent their members and supporters from possessing, carrying or displaying weapons or firearms when attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.
21. The government undertakes to issue the necessary proclamations to implement the principles of paragraph 3.6.2 after consultation with the interested parties.

Self protection units (previously called self-defence units)

22. The Law accords all individuals the right to protect themselves and their property, and to establish voluntary associations or self protection units in any neighbourhood to prevent crime and to prevent any invasion of the lawful rights of such communities. This shall include the right to bear licensed arms and to use them in legitimate and lawful self-defence.
23. The parties also agree that no party or political organization shall establish such units on the basis of party or political affiliation, such units being considered private armies.
24. No private armies shall be allowed or formed.
25. The parties also recognize that a liaison structure should operate between any community based self protection unit and the police so as to facilitate education on citizens' rights, police responsiveness and other aspects in respect of which there is a legitimate and common interest.

26. The police remains responsible for the maintenance of law and order and shall not be hindered in executing their task by any self protection unit.
27. All existing structures called self-defence units shall be transformed into self protection units which shall function in accordance with the principles contained in paragraph 3.7.

(By the courtesy of National Peace Convention 14 September 1991)

A person concludes that the Police Code of Conduct was deliberate violation by the then government.

21.3. The SADF in Richmond

The South African National Defence force is an institution with sophisticated set rules and the regulations that its object aim is to defend the nation in times of war and conflicts.

There is a code of conduct for all members of the South African Defence Force which is as follows:

1. I pledge to serve and defend my country and its people in accordance with the constitution and the law and with dignity, courage and integrity.
2. I serve in the SANDF with loyalty and pride, as a citizen and a volunteer.
3. I respect the democratic political process and civil control of the SANDF.

4. I will not advance or harm the interests of any political party or organisation.
5. I accept personal responsibility for my actions.
6. I will obey all lawful commands and respect all superiors.
7. I will refuse to obey an obviously illegal order.
8. I will carry out my mission with courage and assist my comrades in arms, even at the risk of my own life.
9. I will treat all people fairly and respect their rights and dignity at all times, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, culture, language or sexual orientation.
10. I will respect and support subordinates and treat them fairly.
11. I will not abuse my authority, position or public funds for personal gain, political motive or any other reason.
12. I will report criminal activity. Corruption and misconduct to the appropriate authority.
13. I will strive to improve the capabilities of the SANDF by maintaining discipline, safeguarding property, developing skills and knowledge, and performing my duties diligently and professionally.

There are also rules of law which are as follows:

- a) In situation of armed conflict I will abide by the rules of international humanitarian law as contained in Geneva Convention.
- b) I will fight only enemy combatants and attack only military objectives.
- c) I will employ methods of attack to achieve the military objective with the least amount of harm to civilian life and property.
- d) I did not attack or harm enemy personnel who surrender, I will disarm them and treat them as prisoners of war.
- e) I will not alter weapons ammunition for the deliberate purpose of increasing suffering.
- f) I will collect and care for the wounded, shipwrecked and sick, whether friend or foe.
- g) I will treat all civilians humanely.
- h) I will not tolerate or engage in rape or looting.
- i) I will respect all cultural objects and places of worship.
- j) I will respect all persons and objects bearing the Red Cross, Red Crescent and other recognised symbols of humanitarian agencies.
- k) I understand that the disobeying of these rules is a crime. It dishonours military personnel and their country, and makes them liable to punishment as war criminals. I will therefore report any violation of the rules to my superiors.

(Compiled from Salute, Official Magazine of S.A. Department of Defence,

November 1999, p.34-35)

From the above code of conduct and rules of war a person may conclude that these were violated by members of the Army in Richmond. SANDF troops stationed in Richmond were constantly being rotated. Commanders have included McGill Alexander. Infantry companies from Potchefstroom (12 SAI) and Upington (8 SAI) have been stationed in the area, troops were rotated every two months.

21.4. Division of intelligence and security

This division would maintain highly trained intelligence agents to:-

1. Check internal subversion and activities of agents placed within the organisation by others.
2. Secure complete records of all persons employed by or connected with the organisation.
3. Promote formation and training of self-protection units everywhere to defend the community against unlawful and unjust raids and other forms of murderous attacks should they occur. This simply means preparedness for defense against attacks by well known and well organized citizens paramilitary groups.

21.5. Community policing

Community policing requires a department-wide philosophical commitment to involve citizens as partners in the process of reducing and controlling the contemporary problems and efforts to improve the overall quality of life in the community (Robert Trojanwuz : 1999, p.13). His work appealed that all community policing incorporates problem-oriented policing but not all problems oriented policing is community policing. Community policing played a very significant role in ensuring peace and stability. However, a key component in community policing is that power is shared inside the police force.

Police officers are not only responsible for monitoring the community but are also expected to attend community meetings, identify the problems and make referrals to social service agencies. Mini-stations can be centralised police stations in shopping malls and other visible and accessible places in community. With the help of local volunteers mini-stations are mostly used to assist walk-in clients, hold conflict prevention meetings, and respond to policing needs for that specific community.

Bicycle patrol is the contemporary method which is found in many of our cities and campus police departments. This kind of transportation means it offers officers greater visibility and accessibility which is often accompanied with friendly uniform and it enhances positive interaction with the public.

Programs must resume that link the police to the community, such as foot patrol and bike patrol are geared to decrease violent conflict. Police must not be assessed merely on number of arrests but also on the number of households visited, community meetings attended.

For community policing to be effective as a social control mechanism in any society, it needs to be much larger in scope than the definition and mandate of that traditional reactive policing.

Resist those who would enslave your body or your mind. This is the truth.

- Molefi Kete Asante

CHAPTER 22

22.1. Solving the high rate of crime

For among the many problems which the Blacks themselves in Richmond must solve is crime, and primarily because almost all crimes committed by Blacks are against Blacks. There must be some programme of action in sheer self-defence. Both crime and the fears for safety it breeds will begin to disappear in the Black community only when some such programmes for unity, for opportunities, and public education as outlined in this work.

During apartheid era the offenders do not know that they are enlisted in the White man's army to slowly destroy the Black race. The war took many unsuspecting forms, including the big and increasingly widespread use of drugs among Blacks.

The community must be made safe for people to live and work, happily and without fears for themselves or their children. Therefore, the Blacks themselves must have a programme. Here is where "community control" about which we hear so much, should begin. First, anti-crime steps might be widespread information

(which is education) about the true meaning of Blacks crime almost exclusively against Blacks and secondly, community development plans are designed to create more opportunities for all.

There are other possible programmes that could radically reduce crime, programmes short of the final step. For, if all else fails, the community, each community, should open an all out war along lines determined by the community.

No such final course will be necessary, however, if the Black community becomes a truly functioning community in fact. For then there would be so much work to be done in an overall community movement that the so-called criminal, in jail or out, would have a society not only to return to, but one that welcomes him warmly and needs him urgently.

Africans who also so readily make criminal attacks on their own people are, unconsciously, striking out against the unbearable situation of what appears to be permanent disunity and therefore, the utter helplessness of a race whose liberation from oppression can be achieved only by united initiative of its own. They, the so-called criminals in Richmond and their youthful followers, expect nothing beneficial from the Afrikaaner folks, and see no reason for hope in their own. Hence like caged animals, they strike at what is nearest them. Their own people. They were actually trying to kill a situation they hate, unaware that even in this,

they were serving the then government very well. For the then government need not go all out for “genocide” schemes, for which they are often charged, when Blacks were killing themselves off daily on such a large scale.

This brings us directly to the second reason why most crimes by Blacks are against Blacks and not, as even the Whites would expect, against Whites. The unequal justice of the then government encouraged Blacks to commit acts of violence against their fellow Black brothers and even rewarded them with lighter sentences if convicted. Black life was cheap, Black womanhood was not honoured. All this could be radically changed by a community organization of that society with a new outlook programme of a new kind of educational system, training when needed and above all, enterprises as a job-creating system that will give both pride and inspiration to Black youth, and the kind of society that will have positive alternatives to violence and one to which every prisoner can return with hope. This would be part of the new education I will speak about. You can never reform those who have never been allowed to be formed. Black society still has the qualities for the task. What is needed now is an honest and unselfish collective leadership in that region.

Only a largely united people can successfully confront crime and without praying on bended knees, or even pleading, secure the removal of all shackling chains. The choice is between unity and action, careful thinking and planning the courses of

action through one vast organization of thousands. If the community is incapable of unity, it is incapable of survival as a free and equal people, and will deserve all the problems they encounter. This will have proved beyond all question that it is indeed unfit to survive as a people free and equal in every respect.

What is proposed here is community unity through an action programme never attempted before. A mass organization expressly planned to enrich the lives of the people on all fronts and directly through the peoples ownership of means of production.

22.2. Combating corruption as community

The Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provides the basis for fighting corruption and promoting governance in moving away from our apartheid and colonial past. Various pieces of legislation that explicitly address the issue of corruption were established, and others are in the process of being promulgated.

Some of the more recent ones are:

Corruption Act (1992), Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act (1992), Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act (1992), Public Protector Act (1994), Special Investigation Units and Special Tribunals Act (1996), International Co-operation in Criminal Matters Act (1996), Criminal Law Amendment Act (1997), Witness Protection Act (1998), National Prosecuting Act (1998), Prevention of Organised

Crime Act (1998), Promotion of Access to Information Act (2000), Protected Disclosures Bill (2000), the Corruption Act (Sliaan van der Merwe, 2001, p.15).

What is corruption

In the dictionary the meaning is very wide. Hence it could be said that “A person has been corrupted, that, a principle has been corrupted, that the world and the moral fibre of our society are in a process of decay and corruption.” Corruption is like temptation. This reminds me of Oscar Wilde who said “I can resist everything except temptation”. People of Richmond town must unite in combating the menace of corruption.

On 15 October 1999, Durban, a resolution to the National Anti-Corruption Summit took place. Some of the key significant points worth being taken into favourable consideration particularly by Richmond community are as follows:

Addendum 1 : Resolutions of the National Anti-Corruption Summit:

We, the delegates drawn from various sectors in South African society, acknowledge that corruption:

- Adversely affects all sectors in society and impacts most directly on the poor.

- In corroding the national culture and ethos of democracy and good governance at all levels and sectors of society.
- Depletes both government and civil society of scarce resources that are needed to ensure economic prosperity, equality and a better life for all.
- Is a blight on society caused by the worship of self, which gives the pursuit of personal affluence priority above the pursuit of economic justice for all.

We therefore commit ourselves to:

- Stamp out corruption at every level in society.
- Develop a culture of zero tolerance of corruption.
- Visibly support and subscribe to the national integrity strategy in order to combat corruption in all sectors of civil society and government.
- Educate all persons in South Africa to work together towards a higher moral purpose.

We therefore resolve to implement the following resolution as the basis of a national strategy to fight corruption:

Combating corruption

- To endorse, support and implement all the sectoral initiatives developed in the National Anti-Corruption Summit.

- To critically review and revise legislation in place to combat corruption, and to address any shortcomings by either amending, or drafting new legislation where necessary.
- To develop, encourage and implement whistle-blowing mechanisms, in all sectors, including measures to protect persons from victimisation where they expose corrupt and unethical practices.
- To support the speedy enactment of the Open Democracy Bill to foster greater transparency, whistle-blowing and accountability in all sectors.
- To ensure effective investigation and prosecution of acts of corruption by establishing special courts.
- To establish Sectoral Co-ordinating Structures to effectively lead and manage the National Anti-Corruption Programme in their sector and to feed into the development of a National Co-ordinating Structure. In particular, the Public Service Commission should be empowered to effectively lead, co-ordinate, manage and monitor the National Anti-Corruption campaign within the public service.
- To rapidly establish a cross-sectoral task team to look into the establishment of a National Co-ordinating Structure with the authority to effectively lead, co-ordinate, monitor and manage the National Anti-Corruption Programme. The Public Service Commission is to take responsibility for establishing the cross-sectoral task team.

Preventing Corruption

- To publicise and support the blacklisting of businesses, organizations and individuals who are proven to be involved in corruption and unethical conduct.
- To establish a National Anti-Corruption Hotline to facilitate the reporting of corrupt practices in all sectors.
- To establish and promote sectoral and other hotlines to strengthen the National Hotline.
- To take disciplinary action and other proactive measures against persons found to be behaving in corrupt and unethical ways.
- To monitor and report consistently and fairly on corruption in all areas of civil society, the private sector and government.
- To promote and implement sound ethical, financial and related management practices in all sectors.

Building integrity and raising awareness

- To promote and pursue social analysis and research and policy advocacy to analyse the causes, effects and growth of corruption, as well as to evaluate and monitor the effectiveness of anticorruption strategies.
- To negotiate, develop, support and enforce Codes of Good Conduct and Disciplinary Codes in each sector of civil society.

- To work together to inspire the youth, workers, employers and the whole South African society with a higher moral purpose and ethos that will not tolerate corruption.
- To promote training and education in occupational ethics on all levels of South African society.
- To support and work together with government in creating a sustained media campaign to highlight the causes of, and solutions to corruption, and to communicate the national integrity strategy.

