



12 August 1991

South Africa

The contrast couldn't have been greater. The African National Congress at its conference in Durban 2-7 July put together a structure for the future South Africa. Twelve days later new press disclosures reiterated what we've known all along - the present South African government is murderous and conniving - a regime strong but faltering.

The Durban conference was a tumultuous and joyous event. For the first time in over three decades those who had been in prison, in exile and under persecution at home met and in a week's time hammered out policy on the many and daunting crises facing tormented South Africa. The 2240 delegates chosen from almost a thousand chapters within 14 regions of the country elected 50 persons who will join 40 ex-officio members to form the National Executive Committee. The NEC later chose 20 of its members to comprise - along with the six elected national officers - a National Working Committee, a shadow cabinet. The elections at the conference were supervised by an independent team of South Africans of undoubted credentials - the first democratic elections in South Africa, shed of the incubi of race, class, sex or residence, a model for the future.

As expected Nelson Mandela was unanimously elected President of the ANC. His old comrade from Robben Island and before, Walter Sisulu, was chosen Deputy President. Oliver Tambo, who led the ANC from exile during the long years of struggle, was acclaimed as National Chairman. Slowed down by a stroke two years ago, the venerated leader remains in an active position. With a choice widely hailed by friend and opponent alike, the conference elected veteran trade union leader Cyril Ramaphosa to be Secretary General of the ANC. Jacob Zuma was made his deputy and Thomas Nkobi retained the post of treasurer.

Following hard upon the ANC conference US President George Bush announced the lifting of US trade and economic sanctions against South Africa in recognition of the 'profound transformation' wrought by President F. W. De Klerk.

On 19 July the Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL hit the newsstands with documentary proof of direct Pretoria funding of the Inkatha organization of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Misnamed Inkathagate (it really is Pretoriagate), the disclosure together with others increasingly appearing in VRYE WEEKBLAD, THE NEW NATION, THE WEEKLY MAIL and London's INDEPENDENT and GUARDIAN, lays out not only a pattern but chapter and verse of the South African regime's secret assaults on the ANC. Money is only part of the squalid story. The South African Police and the South African Defence Force are shown time and again to train, supply and operate killers in Inkatha, amongst vigilante groups and to direct SAP and SADF assassination squads. The uproar caused President De Klerk to shuffle the furniture, moving Defence Chief General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to less photogenic posts but still very much in the oligarchy. Chief Buthelezi, who a month before had been warmly welcomed by President Bush at the White House, screamed he knew nothing about the funding and the killing. His secretary took the fall and resigned, saying he had deposited Pretoria's money without telling his boss.

Later this month the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organization, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Council of Churches and others will meet in Cape Town to deliberate upon setting up a Patriotic Front to stand in opposition to Pretoria and its allies, looking forward to negotiations and the selection of a constituent assembly. The ANC persists in its demand for an interim government to see the country through democratic elections, a rational call all the more strengthened by the revelations about Pretoria pouring forth every day.

Aspinall set up secret fund

for Buthelezi

JOHN ASPINALL, the millionaire zoo owner, and Kerry Packer, the Australian media magnate, set up a secret trust fund last year for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, according to bank records obtained by *The Independent on Sunday*. Chief Buthelezi has used money from the account to repay slush funds that were channelled to his Inkatha movement by South Africa's government, the records show.

The disclosures deepen the scandal of the government's secret support for Inkatha over the last five years. The government admits providing covert financial assistance but denies using Inkatha to incite violence in South African townships to discredit the African National Congress.

Chief Buthelezi has said he knew nothing of the 250,000 rand

(£50,000) funnelled through the police to pay for rallies. But he has said it was repaid from Inkatha funds. The bank records show, however, that the money came from a 1.27m rand private investment account in his name.