Addendum 2 : Memorandum of understanding

Memorandum of understanding : Establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Forum

Preamble

WHEREAS the National Anti-Corruption Summit held in Parliament, Cape Town, on 14-15 April 1999, recognized the serious nature and extent of the problem of corruption in our society;

AND WHEREAS the delegates to the National Anti-Corruption Summit committed themselves to develop a culture of zero tolerance of corruption;

AND WHEREAS it has been resolved at the National Anti-Corruption Summit that sectoral co-operation is required for the prevention and combating of corruption;

AND WHEREAS it has been resolved at the National Anti-Corruption Summit that various measures and sectoral co-operation are required to prevent and combat corruption;

NOW THEREFORE a National Anti-Corruption Forum is established.

The founding of a National Anti-Corruption Forum

1. A non-statutory and cross-sectoral National Anti-Corruption Forum (hereinafter “the Forum”) is established:
 - To contribute towards the establishment of a national consensus through the co-ordination of sectoral strategies against corruption.
 - To advise government on national initiatives on the implementation of strategies to combat corruption.
 - To share information and best practice on sectoral anti-corruption work.
 - To advise sectors on the improvement of sectoral anti-corruption strategies.

Members of the Forum

2. The forum shall consist of thirty (30) members on the basis of ten (10) representatives from each of the sectors envisaged in the resolutions of the National Anti-Corruption Summit.
3. The members of the Forum shall be fit and proper persons who are committed to the objectives of the Forum and who shall serve as members on a voluntary basis. Such representatives shall be suitable leaders within each sector.
4. The Forum shall appoint a Chairperson with two deputies from the other representative sectors.
5. Each sector shall ensure that members of the Forum are representative of all constituent parts of the sector and that members provide continuity in their contributions to the work of the Forum.
6. The Minister for the Public Service and Administration will convene members of the public sector.

Convening the Forum

7. Meetings of the Forum shall be convened by the Forum. Any sector represented in the Forum may call for a meeting of the Forum.
8. The Forum shall be assisted by a secretariat provided by the Public Service Commission.

9. The Public Service Commission shall at the first meeting of the Forum submit a proposal to the Forum on the manner, nature and impartiality of support of the secretariat.
10. The Public Service commission shall, under the guidance of the Forum, convene an Anti-Corruption Summit on a bi-annual basis.
11. The Forum shall consider the composition, capacity and continued functioning after one year.

Functions of the Forum

12. The functions of the Forum shall be to do all such things as are reasonably possible to achieve its objectives as set out in paragraph 1 above. The Forum shall at its first meeting adopt a plan of work in order to achieve the objectives set out in the Memorandum of Understanding.

Reporting

13. The Public Service Commission shall prepare an annual report on the activities of the Forum. The annual report must be approved by the Forum. The Public Service Commission shall publish the annual report, including to Parliament, at the bi-annual Anti-Corruption Summits and on the Public Service Commission's official website.

14. Any report by the Forum shall be distributed by the members of the Forum to the entities they represent to be made as widely available as is reasonably possible.

Expenditure

15. The Public Service Commission will bear all expenditure emanating from secretarial support, excluding the cost of publication and printing of annual reports. Each sector undertakes to bear all costs related to the attendance of Forum meetings and the bi-annual Summits. The Public Service Commission will strive to obtain donor funds and sponsorships for the activities of the Forum and the bi-annual Summits.

Addendum 3 : The Durban Commitment to effective action against corruption

We, the 1 600 participants at the IXth International Anti-Corruption Conference, drawn from 135 countries, addressing the theme "Global Integrity: 2000 and Beyond", held in Durban, South Africa, from 10-15 October 1999, recognise that corruption is a phenomenon that is one of the most debilitating legacies of the twentieth century.

On the eve of the Third Millennium, we recognise that unless the scourge of corruption is combated effectively, the world beyond the year 2000 will be one where poverty (already at unacceptable levels) is deepened even further; the legitimacy of governments further eroded; human rights abuses proliferate; and the democratic gains of the past 50 years will be destroyed.

Drawn from government, business, civil society and international organisations, we came to our conference to participate not as representatives of institutions and organisations, but as concerned individuals united in our desire to serve humankind. We came to engage in an open and honest appraisal of progress made, difficulties encountered, the challenges we face and our responses to them. Thereafter it is for us to carry forward in all our countries and institutions the tasks we now set ourselves.

As we stated in our Lima Declaration, corruption is an evil that threatens and challenges all people around the globe, but bears with special cruelty upon the world's most poor. It deepens poverty; it debases human rights; it degrades the environment; it derails development, including private sector development; it can drive conflict in and between nations; and it destroys confidence in democracy and the legitimacy of governments. It debases human dignity and is universally condemned by the world's major faiths.

At the same time, we reaffirm our convictions that a successful campaign against corruption demands the full participation of all sections of society, including most importantly civil society and, with it, the business community. It is our core belief that no government can hope to tackle corruption effectively without the active support and involvement of its citizens. For ourselves, we accept it as our solemn duty to combat corruption effectively whenever and wherever it is taking place.

Meeting here on the African continent for the first time, we were moved by the special contributions made by our African colleagues, as they shared their own insights into a malaise which they share with all regions of the world. We join in their conviction that South Africa and Nigeria have major leadership roles to play in the continent's struggle.

We were honoured to have our proceedings opened by H.E. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, who in a challenging and stimulating address outlined the dimensions of the challenge we face. Recalling an observation by George Soros, he observed that "there is something wrong with making the survival of the fittest a guiding principle of civilised society..." In President Mbeki's words, our task is no less than to ensure that "legitimate and democratic states... [evolve] the social norms that militate against a perverted, anti-social individualism...".

We were also honoured with addresses from distinguished speakers from all sections of public and private life, who included H.E. Festus Mogae, President of Botswana; James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, Chief Justice Mustafa Kamal of Bangladesh; Mark Malloch-Brown, Administrator of the UNDP; Ronald K. Noble, Secretary-General designate of INTERPOL; and Robert Wilson, Chairman of Rio Tinto plc. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and US Vice-President Al Gore (who had convened an international anti-corruption conference in Washington in February) sent us messages of encouragement and support. The address by Ms Wangari Maathai of the Greenbelt Movement (Kenya) was an inspiration.

The Hon. Penuell Maduna, Minister of Justice of South Africa, presided skillfully as our Conference Chairman and H.E. Joseph Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa, closed our proceedings.

We stood in silence as a mark of our respect for Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, who passed away during our proceedings and who had hoped to be with us. We all shared in Africa's loss of an independence leader of the highest integrity.

Ours was essentially a working conference. In the course of the week we attended no fewer than 41 separate workshops. Each addressed practical steps to be taken

against corruption in fields as varied as money-laundering, public procurement, public education, business and public sector ethics and public awareness-raising through the performing arts. Each produced sets of practical steps that can and must be taken as our campaign proceeds. These will be widely publicized to the groups and interests to whom they are addressed and placed on the Internet (www.transparency.org). We shall encourage and carefully monitor the progress made, and will report fully to the Xth IACC in 2001.

Repeatedly we reminded ourselves that combating corruption is not a task for law enforcement officials alone, nor even a task that is principally theirs. Every prosecution, every act of corruption, represents a failure of our personal, social and organisational systems designed to prevent such conduct. We reminded ourselves, too, that “the hand that gives” is at least as culpable as “the hand that takes”. Every failure to recover the proceeds of corruption serves to feed its growth.

While there are actions required from all at the international level, the struggle to contain corruption at the national level is essentially a domestic task, and the fight must come from within. External actors, including donors, can assist this process, but for it to be effective and enduring it must be locally owned, devised and driven.

In this context, as in others, we were reminded of the holistic nature of our undertaking. None of us works in a vacuum, and all of us must work with, and support, others if our task is to be accomplished.

In the course of our work together we took stock of the achievements of our coalition since our deliberations in Lima, Peru in 1997 and where our global coalition assumed such substance.

Much has been accomplished, but much remains to be done, especially to institutionalize the fight against corruption in civil society at large, as well as transparency, accountability and integrity in international and local organisations.

At the international level, perhaps most noteworthy have been the achievement of the OECD Convention Against the Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions (which now needs to be further extended and rendered fully effective and to which we were pleased to learn South Africa will soon become a party); the actions taken by some developing countries as they increase their ability to co-operate against corruption; the further progress made with the Council of Europe anti-corruption conventions (both criminal and civil); the support for our endeavour from international agencies has grown significantly (including action within the World Trade Organisation); actions have been taken by the International Chamber of Commerce to promote anti-bribery practices;

multilateral development banks in particular have started to name, shame and exclude corrupt contractors from bidding for the projects they fund; and professional associations are taking an increasing interest in our topic.

At the national and local level, the number of Ombudsmen offices has grown significantly; exporting countries have started to end tax deductibility for bribes and to criminalise overseas bribery by their exporters; a growing number of countries have started to adopt and execute the holistic anti-corruption strategies we have been recommending; increased attention is being given to the protection of complainants and witnesses; and the number of codes of conduct and Citizen's Charters continues to grow.

None of this is to suggest that we have only made progress. Clearly, in some countries the movement has been minimal, at times negative, and journalists in particular continue to be exposed to unacceptable risks as they go about their legitimate tasks. So, while we are encouraged by our progress we acknowledge that our Lima Declaration will continue to be our working tool for some time to come. We also renew our hope, expressed at Lima, that in due course consideration will be given to the United Nations designating an international day of action for integrity.

Against this background and as we enter a new century, WE SOLEMNLY COMMIT OURSELVES to the following courses of action:

Political will

We will work with all stakeholders to foster meaningful political will to confront corruption, and in ways which involve all sections of society. As we are convinced that civil society has a crucial role to play, we were delighted with the announcement made by the UNDP to our conference that it will support a Partnership Fund, an initiative of Transparency International, which will serve to empower more meaningful participation by civil society in all these processes.

Innovations and emerging good practices

We will develop, identify and publicize novel, imaginative and effective examples of good practice in preventing and detecting corruption, such as the example in open public tendering presented to us by the Mayor of Seoul. To this end we will develop websites and information networks.

International and regional co-operation

We will work to maximize regional and international co-operation in the fight against corruption in practical ways, strengthening mutual legal assistance arrangements and fostering the development of anti-corruption conventions for the African and Asian regions. We wish to see the broad subject of combating

corruption brought on to the agendas of the major international trade organisations, WTO and UNCTAD. Additionally, we will work to achieve full implementation of the OECD Convention Combating the Bribery of Foreign Officials, and the anti-bribery conventions of the Council of Europe and the Organisation of American States (OAS) so that country efforts are supported by supply-side sanctions. Monitoring will be a vital element to promote consistency and co-operation. We will support actions at the United Nations to encourage the criminalising of all forms of corruption, and we will enlarge an understanding that both the supply side and the demand side of international corruption must be attacked.

We welcome the scheduling of the Second Global Forum on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity Amongst Justice and Security Officials in The Hague in 2001, a governmental forum which can serve to monitor critically the implementation of convention obligations by the individual governments and as a forum which both reinforces and is itself reinforced by our own work in the IACC coalition.

Transparency in public procurement

We will continue to work for increased transparency in all fields, particularly in public procurement, and will create private-public sector partnerships to develop reliable, open and competitive systems, including open tendering on the Internet. At the international level we look forward to the WTO, among others, playing a

key role, including the conclusion of an agreement on transparency in government procurement at the November 1999 Seattle Ministerial Meeting.

Private sector integrity

We will explore the development of business standards which foster and promote integrity and equip the private sector with a tool which can demonstrate, in independently verifiable ways, their individual commitments to integrity in their business practices.

Ethics in society

As a successful campaign against corruption demands the full participation of all sections of society, including most importantly civil society and, with it, the business community, we will work to raise the standards of ethical conduct within the NGO community, in the private sector and throughout the public service and our societies.

Money and politics

We will foster the development of creative ways in which to contain the corrupt influence money has over many of our democratic processes, with a focus on limiting its influence by reducing the costs of elections and restricting expenditures, and call on the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral

Assistance (International IDEA) in Stockholm to accord the highest priority to this task.

Art against corruption

We will encourage innovation by our creative artists for them to use their skills to communicate essential awareness messages to a wide community, with a special focus on raising levels of ethics throughout society and empowering especially the marginalised in rural and depressed urban areas to recognise and act against the corruption they suffer.

Protection of complainants against corruption

We will encourage the development of institutions, laws and practices which ensure that responsible citizens can report instances of corruption without fear of reprisals, wherever it may be occurring, and to ensure that the media is free to play its pivotal role in holding relevant individuals and institutions to account.

Independence of anti-corruption agencies/law enforcement

We will support the institutions within our societies tasked with countering corruption to ensure that their independence is respected by all, and that they are adequately resourced. We will work, too, to ensure that they are held accountable in ways free from political interference.

Use of civil remedies to recover proceeds and criminal burden of proof

We will encourage the development of civil law (i.e. non-criminal) processes to enable the proceeds of corruption to be identified and recovered more effectively than the criminal law may allow because of standard of proof requirements. We will continue to explore constitutional ways of making the criminal law more effective in areas where proof of specific acts of corruption is difficult to obtain.

Sectoral initiatives

We will foster initiatives to contain corruption within particularly vulnerable sectors, such as education, social services, health, construction and mining and encourage leaderships within these to develop and implement their own strategies in partnership with other relevant stakeholders.