His staff have often portrayed him as a relative pauper who lives on his 9,000 rand a month salary from the KwaZulu government. But on 11 September 1990, Mr Aspinall, who owns Howletts zoo in Kent, and Mr Packer, not previously known to have taken an interest in South African politics,

were the major contributors to the opening trust fund, with other unnamed supporters. Mr Aspinall once funded a trip around the globe for the Zulu leader.

The fund is solely in Mr Buthelezi's name at the First National Bank, formerly Barclays, in the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi. There is no Inkatha control over the account, number 4529040806.

Chief Buthelezi is not heavily out of pocket from refunding the cash as, since the account was opened, it has earned 182,522 rand in interest. Inkatha had said

the government was reimbursed from its Central Committee account. But presented with evidence of the fund's existence, a committee member, Walter Felgate, confirmed the money came from Chief Buthelezi's private account, indeed from the original source of those funds. The withdrawal was made on Tuesday without the usual 30 days' notice. The government paid the original 250,000 rand into a special Inkatha account. Since the disclosure of the transfer, Chief Buthelezi has said he did not know of it because so much money went through the account.

Mr Aspinall and Mr Packer were not immediately available for comment last night. They were at a 1,000-guest wedding reception for Mr Packer's daughter, Gretel, in Sussex.

From Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

 THE INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY

28 JULY 1991

SA police to root out funding leaks

Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

SOUTH African police are investigating the origin of the security police documents used by the Guardian to expose the government's covert funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The investigation is to determine whether the documents were stolen, in breach of the Protection of Information Act. The law prohibits the possession and publication of any document obtained from "a prohibited place" and carries a fine of up to R10,000 (£2,000), 10 years' imprisonment, or both.

A spokesman for the law and order ministry, Craig Kotze, said yesterday: "All avenues will be explored." But he insisted that the police were committed to the "free flow of information" and were not trying to prevent further disclosures.

The disclosures, which led to the demotion of the law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, and the defence minister, General Magnus Malan, were based on security police documents, some marked top secret, obtained by the Guardian. They

formed the basis of simultaneous reports by the Guardian and a Johannesburg newspaper, the Weekly Mail.

The reports quoted from a 10-page memorandum sent by Major Louis Botha to police headquarters in Pretoria requesting finance for an Inkatha rally in March last year.

It is expected that the police inquiries will concentrate on the Weekly Mail, although its co-editor, Irwin Manoim, said yesterday that officers had not approached the paper.

Under South Africa's Criminal Procedure Act, police may subpoena journalists to force them to disclose the source of their information. Failure to do so can result in a journalist being sent repeatedly to jail until the courts decide he or she is no longer recalcitrant.

The South African Union of Journalists said yesterday: "It is the duty of the media to expose corruption wherever it might be found. The role of the police in the Inkathagate scandal has been amply highlighted. For the police to investigate the Weekly Mail and its source is simply vindictive."

US unions gave money to Inkatha

David Pallister

REVELATIONS about secret South African government funding for Inkatha's trade union this week have revived earlier accounts of support from American groups for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's activities.

Ever since the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) was formed in 1986, its strongest links have been with the American labour federation, AFL-CIO. This has been a secret conduit for American money to anti-communist groups for the past 45 years.

As early as 1982, Chief Buthelezi was given the AFL-CIO George Meaney human rights award. In the same year Irving Brown, the head of the federation's international department, led a delegation to South Africa, to offer funds for training to selected union activists who opposed the ANC's stance on sanctions.

The delegation was rebuffed by most black unions because of its connections with President Reagan's "constructive engagement" programme for

South Africa. Brown, who died two years ago, had a formidable reputation as a CIA asset in the formation of anti-communist trade unions in Europe after the war, and later in Africa.

Chief Buthelezi visited him in Geneva in 1983 seeking funds to help Inkatha forge links with the trade union movement.

Brown's sympathy was never in doubt. A full 10 years earlier he had said: "We are ready [to train black unionists] if KwaZulu is ready. We have good contacts in South Africa and we have talked about how assistance in the training field could be arranged."