Banking community

We will encourage members of the banking community and others to create responses (including enforceable international obligations) which will record transactions effectively, curb the levels of money-laundering and which will facilitate the return to developing countries of moneys looted by their leaders. We find it wholly unacceptable that the moneys should be invested in institutions in the developed world for the benefit of a corrupt few when they are desperately needed by their rightful owners in the South for the benefit of all.

Judiciary and the Rule of Law

We will develop approaches capable of restoring integrity to a judiciary in ways which call for greater accountability but without eroding the judiciary's essential independence.

Customs and Police

We will build and strengthen partnerships with customs administrations to check corruption and facilitate the revenue essential for good governance and for public sector salaries to be raised, as they must be in many countries. Similarly, we will build local coalitions in support of reform-minded police commissioners to assure them of public support for their efforts.

Debt cancellation and Jubilee 2000

We will support debt cancellation in the framework of Jubilee 2000, where the benefits flow to the poor and not to corrupt elites in the societies involved.

Tracking the effectiveness of reforms

We will continue to develop our methodologies to analyse the nature and extent of corruption, and for assessing the effectiveness of particular reforms.

In conclusion, we express our gratitude for the warmth of their welcome to our hosts, the Hon. Penuell Maduna, the government of South Africa and their people; and for the excellence of the arrangements to the Conference Co-ordinator, Dr Danny Titus, to the International Anti-Corruption Conference Council (IACCC) and its secretariat, Transparency International; and to TI-South Africa and the South African Organising Committee it facilitated. The conference organiser, Ms Melanie Campbell, and her able team earned out admiration for their handling of the logistics of an unusually demanding event.

Our struggle will be a long, an arduous and a continuing one. It will not be won quickly, and in many ways it will be never-ending. The corrupt amongst us will always try to pervert the well-being of our societies and our institutions. Our commitment, therefore, is as long term as it is determined.

The good life must be economically based. Material well-being, far from being the end in itself, should be the basis of a richer intellectual and spiritual life.

- Chancellor Williams

CHAPTER 23

23.1. Economic development as a way forward

Political and violent conflict leads to the destruction of resources : capital (factories, housing stock, etc.), human capital (reduction in the population as a result of casualties, disease, displacement and starvation), and other resources such as the possible loss of land. Historically, if victory is achieved, the benefits to the colonizers are the confiscation of resources such as land, labour and other resources.

The economists argue that the social cost of violent conflict is greater than the private cost since conflict leads to what may be termed a negative to the community. Other possible costs may ensue because the price of food may change as a result of conflict. The amount of distribution of human consumption available will affect prices. The effect of these price changes will be felt by both participants (the then government) and the poor grassroots masses.

Similarly, violent conflict diverted commercial trading routes during the conflict and through alteration of prices. When commercial routes diverted, then social welfare declines not only for the participants but also for the producers that must pay higher tax for the products that have been made scarcer.

There is another indirect effect from violent conflict such as famine. This results from disruption of distribution channels of NGO or from a reduction in the income of certain groups. There is also another indirect effect that we can envision resulting from this conflict. For example, the price of food may increase for the poor people to a level of starvation and disease in their homes may ensure.

Political and violent conflict leads not only to a direct reduction in physical and human capital as it is destroyed, but uncertainty created by enduring rivalries and the future possibilities of conflict will lead to a reduction in investments in both human and physical capital.

23.2. The first economic foundation

The first line of basic economic development is the people themselves. The masses of poor, uneducated, undernourished, ill-housed and unhealthy people must, first of all, get on the road that progressively and rapidly leads away from these conditions.

This can be done best through their own organized efforts to these ends, guided by an honest dedicated leadership (Social Policy Maker). Poor and under developed people, have no other alternative to self-help co-operative organisation if they wish to develop individually.

The economic system of co-operation, having the extended family as a possible unit, can be one of maximum unity of action and maximum individual freedom and individual initiative. The co-operative community can control the process of industrialization. This is the number one problem of modern industrial civilization. Man need not himself become either a machine. Science and technology, to repeat, can be a blessing and the very basis of a more spiritual life. It is a matter of putting human values first. This is what the co-operative community can do best.

Private enterprise can flourish in the co-operative community, for there will be many kinds of needs which private enterprise is best fitted to meet. Indeed, as the people become more and more literate, healthy and less poverty stricken, all kinds of economic development opportunities must be opened to all types of endeavours. There can be co-operation between the private and the community enterprises to the mutual advantage of both. The central point of it all is that private capitalism alone, by its very nature, cannot provide the mass economic development of the

African people of Richmond and should not, for that very reason, be allowed to become the dominant economic system of African life. I wish to expand this point.

Capitalism as an overall economic system is unsuitable for the new Richmond community and Soviet communism would be worse. The reason is simple : The people are trying to free themselves from colonial yoke. Colonialism is capitalism. Soviet communism is another form of colonialism and it is all the more dangerous because it also moves under the deceptive term of freedom and equality, the very things Africans are aspiring.

It will be a colossal joke of history if Richmond community whole-heartedly rejects political domination and at the same time whole-heartedly embrace the very economic system that enshackled them in the first place.

Capitalism is a system of private enterprise, of private property, and of private profits for the individuals or relatively small groups of individuals who collectively own or control the means of production and distribution, both human and non-human – land, transportation, factories, public utilities, public construction, armaments, communications and even the air above and water beneath. The millions of workers required for the process of production and distribution may obscure the fact that the system is not primarily for them, that their welfare is not

only merely incidental, but even consideration of it has to be forced by organized labour unions.

Collective bargaining, the process through which the welfare of the workers is sought, is a species of continuous economic warfare, seeking greater victory for private enterprise system when wage increases are granted because the increased costs and often more, are passed on to the public at large.

Unemployment is considered a normal aspect of the individual enterprise system. No one has a right to a job. You get a job if you are lucky. Business is not a social welfare service. Business may provide jobs, but this is not its primary purpose. That purpose is to make money, not to make jobs.

However, prevailing economic patterns must in some fundamental particulars, have to be modified or revised if they are to be useful in co-operative organization and practices. There must be social policy experts in economists. These will have had their initial baptism and training in Western economics, and Western economics is the economics of capitalism, the structure and operations of the profit system of free enterprise. Successful capitalist techniques should be observed and used as a matter of course.

In the march forward through a carefully planned social and economic organization, Richmond community must adopt the plans, principles and procedures, best fitted to their particular needs and conditions.

The plans and procedures of community must be determined by the people themselves. The structure and scope of the local community organization itself must be largely determined by what it seeks to achieve. The purpose is to develop the best organized system of producing and distributing the means of satisfying the needs and wants of the people.

All that has been said above is related to economic problems. There must be dedicated leaders, not demagogues for the job ahead. There must be more and more trained technicians, builders and managers everywhere; there must be schools in Richmond with a stepped-up program of training for key economic activities and there must be trained organizers, men and women to work in the townships, villages and on the farms in an information, organizing and assistance programme for the people who need it and want it.

I have already mentioned that the overwhelming majority of the people of Richmond must organize in some kind of economic self-help programme. Another task is education for economic development. The community undertaking might develop along some such lines as the following:

1. Form, with the Chief, a community-wide organization for the single purpose of determining the community's most pressing needs and the possibility of meeting them. This is first important stage.
2. The preparatory stage is next. Let us assume that the village community has been meeting several months discussing needs and possibilities listening to experts lecture on community self-help programmes, perfecting the organization and developing tentative plans. The farming section may have decided on a joint farm improvement programme calling for a tractor and a series of minor farming implements, fertilizers, experiments with new crops, increased eggs and poultry production, including experiments to improve the size and quality of chickens. The market women may have decided on an entirely new, attractive, and more sanitary market center. Another group may have proposed a refrigeration center for the community and still another group, craftsmen, believe that a small furniture factory would be most profitable. One extended family group may have decided on a bakery, while another is interested in starting a laundry.

The second stage, the preparatory, is crucial because the following decisions have to be made:

- a) What project or projects can be started first, and upon what scale?

- b) How to proceed with extended family organization as the basic unit and how to develop the inter-family system of co-operation?
- c) How much capital is needed, and ways and means of raising it?
- d) What technical and managerial skills are required and how many such persons are there in the community?
- e) How many people must go into training at once for the work ahead?
- f) What are the target dates for the beginning of various projects?
- g) How much employment will the various activities provide?
- h) What will be the plan of local consumption, distribution and services?
- i) What will be the plan of inter-community sales and services?
- j) What will be the rules of profit distribution among the members?
- k) What are to be the safeguards of finance and responsible financial management?
- l) Can community itself raise the initial capital required and if not, why not?
- m) What co-operative activities can be carried on to improve the beauty and life of the community that require little or no money?
- n) How to co-ordinate local planning with national planning?

The school should be the capital of the village or town, the actual center of all community life. It should be built or expanded for this purpose.

- 1) The regular school program for the young.

- 2) A regular school program for adults.
- 3) Business study groups.
- 4) Community health and sanitation study groups.
- 5) Better homes and gardens study groups.
- 6) Community pleasure planning groups – plays, movies, games for young and old, public radio and television, community dancing, play grounds, etc. Weekly fun events should be planned: community dinners, street music and dancing. We would bring all attractions of city life to the village and countryside.
- 7) Co-ordinating youth and adult activities program.
- 8) Information, counseling and guidance center: work opportunities, local and national, aptitude and other examination services; job placements.
- 9) The school itself will be organized into co-operative units, according to the young peoples interests and desires, such as candy-making, ice-cream and cold drinks projects, school farm projects, school toy making project, school-home decoration project, school flower and shrubbery project etc.
- 10) The areas for friendly competition are almost limitless. People should compete to make their village the most attractive, the most beautiful in the area; compete for the most beautiful flower and shrubbery home award; compete for the best garden-of-the-year award; for the most attractive street award; for finest farm produce awards etc. “Community Day”, the day of awards, should be one of the biggest days in the year.

Every community should have its credit union or savings and loan association. It should be integral part of the National Bank system and under its protection and guidance. This community financial system must be at once its rock and its pride, the concrete evidence of the community industry, thrift and sense of financial responsibility. It will be the banking center for all local co-operatives and clearing house for loans, credits and all of the community financial adjustment matters.

The formation of children's cents and rands savings clubs and youth thrift clubs should be encouraged everywhere as part of the training in personal worth and personal responsibility.

A major project for the community must be the water supply. In my study, I became concerned about this in some townships. National government can't be God. It cannot be everywhere doing every needful thing at one and the same time. Even in the rural areas of Richmond where each family laboriously hauling its water from a point 5 kilometers away, co-operative planning and action must relieve the situation. In all such water crisis situations, a community, instead of just complaining and waiting for the government must:-

- a) Determine whether it is a fact that there is no underground water in the area that can be reached by well or pump.

- b) If there is none, they must organize water transportation scheme for the entire community.
- c) They must consider the possibility of reservoir or a system of capturing the downpours of the long rainy seasons. They must also consider what the community itself can do about pipelines.

Manual labour should be sanctified and made holy. Talk will never do it. The break-through that is so much needed in Richmond must be spearheaded by the social policy makers, high and low. The community should have several fixed manual labour days for free public service of at least one and half day on whatever community projects are underway requiring hand labour.

If the project is road-building, for example, digging irrigation trenches or clearing the bush for planting, it would mean that on the morning of the appointed day government officials, chiefs, school principals, and teachers, college heads and professors, priests, preachers and clerks would wear work clothes and, with hammer, saw, hoe, pick or shovel, join in whatever community work that is to be done – another definite, concrete programme in building community solidarity.

From my constant reference to better health, better homes, better organized family life, brightly painted houses surrounded with flowers and evergreens, community plays, songs and dances – from all this and more, it should be clear that all that I

have been highlighting about economic development through organized co-operative programmes has a simple purpose of a fuller, happier life.

Richmond community must shift the social center of gravity downwards among the people, and proceed to the building up of society from its natural, neighbourly base, starting with the extended family or other natural groupings as the basic socio-economic unit, and expanding inter-family and inter-community co-operation until the people are encompassed. At the same time they must break from the cash valuation of humanity and shift to emphasis on human valuation.

They must meet the lack of capital challenge by carefully and systematically promoting the organization of natural groups into co-operatives. The local co-operatives would be concerned with local economic and social development programmes. All must be united in community planning councils for improved production, distribution and communication and closer co-operation between families.

The new co-operative system envisioned here must be a process not only of economic development of the poorer masses but it is also a process of uniting different nationalities in a community through the joint endeavours of mutual improvement.

The co-operative system is itself an educational programme. It must not be a rush programme. The foundations for it must be carefully and solidly laid. The cornerstone steps will be study and planning: What is a co-operative? What kind is needed in this community? Which principles and methods should be retained, which rejected? How to begin new co-operative? Where do begin? How shall organizing leaders be trained? How selected? How to co-ordinate the work with the national government and education system?

The co-operative is like a spiritual movement, and its economic activities should not be allowed to obscure this fact.

Economic wellbeing is necessary for a more wholesome spiritual life. Therefore the co-operative should not be started slowly. Interests and enthusiasm should be characteristic of membership meetings where co-operative education is being carried on. Again, the spirit and training of the leaders is crucial.

Everybody in the community is to be a worker if he is to be a citizen. To be a worker is to be engaged in a useful occupation. The people's confidence in the honesty and integrity of their community is imperative. The sacrifices they willingly make and their enthusiasm in attaching the tasks ahead will be determined by this confidence. Corruption in local government of Richmond

therefore should be a high crime calling for prompt and severe punishment. The bribe-giver should be punished as quickly as the bribe-taker.

It must be clear, then, that economic programme for Richmond community is one in which the economic improvement of the region will be the economic improvement of the whole people, an improvement that is to result most from their own united and organized efforts. It must be a programme that resists the concentration of community wealth into the hands of the few. It must, above all else, be a programme that provides the necessary conditions for the development of real individual initiative and healthy personalities in a more human society and one that demonstrates its care for all.

23.3. Significance of local government economic participation

The way forward through a carefully planned economic organisation, the KwaZulu-Natal local government must adopt plans, principles and procedures, best fitted to the needs and conditions of Richmond Town. However, the plans and procedures of local government will be determined by the people of that region. The structure and scope of the Richmond economic organisation will be largely determined by what it seeks to achieve and how fast.

The purpose of local government must be to develop the best organised system of producing and distributing the means of satisfying people. In 1996 the local

government of KwaZulu-Natal drafted a blue print for sustainable economic development, a provincial framework for Local Economic Development Strategies (LEDS). It is as follows:-

- A framework for local Economic Development Strategies (LEDS) should be formulated for KwaZulu-Natal. This framework should indicate:
 - The role of communities as a delivery system for social upliftment and economic development;
 - The role of local and regional government as a co-ordinator for Local Economic Development Strategies as the instrument for social upliftment and economic development;
 - The role of provincial government as a facilitator for such Local Economic Development Strategies;
 - The role of the national and international private sector as investors in local economic development;
 - The role of households and individuals as beneficiaries from social and economic development;
 - The functioning of local economic development delivery systems;
 - The alignment and co-ordinated usage of development programme resources;
 - Incentives for economic development;
 - Development financing and local technical assistance;

- Institutional requirements for LEDS.

Here again Africans are quite aware of the natural differences that exists among them, the same as they exist among other human beings. But, unlike the social insects, these are not structural differences requiring a class of workers such as exist in the social organisation of bees. Certain African societies have this bee scheme of economic organisation. This is self-defeating because it rigidly holds entire classes of people to fixed kinds of occupations without regard to the potential abilities of many who could serve much better in other fields. Conversely members of the upper classes are restricted to certain prestige occupations without regard to fitness to perform better in other fields. Both classes must be freed if there is to be an efficient economy.

Much outside help will be needed for the local government. The technical assistance that will be the most effective, one aspect of foreign aid should be the rapid spread of technical training schools in Richmond for that community who would like technical training for work there.

Most of the foreign aid should come from the United Nations, special government agencies, such as the United States Economic Co-operation Administration and the numerous scientific and educational foundations.

There must be vast fields left for private enterprise investments that will be highly profitable. When the private corporation operates on a very large scale, however, the local government should be the major stockholder for the people. This should be the policy regardless of whether the big corporation is foreign.

The local government should insist on impressive material improvements of business, top priority should go, insofar as economic development is concerned, to a carefully worked out programme of education in business finance and commerce from which the necessary South African technical and managerial skills may be drawn. The suggested delivery of value added services by locally government worth to be taken into favourable consideration by Richmond community which states:

- Once basic services have been delivered, or where such services are already in place, value added services can be provided. In essence, this seeks to use the provision of bulk infrastructure and higher order community facilities to begin a process of spatial restructuring throughout the Province. This involves:
 - The provision or augmentation of water reservoirs and mains to identified community nodes, tarred collector roads linking nodes to the core urban centres, electrical transmission lines to, and telecommunication links between these nodes;
 - The construction or upgrading of community halls into resource centres. Electrical connections necessary to permit enterprise training in the future

while telecommunication links allow for the flow of information between community and service organisations, local enterprises and the Central Resource Centre;

- The specific provision of infrastructure for agricultural development in peri-urban and rural areas e.g. livestock and irrigation dams, irrigation channels and anti-erosion measures;
- The provision of the full range of bulk infrastructure e.g. arterials, water reservoirs and mains, sewer mains and treatment works, refuse disposal sites and so forth, to enable the process of urban infill between townships and core urban centres;
- The augmentation of higher order facilities e.g. hospitals, tertiary educational institutions, cultural facilities, sports stadia, cemeteries and so forth, to accommodate increases in population and hence demand, especially in urban centres, but also in rural areas where for example referral hospitals in certain rural areas are required to support clinics in outlying regions.
- It is suggested that most of the bulk infrastructure could be provided through public works programmes (PWP's) and utilise labour intensive based methods. The programme could begin once regional development plans have been formulated. Clearly, the provision of bulk infrastructure and community facilities is an ongoing process. The different components of bulk infrastructure should be supplied simultaneously to allow for integrated development.

What is needed throughout is trained leaders to go before the people in each community to further discuss the program such as Provincial Framework for Local Economic Development (LEDS).

Local responsibility is to be the peoples responsibility and not wholly that of the local government. For the local government, while leading and assisting, will, like the national government, do only those things that the people cannot do themselves, and, as agent of the people, will carry out those decisions made by the people which only a government agency can perform.

23.4. Agricultural surpluses

This must be concentrated on, and directed towards, the needs for domestic industry; the raw agricultural material they produce can be used for domestic industrial expansion. In this way the Richmond community shall retain more control over their products and create local employment.

Agriculture, its links to employment creation and to resource and services distribution, are the major issues of Richmond action for self-reliance and they can and must be made effectively interdependent for their economic progress, they need marketing boards to concentrate on their defined priorities of production or they should be supported by laws towards curbing unregulated activities that

undermine the community defined and objectives. If they adopt this strategy, they can produce agricultural raw materials around which they can establish a more secure and sustainable economic base.

Just as agriculture can support industry, and priorities of industry should be to produce the basic tools, implements and machinery which the farmers need. Cash incomes in the rural areas are of dynamic importance to self-reliance producing, as they do, both a larger market from increased buying power and the means of better provision of rural services. Such a policy, which focuses attention on the mass of producing household, is of highest priority. Community conditions of trade must not be allowed to move against agriculture by means of pricing strategies; agricultural surpluses should remain, as much as possible in the villages.

23.5.1. Department of Public Works as an alternative for sustainable economic development

The history of economic development theory, has there been an unawareness that proper

development can only happen by the consent, support and the active participation of the people themselves. Proper economic development, so structured will never be able to be imposed from above, from national or regional government and succeed; its roots lie in local initiative, enthusiasm and the people's own sense of

their own value and relevance to their own welfare and future, inseparably wedded to that of their community.

Economic development theories have come and gone and most of them were found wanting, based as they, on the economic history of the developed world over many years. Such theories had very little relevance to the local needs, structures and of people of such community as Richmond Town. Expensive projects were set up which relied essentially on outside skills and outside finances from very different types of economic systems. Such projects failed to encourage local enterprise, local skills and local financial participation and frequently ignored local management training needs.

23.5.2. The community-based public works programme

In October 1998, a rural anti-poverty project for which R85 million was allocated was launched in KwaZulu-Natal. As a consequence the Department of Public Works Community Based Public Works Programme has created more than 1,110 projects, mostly situated in and providing employment opportunities to communities in the most impoverished areas (South African Yearbook, 1999, p.294).

This programme aimed specifically at relieving and infrastructure investment by:

- 1) Capacity-building within local communities and local governments.

- 2) Maximizing job creation during implementation.
- 3) Targeting rural women, in particular female-headed households with dependents.
- 4) Incorporating operation and maintenance to ensure sustainable assets.
- 5) Constructing useful infrastructure to improve access to trade opportunities.
- 6) Skills training appropriate to project requirements.

I had a frank and candid discussion with some members of Public Works based in Durban. To them exist the Chief Directorate of Public Works which has been dealing with the funding allocations namely:

- 1) R274 million allocated in the 1998/1999 financial year.
- 2) R377 million allocated in the 1999/2000 financial year.
- 3) R103 million was allocated from Job Creation Fund for road projects in KwaZulu-Natal and other provinces.

23.5.3. Construction Industry Development Programme

The Department of Public Works initiated and co-ordinated the development policy of construction industry as part of its contribution to the national reconstruction, growth and development project.

Emanating from the Department's *Lekgotla* (Budget meeting) in October 1999, an action plan to establish the CIDB by the latter half of 2000 was drawn up which included a business planning and budgeting process.

Underlining the Department's commitment to improved public-sector client performance and the *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery*, the October *Lekgotla* also developed an action plan to address the problem of delayed public-sector payment and cancellation of contracts, a problem that is impacting on the sustainability of established and emerging contractors and consultants. The Minister and Members of the Executive Committees (MECs) are championing this plan and the Director-General is driving its implementation with the support of provincial heads of departments.

The process of construction industry development, initiated and managed by the Department, was acknowledged at the Annual Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) Science and Technology Showcase on 12 November 1999. A CSIR Top Achiever Award went to the team put together by the CIDP to implement the transformation strategy (South African Yearbook, 2002, p.261).

23.5.4. Emerging Contractor Development Programme (ECDP)

This was initiated by the Ministry of Public Works, embarking on the implementation of its 10-point Plan and the Affirmative Procurement Programme.

At the end of August 1998, the Minister of Public Works announced that the Government would spend R283,4 million to transform black contractors into prime players to enable them to take advantage of the contracts available in the construction industry. The ECDP focuses on developing and reinforcing the sustainable growth of emerging construction entities. The ECDP has developed initiatives and enabling support strategies to achieve this objective.

The ECDP is also developing a mentorship programme to provide support for contractors participating in the Strategic Project Initiative which was launched by the Minister of Public Works at the end of August 1998. Projects to the value of R284,4 million were identified. The main objective of the initiative is to develop emerging contractors into prime contractors.

CAPITAL PROJECTS PLANNED TO 2010

Potable-water scheme for Richmond – R34 million; Upgrade main access roads – Richmond – R8.86 million; Main feeder road and bridge to Indaleni – R3.6 million; Electricity and street lighting – R24 million; Housing – R45 million; Schooling – R5.5 million; Communal facilities – R500 000.

The Richmond community must exploit thoroughly those opportunities and policies of Public Works. They (community) must decide to take their own

problems firmly on board and themselves, find their own solutions; they need to be realistic about nature of their economic problems. They must see their problems in the context of the economic development forum, and be aware of a growing realisation, regionally, of the essential interdependence on each other, and the need for using that realisation to work for a greater economic balance and economic justice.

The solution they must seek and look for very closely involves Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce to whom they must look to encourage and to develop economic initiatives. The Chamber of Commerce must unite with people (poor), so that, through that unity, they can work together and with the government, making maximum use of their valued experiences and skills, for both the interests of Chamber of Commerce and the fellow citizens of Richmond Town.

Everyone has the right to work, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection for himself and his family [and] an existence worthy of human dignity ... everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

CHAPTER 24

UPLIFTING HEALTH SERVICES DEVASTATED BY POLITICAL

VIOLENCE

24.1. How they got affected?

Political violence presented a negative impact on health services and health systems. Apart from the direct effects of political violence on injuries and deaths, many of the other effects occurred through an impact on health services and systems.

Infant mortality, for example, was susceptible to the impact of political violence through reduced access to primary care services, the unavailability of drugs for treatable conditions such as respiratory infections, and the disruption of immunization services.

Individuals fleeing from the effects of conflict, have raised mortality rates, often resulting from the combined effects of poor nutrition, increased vulnerability to communicable diseases, diminished access to health services, poor environmental condition, anxiety and stress.

A variety of authors have drawn attention to the “high risk situation” for HIV transmission that occurs in times of conflict HIV infection has reached high levels in armed force (SANDF); the ability of these men to command sexual services from local women, through payment or force, the movement of troops to different townships and their ultimate return to different parts of the country after demobilization, presented significant risk to women.

Apart from communicable diseases, community based programmes go affected; hospital admissions declined as a result of services put out of commission and the decline in availability health service staff.

Violent political conflict affected mental health in a variety of ways. The nature of the conflict, the nature of the trauma experienced or inflicted, as in the case of torture by the police and army officers and other repressive violence, the individual and community response to these pressures, the psychological health and those affected prior to the event, the state of community cohesion and the relationship

between the individual, community and the political struggle taking place, all influenced mental outcomes.

24.2. Impact on health services and systems

24.2.1. Access to services

The impact of political violence on health facilities and service delivery is time and location specific. Access to services clearly depended on the prior availability of services and their distribution. Users of services are able to utilise them only if they have geographic access, i.e. they are not too far away, economic access, all the services are affordable and social access, that is to say there are no psychological or other barriers preventing use of services. During political violence all these forms of access to services were restricted.

Community movement to access services were limited as people were unable to reach services for fear of encountering military or police personnel or because access to health services was actively hindered. Risk of physical or sexual assault deter women from seeking care, curfews prevented people moving about, whether in the day time or night time all directly or indirectly impede access to health services. People who have been injured avoided using public services that carry a risk of security force surveillance and which those with suspicious wounds were detained or questioned.