In the week that the union was launched — with an executive dominated by businessmen and managers — reports appeared in the South African press that it had approached the AFL-CIO through the African-American Labour Centre for "large scale assistance".

The general secretary, S. Z. Conco, a KwaZulu businessman, has admitted that funds were sought from Israel and West Germany and that American unionists had agreed to help to organise the union.

THE GUARDIAN
Saturday August 3 1991

THE GUARDIAN
Saturday July 27 1991

Townships still butt of Inkatha warrior attacks

From John Carlin
in White City, Soweto

down homes, loot and kill, targeting ANC sympathisers; and the police stand idly by.

Human rights organisations are in possession of a sworn affidavit by one man whose identity they do not want revealed yet who described what he saw at about 8pm on the night of 21 July. The story has been heard so often before it has almost become a cliché.

The man said he saw some 25 people wearing red headbands — the Inkatha warriors' trademark — descend from a police armoured vehicle carrying spears, clubs, knives and pangas (machetes). They were dropped off outside the home of Mshenguville's Inkatha chief, a man called Mntambo. They marched down a path singing war songs and shortly thereafter the witness — who was standing on a nearby mound — saw flames rise out of the squatter camp.

Four days later the shack of the Mbatha family was burnt down. Zanele Mbatha and her two-year-old daughter Linda were alone inside at about 9pm when they heard some men outside and then saw that their home was on fire. Why did it happen? "It must have been because my husband Vusi is an ANC committee member at the camp — all the shacks they've attacked have belonged to people who support the ANC." Did she go to the police station? "Yes, but they told me they were too afraid to go to Mshenguville."

That is what the police told Barry Twalo, who was stabbed seven times by Inkatha attackers on the night after the Mbathas were forced out of the camp. He recalled having seen two police

armoured vehicles standing by when the first shacks were burnt on 19 July; he recalled having tried to douse the flames at one shack and being ordered to go away by policemen standing by; he recalled having complained at a meeting chaired by Mr Mntambo two days after that.

On the day after Mr Twalo was attacked, the local organisation for the homeless, HOMHLE, put pressure on the police to raid Mr Mntambo's home, which they did. There they found, according to HOMHLE workers who accompanied the police, one Makarov pistol, two home-made guns, spears, lead pipes and two full police uniforms. Mr Mntambo was arrested and within 24 hours released on 1,500 South African rand (£300) bail.

A Catholic priest, who happened to arrive at the refugee-litlered White City community centre yesterday afternoon to prepare for a funeral, wryly surveyed the scene. "It's the same old story — whatever De Klerk says. The police are working hand-in-hand with Inkatha. And just to add to all the usual evidence, now we actually have uniforms!"

■ RIO DE JANEIRO — Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, said on Thursday that the South African government could no longer be trusted and told it to step aside in favour of an interim government or face the end of talks with his movement, Reuter reports. "The only way to a non-racial democracy in South Africa is that of an interim government. If de Klerk and his regime are not prepared to accept this demand they must learn there can be no further discussion between them and ourselves," Mr Mandela told a news conference on the first day of a visit to Brazil.

THE INDEPENDENT

Saturday 3 August 1991

KwaZulu minister 'was SA police link'

From Chris McCreal
in Johannesburg

A POWERFUL KwaZulu interior minister and Inkatha central committee member was the security police liaison in the KwaZulu cabinet, according to documents obtained by Johannesburg's *Weekly Mail*. The security police used the minister, Steven Sithabe, to investigate the Inkatha-affiliated union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), into which the police now admit pouring 1.5m South African rand (£300,000) in covert funds.

The *Weekly Mail* says it has obtained a copy of the final report which Mr Sithabe entrusted to Inkatha's academic arm, the Inkatha Institute. In effect, Inkatha was allowed to investigate itself on behalf of the police. The Law and Order Minister, Adrian Vlok, ordered the investigation into Uwusa funds because of fears of mismanagement. Mr Vlok said recently all the money was accounted for, but the final report concludes otherwise. Nearly half

the Uwusa regions could not even produce financial records.