Political violence in Richmond seriously disrupted linkages between different levels of the health service: referrals from clinics to local hospitals impeded by lack of logistics and communication support.

24.2.2. Infrastructure

The destruction of the physical infrastructure necessary for the delivery of health services did wreak havoc on system attempting to maintain services. The direct targeting of clinics, hospitals and ambulances was experienced. In Richmond transport difficulties prevented health workers attending work. The displacement of rural dwellers and health workers from rural areas produced a more urban care system causing a total breakdown of several rural districts.

24.2.3. Equipment and supplies

During political violence in Richmond fewer medicines and inputs to health care was available to the community health sector because of budgetary constraints. The shortage of drugs caused an increase in medically preventable causes of death, such as those of asthma, diabetes and infectious diseases. Shortages also lowered the quality of care. Many rural dwellers who for the first time had access to modern medicines were once more deprived of basic drugs. The cold chain, necessary for ensuring that vaccination were kept in appropriate conditions from

the time of manufacturing to transport and supply and ultimately delivery to the individual, was disrupted with serious consequences for disease outbreaks.

The availability of basic health care technologies, such as functioning x-rays units or laboratories was undermined by lack of maintenance, spare parts, skilled personnel, chemicals and other supplies. While this was not necessarily inappropriate, it did increase the levels of stress faced by both health care providers and users alike.

24.2.4. Human Resources

Injury, killing, kidnapping and exodus of health workers was common during political violence in Richmond. Many medical doctors left the region. As a consequence shortage of personnel reduced the availability and quality of service and the control of diseases. As supports to the delivery of health care declined, the morale of service providers was compromised and a vicious spiral of declining quality of care and declining utilization, health workers increasingly sought to protect their own interest by moving to safer areas, by sometimes emigration. The lack of skilled personnel, training and support all detracted from the quality of services provided and the satisfaction that service providers take in the care they offer.

Finally, political violence had an extensive negative effect on health and health systems. These negative effects were present in all aspects of the health system in Richmond: in the infrastructure, budgeting, planning and management, availability of human and material resources.

24.3. Remedy for sustainable development of health services

Planning is necessary after identifying the major problem. There are two broad conditions that need to be noted. First the application of techniques needs to occur within a coherent and overacting system. The second and possibly more important factor is the need for the development of a planning system. The system must not be confined to the offices of specialist planners, but must permeate the health system.

There are broad principles and guidelines as suggestion for a way forward and to help develop a positive attitude to planning. The patterns that should be embraced in Richmond must be based on the objectives. First, to provide the framework to enable the setting of medium- to long-term policy. Secondly, to translate policies into plans of action. Thirdly, to ensure the implementation of these. Fourthly, to co-ordinate the aid programme to the health.

In order that planning systems can be developed to meet the abovementioned objectives and produce cost-effective and implementable plans a number of institutional criteria worth to be taken into favourable consideration.

The principles of Alma-Ata declaration stipulate that in health there must be:

- Consistency with other decision-making process in the sector, including budgetary and personnel process;
- Consistency with policies of decentralization;
- Consistency with promotion of equity;
- Consistency with the promotion of a multi-sectoral approach to health, including ensuring cognisance of the non-government and private sector;
- A clear and defined relationship with donors;
- Consistency with overall government planning and budgeting system;
- An open system, with minimal bureaucratic requirements;
- An internally coherent system, with clear links between the different functions of planning;
- A combination of long-term policy continuity with flexibility necessary to respond to inevitable changes in external factors;
- Sustainable of the planning system.

(Health Review, 2001, p.318)

All one person has to do is to ask five or six other people (social policy makers) to study the plan and then meet later to discuss it. This small initial group of six could each member become a committee of one, each to nominate three other people to study it. These individuals, after a series of meetings during which the plan has been studied in detail and revision or amendments have been proposed for future action, could then proceed to develop and carry out plans for health services.

24.4. Improving health service and system

In order to improve the health conditions of the community after political violence, there needs to be a more even allocation of resources between primary and hospital care, and between rural and urban areas.

During political violence, due to scarcity of resources, NGO's used to fill part of the vacuum left by the then government. However, their role was extremely significant. Presently community should adopt participation and self-reliance in health. It must be the effort of Richmond municipal government to promote community participation and control in decision making and facilitate the development of health promotion strategies. They must ensure that health workers be trained and mobile services established. The innovative community-financing systems operating through elected local government be established, empowering health workers in communities to ensure drugs and adequate services are available despite considerable constraints.

The development of the private and traditional sectors are worth to be taken into favourable consideration. These important aspects of the health care system represent an important health care resource that could be usefully incorporated in the delivery of health care in the future. Understanding how this system emerges, what role it plays, and what support can be given it to ensure that the quality of services delivered is appropriate, merit further attention.

Developing a system for registering disabled people affected by the political violence. These registration systems can be extended and further developed in order to ensure that disabled people retain access to important rehabilitation and social support services.

An appreciation of gender inequalities in Richmond community, in health and in access to utilization of services is crucial to re-establishing a more effective and equitable service. In Richmond women during violent conflict played an important part and have continued to demand their right to influence ongoing political development.

It will be crucial that the Richmond community ensure that ongoing disease like HIV Aids control efforts are sustained. The establishment of sites or areas of

surveillance in which ongoing monitoring can be preserved and promoted important challenges in urban and rural areas.

It is important that in the post-conflict reconstruction priority be given to the reorganisation of services with emphasis on preventive and primary care over reconstruction of the infrastructure. In many settings, however, emphasis appears to be mistakenly placed largely on the rehabilitation and construction of hospitals and clinics, with little attention being devoted to the more difficult tasks of improving the policy process, improving management capacity, developing provision of preventive care and extending services to the poor.

“...that care which is patient and family-centred and optimize quality of life by active anticipation, prevention and treatment of suffering through respectful and trusting relationship formed with interdisciplinary team throughout the continuum of illness: addressing physical, intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual needs and facilitating patient autonomy, access to information and choice”

- Health Resources and Services Administration Staff, 1999

CHAPTER 25

25.1. HIV/AIDS Awareness

In the three past decades of twentieth century the most discussed and thought about disease is Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). AIDS means death. Before I suggest ways of awareness to the community of Richmond town, I will try to trace the scientific discoveries by experts on this phenomenon.

People of African descent particularly in KwaZulu-Natal were being set up as objects of justified by White experts. African minds were being prepared to accept the self-fulfilling prophecy that by 1992 many Black people would be infected in KwaZulu-Natal and that men, women and children would be infected. The other evidence is what we know of the capacity of Europeans to destroy those whom they consider to be cultural others (Prof Marimba Ani, 1997, p.442). The African continent is rich with resources needed by Europe, but they do not need large numbers of African people. In fact, any Europeans believe that their problems

would be solved if Africans were to disappear from the face of the earth. Understanding the nature of European mind as it works, it is possible to develop an interpretation of AIDS that makes sense. Dr Robert Strecker and Dr William Douglass along with Dr Frances Cress Welsirug are convinced that AIDS is a human made retrovirus. For thorough explanation of their theories and evidence with which they support it, the reader is referred to the Strecker Memorandum (a video-tape) and "Who Murdered Africa", an article by Douglass (William Campbell Douglass, 1987, p.42).

Both Strecker and Douglass suggested that the World Health Organisation is the culprit in a deadly crime that has inadvertently been perpetrated against human race. An experiment that has gotten out of hand, to put it mildly. According to both men, without intervention, the continued existence of the human race may be in questions.

WHO (World Health Organisation) is reported to have written in their bulletin that an attempt should be made to see if viruses can in fact exert selective effects on immune function. The possibility should be looked into that the immune response to virus itself may be impaired if the infecting virus damages, more or less selectively, the cell responding to the virus (WHO World Health Organisation, Vol.47, 1972).

AIDS does just that. It destroys the T-cell system of infected human beings. Dr Strecker claims that the AIDS virus resembles Bovine virus in cattle and the Vesna virus in sheep. He does not believe that it is related to the Green Monkey. According to Strecker, if the Bovine and Vesna viruses are crossed, AIDS is the result. Experiments have, for a long time, taken place in which animal viruses are grown in human tissue.

If the WHO had been successful in creating the virus that they have evidently “called for”, how would they test it and how would they use it? Clearly, knowing what we do about White supremacy in White nationalistic ideology, the guinea pigs would not be Europeans, and if they were, they would be “expendable” Europeans. In the numbers game it is very important to understand that people who prefer to have sexual relations with their own gender are likely to produce very few offspring, if any. Therefore AIDS would most likely be introduced in African population, their descendants, other majority peoples and White homosexuals.

It was reported that in a front page article in The Times of London (May 11, 1987) makes the connection between centres established by the WHO, ostensibly to vaccinate people against smallpox and the locations (dates and places) in which AIDS first broke out. They are the same: Africa, Haiti, Brazil and Japan. In addition 15 000 Haitians were working in Africa during vaccination project and participated in it. As for the male homosexuality men with Hepatitis B vaccine in a

“program” in New York in 1978 and in San Francisco in 1980. The Hepatitis B vaccine study limited itself to males between the ages of 20 and 40, who were not monogamous.

AIDS can live outside the body. An AIDS virus can be carried by a mosquito. These are claims for which Strecker makes rather convincing arguments. If what Strecker and Douglass say is true, “safe sex” will not prevent AIDS. All the “education” in the world will not prevent or control the AIDS epidemic. An AIDS vaccine can never be “discovered” because AIDS changes. It is estimated that there are 9 000 possible kinds of AIDS viruses. It appears to spontaneously mutate and recombine (Marimba Ani, 1997, p.444).

Dr Barbra Justice, an American surgeon of African descent, believes:

- 1) The AIDS virus has been adapted to Melanin and is related to the experiment in 1951 with the death of a diasporic African patient, Henrietta Laas, in which European scientists were able to grow viruses outside of the body in her cells after she had died.
- 2) The purpose of AIDS is to “clean out” the European gene pool i.e. to finally capture the continent of Africa by destroying its present, indigenous population. She refers us to the work of Jack Felder and Alan Cartwell, Jr. (Jack Felder, 1989).

25.2. Prevention of the HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS as the third-leading cause of death among ages 25 to 44 in Richmond town and currently most directly affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic are gay and bisexual men and injection drug users. However, the number of HIV-infected heterosexual women and adolescents, especially in townships is increasing at a rapid rate. Because HIV high risk sexual behaviours in adolescents and adults are interpersonal events involving at least two persons, AIDS prevention requires unprecedented attention to the Richmond community.

Prevention of AIDS remains a very significant priority. Counseling is the most effective available strategies for prevention in Richmond community. Testing and behavioural interventions to reduce risk-taking as well as condoms can be rational options. STD treatment has been shown to reduce HIV incidents in a large community-randomised trial, and ongoing studies are assessing other STD interventions. Topical microbicides may provide a prevention strategy directly under the control of women, although nonoxynol-9 has not been shown to have significant efficacy against HIV transmission in commercially available spermicidal concentrations (Chia Wang, 2002, p.74).

Since so many private doctors could not or would not provide medical care for the poor, whether covered by medical aid schemes or utterly uninsured, the provision

of AIDS care often to clinics and hospitals. At the same time the quality of care and the extent to which medications and services were available in those settings varied greatly. Some private hospitals, too, played a role by caring for those with medical aid and even those without insurance protection.

The degree to which new drug therapies prevented HIV infection in new-borns or extended survival in those infected, tended to strengthen the growing sense that AIDS, so long deadly disease, was on the verge of being subdued. Increasingly, some doctors considered the possibility that AIDS was about to become “normalized” to lose its extraordinary status as an exceptional clinical and public health problem. With new anti-retrovirals, AIDS, they predicted would eventually join the class of chronic, potentially fatal diseases. It is said those physicians who treated AIDS would be reabsorbed into hierarchies and conventions of the medical mainstream.

The environment cannot speak out for itself, it cannot toyi-toyi. Just as the poor need people to speak out of them, so does the environment, now the least articulate and most exploited.

- Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane

CHAPTER 26

26.1. Environment care

The environment is about the natural habitat in which the human being lives, interacts, and depends on for human survival. Harmony between the human being and the environment is an essential requirement for any sustainable national development. The overall of both the human being and the environment as they interact is vital to a nations development (His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II, 1988, p.166).

Much of the work needed to be done in Richmond town, to restore that harmony between the human being and the environment and its relevance to Richmond present and future need. South Africa's current government has led the country into an era in which protection of the environment is one of the priorities on the government agenda. South Africa's new constitution has created the fundamental right to a clean and healthy environment. It is stated that everyone has a right to an environment that is not harmful to health or wellbeing to protect the environment

by preventing pollution and by promoting conservation and sustainable development.

During political violence in Richmond town, the environment got affected. The most visible damage was done during the battle between IFP and UDF or between ANC comrades and UDM, the leveling and burning of the houses during violent conflict. Fleeing people especially confined for months in restricted areas, destroyed the resource base. Other damages were done in the construction of camps for training of Right-Wing elements and the manufacture and testing of weaponry. Political conflict also affected fresh water, that is, river basins with bodies of the murdered comrades, also waste tech from neighbouring firms. The basic resource, the land in that region has deteriorated and continues to do so at an alarming rate. Soil erosion and deforestation have all increased and are accelerating. The threat to Richmond environment is therefore an important part of the challenge.