The report also makes clear the true political intentions of the funding in contradiction of President F W de Klerk's assertion that the cash was provided to combat sanctions. It says that the ANC-affiliated Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) had emerged clearly at the vanguard of the anti-apartheid movement with "real organisation, real power and real intent."

Their political principles... pose a threat to the political positions of Uwusa and therefore need to be given the degree of competition in the labour field that will force them to get back to the real issues of that field."

President de Klerk yesterday denied he misled the public when he gave the assurance that illicit state funding was limited to four named organisations. Those listed did not include the conservative student organisation, the National Students' Federation — since disbanded after private donors withdrew — although its president, Danie Kriel, has admitted that

his organisation had received what he called a subsidy from the state to compete with anti-apartheid groups on white campuses.

A spokesman said President de Klerk was not misleading when he said only four organisations received illicit cash because he was referring to organisations that "have now become politically controversial". It is questionable whether the National Student Federation, with its close ties to the South African security services, was ever not politically controversial.



'As far as township violence is concerned, we will keep a close watch on the situation and continue to make regular cheques'

SUNDAY TIMES, July 21, 1991

Fear could aid Inkatha cause

SOWETAN 3 JUNE 91 P.6

NERVOUS residents of the PWV area rarely wear African National Congress T-shirts anymore.

In a recent opinion poll by *Drum* magazine which asked people about their political intentions, 24 percent replied that they were too terrified to vote. The category came second after the ANC which topped the poll with 39 percent.

Political analysts say that in South Africa's atmosphere of fear, Mandela's main rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, could eventually prove tough competition for the loyalty of the black majority.

At least 1 800 people have died since August in the worst urban violence in decades in clashes around Johannesburg between pro-Inkatha Zulu migrant workers and ANC-supporting residents.

Building ties

Although Inkatha won only four percent in the *Drum* poll, in line with other surveys, it stood to pick up support from blacks fearful of the future, the analysts say.

Potential recruits were blacks who felt Inkatha had proved itself the strongest in the battles and should be backed out of prudence, and people of all races with something to lose from apartheid reforms and anxious about a future under the ANC.

"We are being very much intimidated by the civics," said Inkatha recruiter Mr Joshua Mojaki, referring to pro-ANC civic organisations.

He said his Tswana people were joining Inkatha, adopting Zulu ways but "in the Tswana culture" and building ties with local rightwing whites to combat



what he called ANC violence.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Musa Myeni said he was recruiting hard among black town councillors, policemen, priests and miners in the industrial heartland around Johannesburg.

Twelve township mayors recruited to Inkatha "are now making things easy for us to penetrate their townships even in areas where we have never existed", he said.

Members

Inkatha, which Buthelezi once described as a group where "the dove of peace sits easily on the point of a spear", was for years a local power ruling the KwaZulu tribal territory.

But membership has grown to two million, a quarter of that around Johannesburg, from about 30 000 in the mid-1970s. The ANC is believed to have fewer than half a million members.

Stooges

Asked whether Inkatha was protecting township councillors, widely reviled as stooges of the apartheid system, Myeni replied: "No, we are not in the security business. But as soon as they (councillors) join Inkatha, members of Inkatha in their areas will not fold their arms when they are attacked."

Lawyer Nicholas Haysom said Inkatha was taking up the cause of many potential losers from apartheid's end, functionaries in local government, tribal homelands and municipal black police.

"Inkatha may also use its position as an armed protector to create a national base among a more ethnically and regionally disparate group of persons," he said.

All sides agree there is no point in creating a multiparty democracy if people vote not for who they believe in but for those they fear most. But analysts say that is the danger.

"If we could go to elections while we are trapped in a culture of violence, people would vote on geographic lines, depending on who is strongest in that area," said Mr Khaba Mkhize, a newspaper editor in Natal.

Another analyst in Natal who declined to be named said: "People will decide which is the more powerful, the ANC or Inkatha. Then for security reasons Inkatha will pick up votes."

New recruits

"Inkatha has come to stay in Soweto. The presence of Inkatha in people's minds is incredibly strong," said the pro-ANC analyst, who toured Soweto recently.

"They have also penetrated the Free State in the most incredible manner."

"Inkatha now represents the politics of being conservative. It is not a matter of being Zulu. The violence creates the picture of (ANC) failure. It creates doubt."

Inkatha spokesmen also said they drew "tremendous" support from churchgoers after Buthelezi last year publicly declared belief in God and Mandela spoke ambivalently on the same topic.

New recruits include 100 000 whites who cite respect for Inkatha's pro-business, anti-sanctions stance, its proclaimed

emphasis on free choice and the proud history of the Zulus.

Township residents report that Zulu migrant workers in some areas extort taxes from people living beside their hostels.

Those who refuse are generally attacked. Inkatha is also accused of coercive recruiting in KwaZulu.

Inkatha denies all this. But Myeni caused a stir when he said Inkatha would field 250 000 warriors to combat crime and ANC violence unless the ANC ended the township conflict.

The threat was repudiated by Inkatha's leaders but they said it remained a possible subject for internal debate.

Ethnic hostility

"Inkatha has enormous capacity to disrupt community life and threaten the peace process," Haysom commented.

He said violence created strong ethnic hostility towards Zulus, ensuring that Zulus apprehensive of attack turned to Inkatha for support.

"That would consolidate a more far flung support base previously not interested in Inkatha."

Business Day newspaper said that for President FW de Klerk and Mandela, Myeni's comments "must have been the political equivalent of a cold bath ... the realisation is dawning that the ANC and the Government are not the only parties capable of reverting to violent solutions".

On Tuesday, Mr Samuel Jamile, a deputy Minister of Interior in the KwaZulu homeland government was found guilty of murder and attempted murder.

Although Jamile is not the only Inkatha member to face such serious charges, he is the most senior to be convicted. - *Sapa-Reuters*.

THE WEEKLY MAIL, JUN 26 TO AUGUST 1 1991

IF Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok seriously believed he was funding the United Workers Union of South Africa to "counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labour front", he must be disappointed with its performance.

Where it has established a foothold — and it has managed this in very few workplaces — violence has erupted with terrifying frequency. Its slogan at its launch, that it would "bury Cosatu", has acquired a sinister significance.

Clashes at KwaZulu Transport in Maritzburg shortly after Uwusa's formation are widely seen as a spark for that city's interminable cycle of factional killings. This gives a rich irony to Vlok's claims that police funded the union to the tune of R1,5-million as a means of promoting labour stability.

There is little evidence that Uwusa operates as a normal trade union. *The Weekly Mail* knows of no industrial action it has staged, no court cases it has brought against employers, no campaign it has launched — other than to oppose sanctions.

In 1988, it claimed 150 000 members. No figures have since been recorded in

Countering violence. Or creating it?

the Institute of Race Relations' annual survey. Attempts to contact its general secretary, Dumisani Dlodla, failed this week.

Despite its principle of independence from all political organisations, Uwusa has echoed all Inkatha's policies. Its first general secretary, Simon Conco, was a former chief whip in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Other members of its national executive included an industrial relations executive for a group of Natal companies, a businessman and a township superintendent.

Shortly before its May 1 1986 launch, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to "launch Inkatha in the field of labour relations, to counter insults and denigration from Cosatu". He spoke at its launch and is said to have raised funds for the union.

Documents in the possession of *The Weekly Mail* show beyond doubt that it was and may still be a security police project. At least as late as February last year, it was also under the direct control of the kwaZulu cabinet.