There is no environmental issue in Richmond which is not related to the problems of their conditions of poverty. Eric Eckholm in his book "One Earth" said "struggling week by week to survive, caught in endless circles of hunger, exploitation and disease, the poor have no time to worry about global environmental problems. Yet in many ways, they are more affected by environmental quality than are the affluent..." Most of the rural poor live off the

soils, the forests, the water and the wild life. Many are forced by circumstances beyond their control, to destroy the very resources on which they depend for their living and for their survival.

There can be no real progress for Richmond community until they solve their agrarian problem, until they become self-sufficient in food, until they restore the quality of their land on which that food self-sufficiency goal depends. The technologies and methods of soil restoration and conservation for energy and water use and conservation are available. Soil erosion for Richmond is a particularly serious problem. It can contribute to chronic food shortages, to some disasters that are both natural and result from human unawareness and failures, like drought, floods and it can undermine their entire development efforts. African farmers must be ready for capable of change. They possess a seriously environmental pluses and minuses. Their traditional methods of cultivation and livestock rearing contain invaluable knowledge, wisdom and techniques, built on experience. It is on this base that they must integrate new technologies and techniques with the active participation of their farmers, every step of the way.

African farmers shall need the help and support of their aid partners (NGO). They must base that help on their need to come closer together in an integrated approach – an integrated development strategy, integrated action plan based on the relevant question to be asked of each plan and project – who gains? Who loses? What are

the real needs? And what are most urgent priorities? Richmond community needs a more African-centered strategy, based on their history, on their culture – where they are now and on their own African interpretation of their own development needs. Their priority must be their own common goal of reversing the conditions of poverty of Richmond, inculcating the philosophy of basic need security as the logical base for the future sustainable development success and improving the living standards of their majority to the minimum levels expected in any civilized society.

After environmental research in Africa, in his book “The Greening of Africa” Paul Harrison suggests to quote him “the only way Africa can escape a gloomy future, within the next decade or so is if her farmers intensify, before population density compels them to do so. Two prerequisites are needed for this to happen: The first is incentives. The carrot of increased incomes, of manufactured goods and devices that save on back-breaking labour, can replace the stick of overcrowding. But this will only happen if governments and international markets can offer fair prices for the farmers produce. The second is a more rapid diffusion of intensive and soil conserving techniques by way of nationwide extension system in which extension workers help farmers to combine the best of traditional and improved methods...” He continued “African small holders have a lot to learn from the best practice of their fellows and they have a lot to teach. They have proved themselves masters in managing natural diversity, in adapting to a wide variety of ecological niches and

in coping with a higher level of risk than is found in any other region of the world. They are masters of economy in the use of capital and labour. They are fast learners and inveterate experimenters. Left to themselves, they will probably adopt fast enough at least to survive, barring further droughts. Given the right incentives, they will adapt more speedily and more intensive techniques will spread spontaneously. But given modest extra resources and guidance, spread through national-wide networks of advice and supply, they are capable of rapid advances that could totally transform Africa's food outlook within a decade... Conservation can and must be promoted as one of the most cost-effective ways of increasing overall production and of reducing vulnerability to drought and dry spells... A new style of thinking is needed. Production and conservation, and concentrate on methods that improve the output of food, fodder or fuel and conserve water for the least cost in cash, land or labour."

Richmond farmers can be the driving force of conservation and production. They themselves must be the chief agents of soil restoration and conservation. Richmond community may well look forward to a national research system conducting on the spot research, relevant to Richmond irrigation needs for higher yielding crop varieties, for livestock improvement relevant to local culture and local needs. Such research would be aimed, essentially, at finding the right blend of Richmond traditional and modern technology needs.

There is another type of research needed so that Richmond community can become more aware. Brian Walker, the President of the International Institute for Environment and Development, said “no African government and certainly no development agency, from World Bank to Oxfarm, knows with any real accuracy either the birth rate, mortality rate and its reasons, the food production figures, the poverty levels of any African state. Yet these fundamental figures are crucial to the success of the failures of any programme of development - if it is to be sustainable”.

In order to base Richmond’s future in an environmental reality, which is in harmony with their culture, their customs, their African civilization and will achieve basic need security and environmental conservation, they shall require a great deal of the common sense, political will and vision, not from other countries, but also, more importantly from Richmond community themselves.

CHAPTER 27

Liberation is the task imposed upon us by our conquest and colonization.

Construction of an independent African power is a task we must speedily carry out if we want to avoid another loss of sovereignty. It is against the requirements of these tasks that our freedom movements and our post-Uhuru societies must be judged. It is by these requirements that we must adjust our present and future actions. To understand what exactly remains to be done, we have to examine critically what has already been done. We must examine the conquest and colonization we suffered, evaluate the "Independence" we won, and judge the use we have so far made of it.

- Chinweizu

27.1. Conclusion

My immediate concern is an awakening Richmond people who for so many years have been the victims of political violence. Since Richmond community are just a part of human family, and South Africa: At the same time will never be a better society emerging to produce better men and women unless it is deliberately planned and has specific programmes for the purpose. Preaching about the urgent need for a spiritual awakening and comradeship leading to peace and goodwill among men and women, all such highly edifying discussion is idle unless the

community of Richmond follow-up with a programme of action that is well organised.

Furthermore, the great number of business tenders which must of necessity be initially launched by the local government in every township and rural areas and should eventually be owned directly by the people through the sale of shares to citizens at large.

In the matter of economic development it is clear that I am chiefly concerned with the question of how poor people can through their own united efforts, develop their own human and natural resources. It would be far better for Richmond community to forego rapid development economically until the people can own and control the process than to have the economy controlled outside their region. The community development, therefore will be the modernization and activation of basic principles and concepts of life. The community or co-operative development must reject individualism as a doctrine and practice that places the interests, rights and privileges of the individual before and above the interests of his community.

The individual must not have the freedom, either acting alone or in combination with other individuals to exploit the community for purely personal gain or to dominate the entire economic life of the community or specifically, he or she must not have the lawful privilege of holding in his hands the very lives of the people by

the private control of jobs and job opportunities. The right to work must not rest on profit and loss consideration. The right to work is the right to live and it should be a first principle in their community development.

Here is involved with should be the greatest economic principle: the right to work as the right to live, and the right to live even no one makes a profit on basic needs. Somewhere back I said that every major undertaking must be preceded by the most careful study and planning, no matter how much is required for the study and the planning.

After all these initial, but time consuming steps, comes the all-important task of training the key people (social policy makers) who are to get the major programmes underway: teachers, community organisers and community leaders, community technicians for specific fields, community economists, business experts and workers in the basic enterprises to be developed. The process of laying solid foundations must likened to building a cathedral which no one expects to see completed in his lifetime.

Organising an entire community into one vast co-operative society of free and independent citizens has never in Richmond been undertaken along the lines proposed here, a socio-religious and economic co-operative community development. Who is to leave the talking stage and begin to build it? The answer is

simple, on one, unless there is first study and planning followed by a comprehensive training programme for community organisers and community leaders.

The role assigned to education department in the revival of civilization is the greatest challenge ever offered to educated leadership. It is to provide the expert studies necessary for guidance in scientific or technical areas of local government action. It must maintain direct contact with the people through community services, giving expert advice on local problems. The educators thus become, for the first time, active leaders of the people and directly involved in their problems. Teachers in the market place will really mean more than a figure of speech. They will in fact be working among the common people.

Community and economic development will solely depend with the kind of leadership that sets the people in a united movement, towards a society consciously organized for planning and programmed progress, deliberately infusing its economic, political and social life with the spiritual and moral forces of comradeship, that Richmond community will be moving unmistakably in the direction of the kind of life that justifies the name "Peace".

At the same time, the real danger in a community remains not in man's weapons of total destruction but in man himself, his stubborn unwillingness to concede the

same rights and privileges to others which he tries to reserve exclusively for himself. However, mankind under a positive leadership that evokes its nobler qualities, is capable of rising to higher ground.

27.2. Community and economic structure by division

1. The division of economic planning and development

The division of economic planning and development should be the foundation of the

organized efforts and a principal source of support and promotion of the most principal source of support and promotion of the most important activities of the whole community. A guiding principle should be that all promoted community enterprises must be co-operatively owned and controlled by the people of the community and that each enterprise be under highly trained management and competent service personnel.

Departments

A. Department of promotion of community co-operative enterprises

- 1) To conduct surveys to determine what the people want and need.
- 2) Soundness of project.

- 3) Ways and means of community financing and securing trained personnel and management.

The community enterprises would be spread into various townships and villages, while owned and operated by the people in other places must operate as a community chain of stores and markets for mass buying power and distribution. This would be the system whether the enterprises are food markets, shoe stores, department stores or any other undertaking which can be developed as a chain store system.

B. The department of finance, banking and credit union

- 1) For promotion a consortium of banks operated by members of the community and the expansion of financing and banking system.
- 2) Credit unions for individuals assistance and building and loan services. Primarily for communities without needed building and loans services for the community.

C. The institute of technology and personnel training

This would be a key programme of the movement. For a while it would engage in the training of expert technicians for the various fields of operation under the plan, a principal objective would be the kind of creative expertise required for large

scale manufacturing operations. For example shoe manufacturing; frozen foods, furniture; mattress-making, and other products.

The personnel training sections would have an importance for the race beyond the ordinary. Blacks are generally still quicker and more polite when serving White people. Their attitude toward members of their own race is one of indifference and often insulting. This is known to be true all over Africa and Africans in diaspora. What is new again is that there are Blacks who are thoroughly educated and they have become racist against themselves. These anti-black Blacks or the unblack Blacks who cannot see from within but see other “Blacks” as objects from without are marginal. This negative and essentially anti-black attitude of Blacks towards Blacks, must be uncompromisingly stopped.

D. Central office of accounting and finance control

Here again is an area in which blacks are weak, money management and control. Accounting and finance control would keep a rigorous check on all income and expenditures of the local organization and provide similar auditing and accounting units for the local community organizations and enterprises.

E. Department of land reclamation and farming

Principal Aim: To secure large tracts of land in various parts of the community to
(1) raise vegetables of all kinds for the various community markets (2) hogs, beef

cattle, poultry and eggs (3) farm homes for persons who would work on the farms and (4) country camp centers for rest and play.

Without the farm lands we may as well forget about canning and frozen food industries or reducing the cost of living for our people by supplying their community stores with fresh vegetables, meat, butter and eggs from their farms.

Vast land holding is the cornerstone of the master plan.

F. Transport and distribution agency

This department would be primarily concerned with long distance shipping from farms, plants and other points, and maintaining the trucks, shipping vans and required maintenance services.

G. Central purchasing and supply agency

This department must be responsible for the proper location and supervision of the various warehouses required as the community enterprises expand.

2. Division of political action

A. To promote and assist voter registration

B. To provide profile of candidates, local and national

- C. Prepare bills and other measures affecting the group for regional government legislature
- D. Liaison with all actions that can be taken through the political process to protect and promote the welfare of the community.

3. Division of public education

The purpose is to achieve a higher standard of teaching and student achievement on every

level involved in the education of children, youth and to develop a better system of general adult education in all communities. This division must include:

- A. Foundation for research, field studies and the training of scholars for neglected areas in various aspects of community life and history.
- B. A General Publishing Board: (i) Textbooks and other works related to progress of the community (ii) newspapers and magazines; a professional journal, community action newsletters, etc.
- C. Committee of visitors.

This should be in the community to become acquainted with teachers, students and the textbooks and other learning material. Every committee of school visitors should be elected by the people of the community and should report directly to them.

4. A. Department of health and sanitation
 - (i) Council of physicians, dentists, nurses, medical aids and laymen and home visiting nurse service
 - (ii) Community clinics
 - (iii) Community clean block and alley program
 - (iv) Better home life counseling service
 - (v) A “home-beautiful” program
- B. Legal aid services. All matters of justice because of race and the legal work of the movement.

5. Division of youth activities

To take leadership roles in all areas and undertakings for which they are capable. Youth should join hands in the community building efforts. One of their responsibilities must be the department of children affairs (ages 3-14) which is in their division.

6. Commission for spiritual life and assistance

This must be the community’s “great commission”. Its main task must be

- (a) To determine the direction of civilization;

- (b) To interpret the spiritual as men and women working on the highest level of humane endeavours to understand the meaning of life while trying to improve it;
- (c) To enlist the co-operation of White, Brown, Indian community and all other peoples of goodwill in an all-out drive for a better society;
- (d) To maintain an emergency assistance programme for families or communities in distress;
- (e) To assume the initiative in seeking the active co-operation of any and all religious faiths and all institutions which are concerned with improving human relations.

Finally, the social policy makers must seek to achieve the largest possible measure of unity in order to form the power base as the organized voice of the people. They must develop from this position of strength to much needed economic enterprises that will not only create employment opportunities but, being owned directly by the people in the community.

On finance, there must be general membership fee. Each community enterprise must be financed initially by the purchase of shares of participating owners. Each share must be at a purchase price in reach of the poorest. Indeed a special programme for share holding by youth should be an important part of the movement. The objective is a mass membership and a mass patronage of their own

enterprises. The additional direct benefits are the patronage dividends received according to the amount purchased in a given period. In private enterprise this would be profit that the owner makes. Under communism, it goes to the state. Under Richmond community co-operative system, the profit belongs to the people, for the reason for it all is to benefit the people and not to enrich any one person or small group.