The United Workers' Union of South Africa's record as a labour federation is poor — but its success rate on violence is frightening. **By DREW FORREST**

Some Uwusa members have been killed or injured in workplace clashes. But in the majority of incidents where Uwusa is known or suspected to have been involved, it is Cosatu and its affiliates who have suffered.

The sowing of ethnic divisions in the workforce through the funding of an exclusively Zulu union was bound to heighten labour conflict. Violent incidents involving Uwusa include:

- The 1987 murder of a National Union of Mineworkers organiser, John Ntshangase, in a union office at the Vryheid Coronation colliery, resulting in an NUM interdict against Uwusa and a prosecution.

- The June 1986 death of 11 NUM members during clashes between strikers and non-strikers at Hlobane colli-

ery. Uwusa officials were allegedly seen with strikebreakers.

- The stabbing of Transport and General Workers Union shop stewards' chairman at SA Stevedores, C Mshali, during an Uwusa-TGWU organising battle at the Durban firm.

- An alleged panga attack on Cosatu textile union leader Elias Banda in Isithebe in February 1989 by three Uwusa officials. An interim order restraining Uwusa officials from assaulting Cosatu unionists was granted.

- The murder of five miners employed by Zinc Corporation at the company's hostel in 1987, allegedly because they refused to join Uwusa.

- The death of six workers, some members of Uwusa, some of the National Union of Metalworkers, in clashes at Haggie Rand's Germiston plant in late 1989 and early 1990.

The conflict at kwaZulu Transport, seen as a trigger for the Maritzburg violence, followed an Uwusa organising drive and Cosatu's stayaway in protest against the 1987 election — which In-

katha allegedly blamed on the bus-drivers' refusal to transport workers.

First to be shot was Cosatu member Denis Zondi. This set in motion a cycle of violence in which seven Cosatu unionists and three Uwusa officials were killed over the next three years.

In an internal report last year, after the eruption of the Transvaal violence, Numsa blamed Inkatha/Uwusa assassinations for a spate of death threats, assassination attempts on Numsa officials and open workplace fighting in Reef factories. Key Numsa shop stewards had been forced to leave their plants.

In a statement this week, Cosatu said Uwusa's campaign of intimidation had during the last year mushroomed into an "orchestrated reign of terror against our members". Cosatu hostel-dwellers had been forced on pain of death to resign from Cosatu and the ANC and join Uwusa and Inkatha, the statement said. Uwusa vigilantes had demanded membership cards from factory workers.

It said that according to Numsa, workers involved in the metal industries' recent strike ballot had been harassed and attacked by Uwusa. A number had been shot and wounded.

SA intelligence service

'built up Inkatha'

From Chris McGreal in Lusaka

SOUTH AFRICAN intelligence played a decisive role in building the credibility of the mainly Zulu Inkatha movement from its inception in 1974, according to the former intelligence officer who implemented the operation. The intelligence service drew Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into long-term collaboration with the white regime, the officer, Martin Dolincheck, claims.

The CIA participated on the fringes of the scheme, building Chief Buthelezi's image among policymakers in the United States and securing funds for him.

In his first interview on the operation since leaving the now defunct Bureau of

State Security (Boss), Martin Dolincheck said Chief Buthelezi's main rival was set up to challenge him and then deliberately brought down in order to promote the Zulu leader as a force to be reckoned with. At about the same time Chief Buthelezi began co-operation with Boss to the extent that a scrambled telex line was installed between the intelligence service and the Inkatha leader's office.

The aim of the strategy, drawn up by the State Security Council under Prime Minister John Vorster, was essentially the same as the policy to undermine the

African National Congress exposed by the recent revelations of secret government funding of Inkatha. It centred on Chief Buthelezi's main political rival, Charles Hlangwa, his number two in the KwaZulu Territory Administration and chief of Mbumbulu. Boss established an office in Durban, and Martin Dolincheck was delegated to help Chief Hlangwa form a rival to Inkatha, called Umkhonto kaShaka.

"I ran Umkhonto kaShaka on behalf of military intelligence and Boss. We printed their membership cards, we bought them a Volkswagen minibus, we ran their bank accounts. Hlangwa's speeches arrived by telex from Pretoria,"

he said. As Umkhonto kaShaka's strength grew, so Chief Buthelezi protested it was a tool of the government.

Boss then leaked copies of Umkhonto kaShaka's bank accounts to the press, bringing down the organisation it had promoted and at the same time raising Chief Buthelezi's stature. Mr Dolincheck said keeping Chief Hlangwa in the dark was crucial because he was led to believe he was being promoted as an alternative to the Inkatha leader. Chief Buthelezi was aware of the plan.

At the same time Chief Buthelezi was meeting regularly with Edward Fugitt, the CIA station chief in Durban. According to Mr Dolincheck, the CIA

loosely co-operated with Boss in the strategy, providing valuable promotion for Chief Buthelezi abroad.

Umkhonto kaShaka was buried within a year of its birth, but by that time Chief Buthelezi had already increased his collaboration with the intelligence services. "Boss established an office in Empaneni with the specific purpose of servicing Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha office in (the KwaZulu capital) Ulundi. It only undertook any investigation of an intelligence nature which emanated from Chief Buthelezi's office," he said.

The telexes that passed across Mr Dolincheck's desk ranged from requests for assistance in dealing with political

opponents and other individuals that Chief Buthelezi wanted intelligence on to aspects of his personal security.

The ties continued after Boss was reorganised as the National Intelligence Service. When Mr Dolincheck left in 1981 after working for Boss in Durban for nine years to participate in the South African government's disastrous Seychelles coup plot, he said the relationship between the intelligence service and the Inkatha leader was still strong.

Mr Dolincheck was imprisoned in the Seychelles. After his release and return to South Africa, he fled to Zambia where he co-operated with the ANC.

Madlala, who in April this year confessed to the murder of ANC-linked Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Madlala told the Pietermaritzburg-based *Natal Witness* he was part of a covert hit squad run by the Pietermaritzburg security police which had been involved in a number of other deaths of ANC-linked politicians.

In 1987 Warber was the subject of a court restraining order after evidence had been led that he had severely assaulted detainees and subjected them to electric shocks.

Asked why in the light of these allegations Warber has yet to be suspended from duty, police said no decision has yet been taken regarding suspension. They confirmed the matter had been "fully investigated and the docket has been handed to the AG, Natal".

The investigation was pursued after Justice Wilson of the Supreme Court ordered and an investigation into the evidence led by police witness Captain Clifford Marian during a January 1991 criminal trial. Marian mentioned that he had evidence that gun had been bought on behalf of Inkatha by a security policeman.

* A former Military Intelligence agent said this week that his handler in Namibia sought to recruit him for similar work in Natal.

Jacques van der Merwe said on a BBC radio programme on Tuesday that similar tactics to those applied in Namibia to boost the opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and thwart Swapo in the pre-election period were being applied in South Africa, where Inkatha was being aided.

[Own correspondent]

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Security policeman 'bought arms for Inkatha'

JOHANNESBURG/ The attorney general in Natal is in possession of evidence that a Pietermaritzburg security policeman bought guns on behalf of Inkatha.

As a result of an investigation ordered by a Pietermaritzburg supreme court judge, security policeman Warrant Officer Wolf Warber may stand trial on charges arising out of the purchasing of 24 revolvers of the '38 Special' class on behalf of Inkatha impis in 1988.

The revolvers were bought from Kings Sports in Pietermaritzburg, with Warber standing in for 24 Inkatha members.

One of the revolvers was subsequently identified as the murder weapon in a trial involving 11 politically motivated murders committed against opponents of Inkatha during the past two years. Petros Ngcobo was acquitted after telling the court he had lent the

revolver to his brother - who had died in the interim.