There must be a rigid policy to avoid the development of a top heavy bureaucracy of high salaried executives. The success of the community is going to depend very heavily on the number of people willing to sacrifice in giving some unpaid or not fully paid service. For at least five years this will be a sacrifice pattern. The big salary must not get on board. Groovy train should be condemned.

Every undertaking is to be preceded by study, training and careful financial planning goals. Some goals can be achieved in a relatively short time, some will require several years. Something along this line must be a grand plan. This must be a vision. It is obviously not for the overnight. This is for men, women and their children who seek to find peace and economic development.

What I had suggested for Richmond community, peace will prevail without any doubt. Since the African people are just a part of human family, and Richmond only part of South Africa that, in spite of the opposing forces, will becoming more

closely knit, I had to view it in a rational setting. I attempted to make my approach as a researcher who had found it necessary to study the history of Richmond and character of peaceful approach of which Richmond is emerging to become a part.

One of the greatest discoveries in this contemporary period is made in the field of anthropology, not physics. It was the discovery that a person in his rush from primitive life, human being left behind fundamental elements needed for peace. Chief among was of course is the sense of community, direction and purpose.

That is why Richmond is so very important now. It can profit if it sees the precipice towards which we are drifting and takes the opposite course in an effort to build a different kind of society on a spiritual foundation. The elements required for such foundation, the whole of South Africa will agree, South Africa already have in abundance. Nowhere is this better reflected than in the amazing tolerance of the White man. After centuries of oppression, Black men still do not hate White men in South Africa. Quite the contrary, they are ever ready to forget past injuries and extend the hand of genuine brotherly love.

Richmond city no matter how "savage" or violent, that is blessed with kind of leadership that sets the people in a united movement towards a society consciously organized for planned and programmed progress, deliberately infusing its economic, political and social life with spiritual and moral forces of brotherhood,

that area of Richmond will be moving unmistakably in the direction of the kind of life that justifies the name “peace”.

GLOSSARY

APARTHEID

The systematic imposition of oppression in the attempt to destroy the will of the majority of Black people. This mechanism was idealized by the then government of nationalist party and causes the Black insecurity and self doubt. It was an expression of Afrikaaner Nationalism which identifies what racial characteristics with superiority and African racial characteristics with inferiority some social scientists analyses saw apartheid as the splitting of phenomena into confrontation, conflicting parts and facilitating the permit of power over other.

ASSASSINS

Bureau of state security boss maintained the then state as launching pad and sanctuary for assault against Black liberation movement and affiliates and was disbanded when democratic new government took power. However, ASKARIS joined the dirty game of assassinating those loyal to liberation movement.

COMBAT

James R. Kerim refers to combat as a start of focused conflict between two opposing forces such as ideals; person; or military formations. The term in a South African context is direct and physical fighting encounter between two armed adversaries M.K. Cadres in crossfire with the forces of APARTHEID REGIME.

The word [Combat] derives from Latin; the prefix com-[together; with] the condition of peace; find its essence in expression of violence and exist as particularized form of conflict [ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF VIOLENCE PEACE AND CONFLICT; VOLUME 1].

IDEOLOGY

The term ideology refers to a set of ideas about politics; social organisation and philosophy which are put together on the basics of a presumably logical guiding principles [THEO TSHUYI 1997:P.X). This thought does not of course necessarily remain confined to national theory such as liberal; Marxist and Jama.

Some political analyst discerned that when applied to a single state or to a group of states; ideology can be used with deadly efficiency by a ruling group against its own people or against other states.

LECIMATE VIOLENCE

Violence used by the state [or other elites] that it justifies as appropriate to pursue its policies and that it distinguishes from other and therefore illegitimate; violence.

NATIONALISM

It is a commitment to the perpetuation; advancement; and defence of cultural; political; racial entity and way of life. Professor Dona Richards discerned that nationalism can be all forms of thoughts and behaviour which promote European White supremacy.

The then South African government embraced nationalism as expression of Afrikaaner Volk which identifies White racial characteristics with superiority and African characteristics with inferiority.

POLITICS

It is a process of struggle over conflicting interest carried into public arena; it may also involve a process of muting and suppressing conflict interest and goals and the denials of other [Parentic Michael, 83; p.4]

Politics thought CHESTERTON; is an inescapability symbolic. In public things images are always abundance. While these are occasionally given solidity and substance in carved stone; they live in minds of men. Political action is rarely; if every; free from such imaginings. They are never made by selfless one. In political action; there is always to be found a dialectic or reverence and inreverence revolutionists.

A person can conclude by saying that politics has drama; terror and from time to time a touch of comedy. It reflects as well the worst humiliating conditions encountered by the grass root level people.

POWER

Power can be seen as the ability [as held by group of actors in the context of this thesis] to elicit compliance and obedience; is common that a few group of politicians can wield power for the benefit of their clique [Broederbond]. At times they aspire to power to the extent that they affect the lives of great number of people in a very important way.

Those in power can achieve dominance and maintained by violent conquest and subjection of opposing forces; and/or also by more subtle process referred to by GRAMSCI. This clearly referred to then Nationalist government of South Africa. Pat Landerdale and Randall Amster refer to power as the ability or capability to

exercise social control; often conceived as the ability to define; categorize or label; operates macroscopically as structural or systemic control and preservation of interest statutes and microscopically a resistance to existing power relations in society.

POLICE

An official body; organized at the local or national level; to keep civil order. Police are empowered to make arrest for violations of the criminal law and use the force as their actions when lawful.

The then government police were contrary to above mentioned definition. They were ruthless and perpetuated that violent and political conflict.

STATE TORTURE

Acts of torture that are carried out by government. Peter Suedfeld [1990] offered a useful insight on the phenomenon. He concluded that a specific act of torture is seen as the general deterrent to intimidate others from behaviour that the authorities considered unacceptable. Torture claimed Lenin is parting crassly effective; general intimidation tactic beyond the immediate victim or the media disseminates gruesome details of certain methods of torture or by allowing people to see the frightening results of victims.

VIGILANTISM

Punishment; performed outside the confines of the official legal process; for perceived wrong doing or defiance. [Peter R. Beckmann; 1984:p.7] Vigilantism is carried out by elements recruited from hostels; different ethnic group; financed by racist government. Their targets are the poor and Black grass root people. Preferable time of attack is at night.

VIOLENCE

Violence may be used as an alternative to negotiation. What it forms a part of a strategy to settle the conflict by pursuing outright victory on other part's terms; and by extracting unconditional surrender from the opponent. It can also be used as part of a negotiating strategy; in order to extract tactical concessions from the opponent. David Welsh interprets political violence by ANC in this way "... the African National Congress regards its capacity to wage the armed struggle as one negotiating counters. Despite its rhetoric; it is unlikely that it seriously believes the political violence can topple the South African government instead, it supposed that political violence is part of multi-pronged strategy to force the White government to the negotiation table".

NON-VIOLENCE

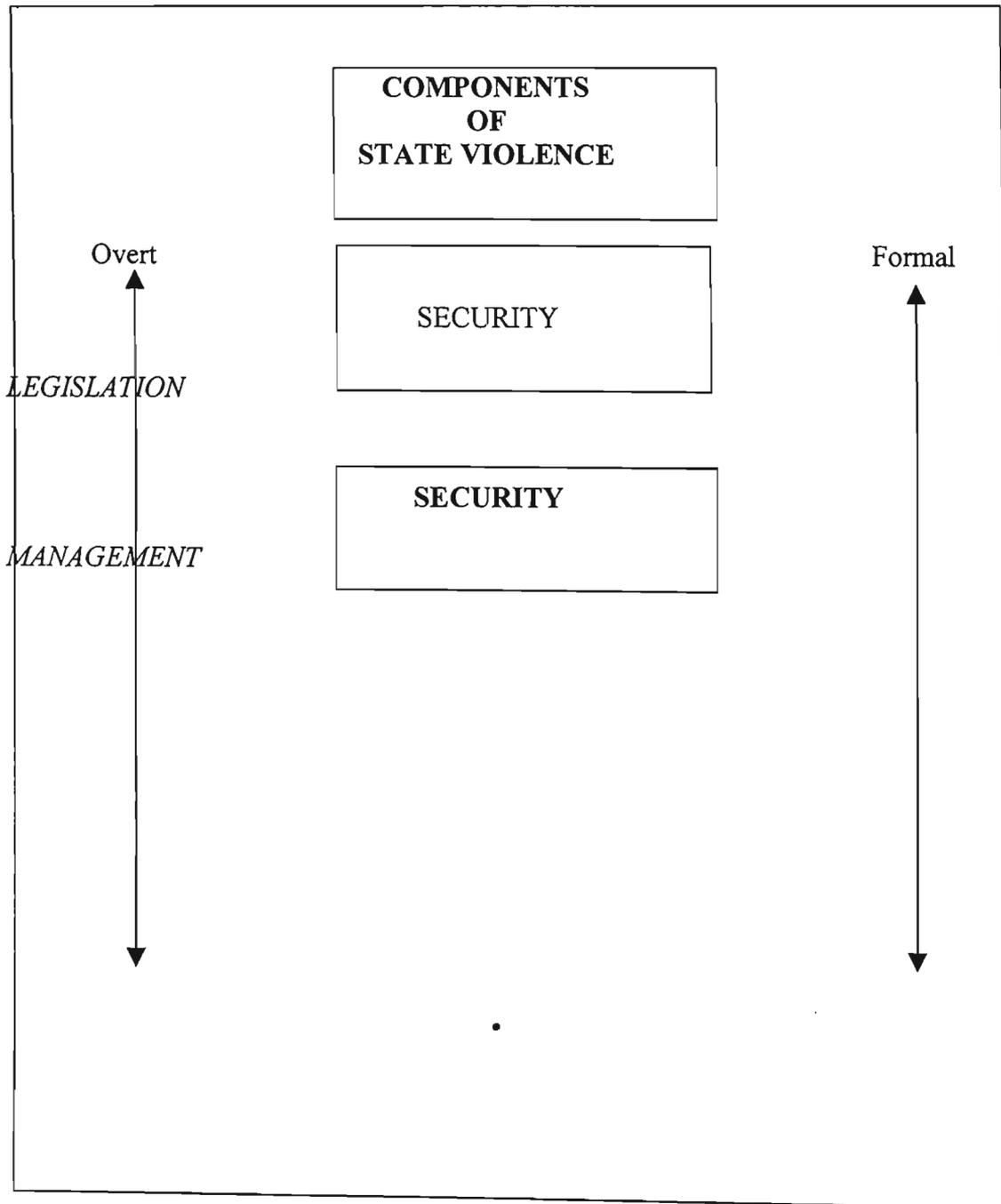
It can be the consequences of the two parties, refraining from using violent means to achieve one's goals, either out of a religious or philosophical rejection of such means are the only ones available and are worth using in an effort to achieve one's goals while simultaneously reducing violence [Kathleen Maas Weigert : 1999,43]. Peace Indaba was the manner to end political and violent conflict in KwaZulu-Natal.

UBUNTU

It is thrust or energy source of an African culture, that which gives it its emotional tone and motivates the collective behaviour of its members. As cultural structured thought, then it became a way in which cognition is determined by a cultural action. Finally, a way in which the thought of members of culture must be patterned.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A



APPENDIX B

FORMAL REPRESSION

1986

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

- * INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, No. 74 of 1982
permanent; in operation at all times
- * PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, No 3 of 1953
States of emergency – 1960, 1985, 1986/7/8/9
- * PUBLIC SAFETY AMENDMENT ACT No 67 of

Unrest Areas – Invoked selectively since 1990

REPRESSION OF:

PERSONS

- * DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL
- * BANNING AND RESTRICTION
- * POLITICAL TRIALS
- * POLITICAL EXECUTIONS
- * OTHER ACTIONS

ORGANISATIONS

- * BANNING
- * RESTRICTION

GATHERINGS

- * BANNING
- * RESTRICTION

PUBLICATIONS

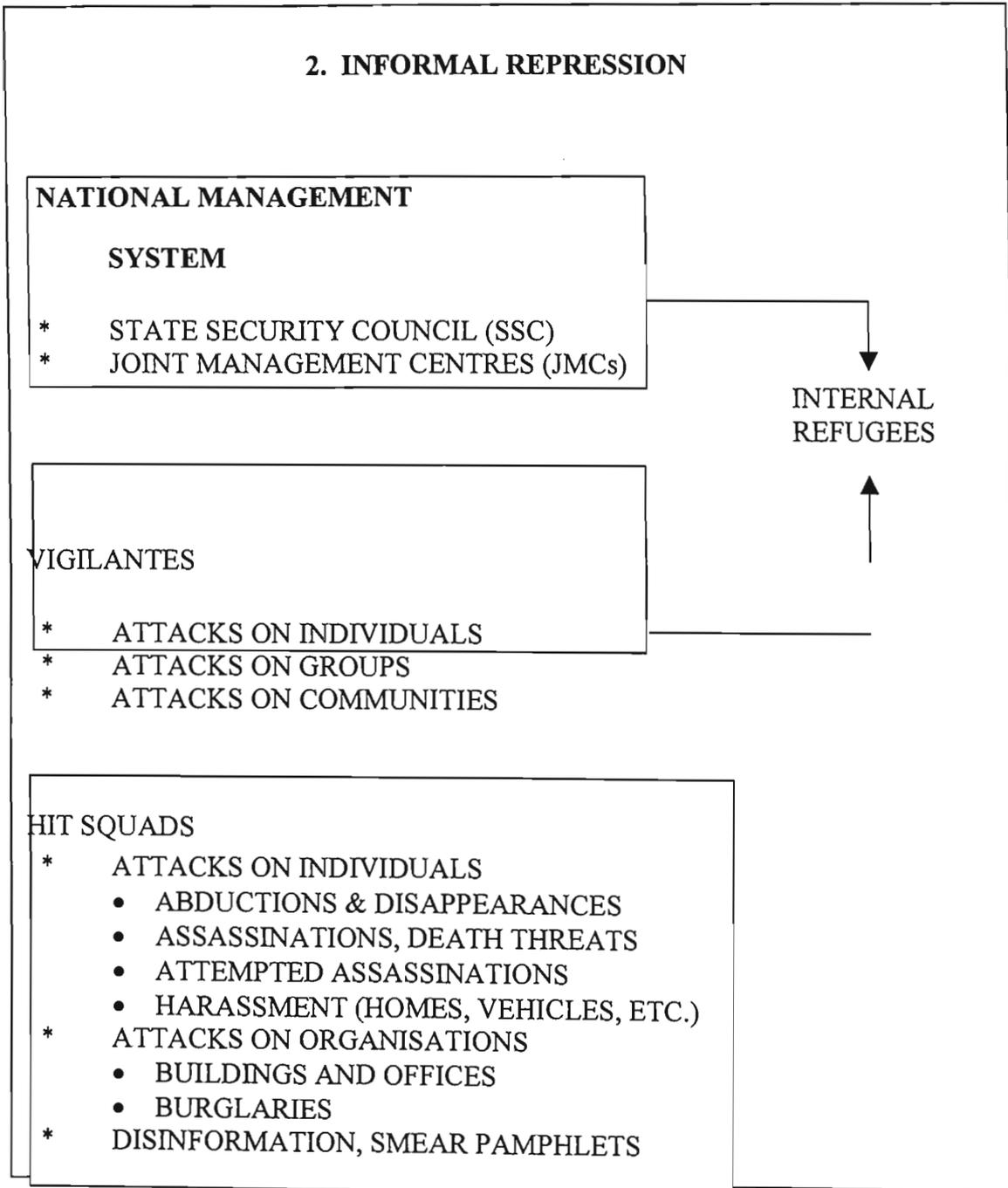
- * BANNING
- * SUSPENSION
- * RESTRICTION

POLITICAL ACTIONS

- * BANNING

APPENDIX C

2. INFORMAL REPRESSION



1. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1989

The home of Sifiso Nkabinde's mother is attacked. According to a statement by Bongani Mtolo, a Richmond resident, four people were killed during the riot raid.

1989

Student protest march in Richmond. One student shot dead by police (Press reports no. 30 and 34)

1988-1990

ANC says that 50 youth from Smozomeni were killed, other youths fled to Ndaleni and Magoda

February 1990

Chief Majozi's home was burnt down

May 1990

Richmond Town Board announces a meeting was held between Chief Majozi, the Town Board, Security Forces or the Deputy Minister of Justice It is agreed that weekly meetings of this nature were to be held (no blood on our hands)

June 1990

Mayor Ernie Venter addresses public meeting, which establishes vigilante groups in Richmond. Civil protection already existed (no blood on our hands)

July 1990

First cells of Night Watch established (Ibid)

November 1990

Peter Nkabinde's home is attacked

1990

The Town Board established "Richmond Trust" (No blood on our hands)

22 January 1991

Nkobeni resident sent a letter to Sifiso Nkabinde demanding return of rifles seized (Richmond War, ECC)

23 January 1991

Large group with IFP flags attack Magoda, 4 people die, 50 homes burnt, hundreds

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flee to Richmond

30 January 1991

Town Clerk distributes pamphlets in Richmond on refugees (No blood on our hands)

2 February 1991

Phatheni and Nkobeni residents attack Magoda – 9 killed, 150 homes burnt, 2 000 Magoda residents flee

February 1991

AWB slogans start appearing – allegations of AWB training begin emerging (Richmond War, ECC)

February 1991

First peace initiative fails (Richmond War, ECC)

15 March 1991

Last of 11 schools closes, number of refugees (Richmond War, ECC)

24 March 1991

IFP meeting regarding return of refugees (Richmond War, ECC)

27 March 1991

Advance Group of refugees return to Ndaleni. At nightfall refugees were attacked, two were killed

29 March 1991

“Battle of the Forest” 23 IFP supports killed (Richmond War, ECC)

29 March 1991 to 2 April 1991

21-30 people killed IFP forced back to N’kobeni (Richmond War, ECC)

3 April 1991

ANC hold local meeting fail to get consensus on peace talks (Richmond War, ECC)

7 April 1991

ANC hold local meeting fail to get consensus on peace talks (Richmond War, ECC)

27 May 1991

Attack on pension pay out point, two killed

30 May 1991

ANC protest march on police station

June 1991

IFP approach Sifiso Nkabinde about peace talks, meeting sets 27 June 1991 as the date (Richmond War, ECC)

21 June 1991

Peace talks threatened by death of ANC supporter

23 June 1991

ANC meeting to discuss peace talks held. That night 16 people are killed in 3 attacks. ANC suspends peace talks. Residents allege involvement of White people in the attacks.

August 1991

ANC begins process of returning 5 000 refugees (Richmond War II, ECC)

9 August 1991

Chief Ndlovu from Ixopo killed

17 August 1991

IFP march through Town armed

29 August 1991

Ndodi Thusi's wife and child assassinated

7 September 1991

IFP call for urgent probe into Richmond

2 November 1991

ANC protest march stopped

12 November 1991

ANC talks on Town Board in Richmond

13 November 1991

Racial tensions rise in Richmond. White residents want to rid the Town of "Amaqabane" (Comrades). Meeting of White residents held – IFP people present

25 November 1991

Richmond boycott called off

2 December 1991

4 people killed in Magoda. Witnesses claim White people were part of the groups attackers

4 December 1991

March for the removal of the riot police

5 December 1991

Richmond declared an unrest area

December 1991

ANC and IFP agree to cease-fire peace talks begin

4 January 1992

IFP suspend peace talks after death of member

2 August 1993 Richmond

IFP members, Mqapheli Zuma, Mrs Zuma and Fana Mbhele, were killed by alleged ANC supporters

Residents in the area, who went to investigate the noise, were fired at by these ISU members. One resident, Mr Sipho Khanyile (31) was shot and killed.

It is reported that Mr Khawula was arrested, after a firearm was found in his house. Six cases of beer, five cases of mineral water, a crate of white bread and R2 500 was also taken from Mr Khawula's tuck shop.

12 February 1996

Meeting held between police, Nkabinde and SU to discuss police reservists.

22 February 1996

Tafe Mshenu killed. Mshenu had been Sifiso Nkabinde's bodyguard.

1-3 March 1996

"Concerned Citizens" training takes place on farm 7 owned by P. Shaw.

17 March 1996

3 SAP members from Mountain Rise shot dead in Richmond

July 1996

Vusi Njilo testifies at the trial of Mpho Mtolo and links Nkabinde to killings.

August 1996

Safety and Security Committee presented with report by SANDF on no-go areas in Richmond.

October 1996

Nkabinde awarded "The Freedom of Richmond".

December 1997

Nkabinde defies ANC's wish to stand for provincial elections.

February 1997

Violence erupts in Dambuza.

April 1997

Nkabinde is exposed as a "spy".

April 1997

Nkabinde holds rally in Richmond and begins talks with Holomisa.

April 1997

All but two Richmond Councilors resign from the Council.

April 1997

One of the Councilors, Van Der Byle, who refused to resign from the Council, is assassinated.

April 1997

Mandela visits Richmond.

May 1997

Nkabinde officially joins Holomisa's party

3 July 1997

The Deputy Mayor of Richmond with eight people were killed in a tavern.

8 July 1998

One man was killed about 5 meters from Nkabinde's house in Magoda.

9 July 1998

A taxi was ambushed in Ndaleni and woman was killed.

10 July 1998

A teenager and her three-year-old daughter were shot dead while gathered with their family outside their Magoda home.

11 July 1998

Five adult members of one family were gunned down in Ndaleneni.

15 July 1998

A 16 year old was shot dead and his two brothers martyred.

17 July 1998

A man was killed outside the Ndaleneni Mission where a night vigil was being held. That same night, a Russian hand-grenade was used in a Maswazini attack that left five people dead.

26 July 1998

Violence hit the local IFP stronghold of Patheni when vehicles were burnt while returning from a night vigil.

29 July 1998

In a horrific attack that may be linked to the Patheni shootings, nine people including five children were shot dead at Simozomeni. (Documented by Network of Independent Monitors, 1998).

August 1998

Six people were killed and seven injured that morning. A man was shot dead in Magoda. Two people were shot and injured in Richmond, Ndaleneni Junction during clash between ANC and UDM supporters. Three people were killed in Cuba, Ndaleneni, Richmond.

September 1998

Two youths were shot dead by unknown attackers. Gunshots were fired but nobody was injured at a funeral for victims of five ANC supporters killed in Cuba.

23 January 1999

Sifiso Nkabinde was shot dead.

February 1999

Two people were shot dead in Richmond.

2. STATISTICS

WEAPONRY

Weapons used during the violent and political conflict in Richmond:

NAME	TYPE	ISSUE
RPG 7*	Rocket launcher	illegal
M26	Hand grenade	SADF, Reaction unit, COIN Security, Task Force
illegal AK-47*	Automatic rifle (7,62 x 39 mm)	
R-1	Selective rifle (5,56 x 45 mm or .233)	KZP
Shotgun	shotgun (all 12 bore) (including pump action)	KZP/SAP/SADF
G-3	semi-automatic rifle (7,62 x 51 mm)	KZP/ZG
9mm parabellum pistol	9 x 18 mm pistol CZ7S, Walther P38 Beretta, Z88, Star	SAP/KZP/SADF
HMC	Hand machine gun Sub-machine carbine	SAP/KZP
Makarov* years	Pistol (9 x 18 mm)	Non-govt., illegal up until 2 Ago
Uzi	9mm sub-machine	SAP/SADF
Limpet mines*	explosives	SADF
Scorpion machine		

pistol*	pistol (.32" and 7,65 mm)	illegal
Rifle grenade	rifle grenade (can be Attached to R-4 and R-5)	SAP/SADF
Bazooka*	Rocket launcher (includes RPG)	SADF
NAME	TYPE	ISSUE
LM4 & LM5	semi-automatic version of R-5 & R-5	
303	rifle	Non-government
LMG	light machine gun	SADF, COIN, SAP Reaction Unit, Task Force
Tokarev	pistol	Non-Government

*So called 'East bloc' weapons

by the courtesy of Civilian Support Component of the I.T.U.

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1991	Natal Witness	August 12
1991	Natal Mercury	September 10-13
1992	Natal Witness	January 7
1992	The Star	June 8
1992	The Star	June 22
1992	The Star	August 25
1992	The Star	August 26
1992	Weekly Mail	November 13-19
1992	Daily News	December 3
1992	Sunday Tribune	December 6
1993	Natal Mercury	September 10
1993	Daily News	October 4
1993	Daily News	November 8
1993	Sunday Times	October 4
1993	Sunday Times	November 4
1993	natal Mercury	November 8
1994	Natal Witness	October 17
1997	Echo	January 20
1997	Sunday Times	March 30
1997	Natal Witness	April 8
1997	Business Day	April 10
1997	Rapport	May 25
1997	Rapport	June 29
1997	Business Day	July 16
1997	Daily News	July 29
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1997	Cape Times	August 15
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1997	Daily News	October 9

1997	The Citizen	October 9
1997	Natal Witness	October 10
1997	Sunday Tribune	October 19
1998	Sowetan	April 7
1998	Natal Witness	July 8
1998	Natal Witness	August 14
1999	Independent on Saturday	January 30
1999	Independent on Saturday	February 13
1999	The Citizen	May 12
1999	The Star	May 13

Recorded Interviews

Bheki Cele, ANC MP KwaZulu-Natal

6 members of SANDF(artillery)

9 members of South African Police

MK Veteran Association, Mr Phungula

8 MK veterans who participated in the historical development of Richmond, both during the violence era and the period of reconstruction

Five Executive and Associate Members of the Pietemartitzburg Chamber of Business

Archbishop Dennis Hurley of Roman Catholic Church

J Aitchison, academic and thorough student of violence

Senior Academic at UDW, he prefers to remain anonymous

Senior journalists from the Natal Witness. They prefer to remain anonymous.

Unrecorded Interviews

Equal numbers of community members in all areas in the Richmond vicinity. The researcher respected those who wanted to be anonymous, all other names appear in the text. Forty four community members, women, youth and elderly were interviewed, together with four business persons.

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