Ngcobo has also been charged in connection with the mid-1989 assassination of Numsa shop steward Jabu Ndlovu who was killed only days after participating in a highly publicised press conference organised by human rights lawyers on the Witwatersrand. The case has yet to come to trial.

Another Inkatha member, Themba Mtshali, was also found guilty in 1990 of a murder of an ANC supporter; this murder was also committed with one of Warber's guns.

While there is no hard evidence to connect the purchase of the revolvers to systematic intervention on the part of security forces in Natal violence, Warber has been linked to a number of other episodes in the conflict.

Earlier this year he was named as the handler of a former police agent Sipho

Uwusa is an SAP/Inkatha joint project

THE United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) is a project under the joint control of the South African Police and Inkatha.

This emerges clearly from secret police documents, copies of which are in the possession of *The Weekly Mail*.

The documents raise explosive questions about the links between the highest echelons of Inkatha and the state security apparatus. The police have been repeatedly accused of pro-Inkatha bias in South Africa's ongoing political violence.

In the unfolding scandal around SAP funding of Inkatha, top Inkatha leaders, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have steadfastly denied knowledge of direct police assistance.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has already admitted police payments of R1,5-million to Uwusa, claiming these were designed to "counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labour front".

All the evidence points to extensive Uwusa involvement in violence, amounting to what the Congress of South African Trade Unions terms "a reign of terror".

The police documents also show:

- That in October 1989 — three and a half years after its launch — Uwusa was so heavily in debt that Vlok feared

Documents in the possession of *The Weekly Mail* show that not only did the police fund the United Workers' Union of South Africa but also helped establish it.

By DREW FORREST

exposure of his ministry's involvement with the union.

- That at least until October 1989, police had exercised no financial or other control over taxpayers' money given to Uwusa. This had resulted in the union's "massive" debts.

- That police used Uwusa to block Mass Democratic Movement attempts to rent King's Park Stadium in Durban for a rally to welcome released African National Congress leaders on February 25 last year.

At this rally, eventually held on a field adjoining the stadium, ANC president Nelson Mandela made an impassioned plea for an end to the Natal violence.

The key document, marked *uiters geheim* (top secret), appears to be from a Major FPR Botha and is headed "Management and Control, Project Omega, Operation Alpha".

Sent on October 17 1989, it bluntly describes Uwusa as "a project under the control of the South African Police".

Referring to the dangers posed by litigation for "covert projects", it adds that



Worker force ... Zulus in traditional garb brandish their cultural weapons at an Inkatha rally at King's Park stadium

Photograph: CLINT ZASMAN

Vlok is concerned about how the union had been allowed to accumulate such debts and how it was to be managed in future.

In the light of Uwusa's "waning membership and effect in the labour field", and to remove "problems in the management and control" of the union, the document said it had been decided to appoint an expert commission of inquiry.

This had been headed by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods and had reported to the kwaZulu government.

Thirteen days after the document on "Operation Omega" was sent, the deputy security police commissioner for Natal, Brigadier J Steyn, reported to Pretoria that R26 000 had been transferred to Uwusa. *The Weekly Mail* possesses a copy of the message.

Contrary to vehement Inkatha claims that Uwusa is an independent organisation,

the documents make it clear that at the time, the union was under the direct control of kwaZulu's Minister of the Interior, Steven Sithebe.

They also highlight close collaboration between Sithebe and the police over Uwusa.

Buthelezi is not mentioned, but he is known to have entrusted control of the problem-plagued union specifically to Sithebe because of his reputation for toughness.

Inkatha members said responsibility for Uwusa was later transferred to Justice Minister Jeffrey Mietwa, who still controls it.

They add that it was not originally intended that the kwaZulu cabinet would intervene directly in Uwusa's affairs but that infighting in the union and maladministration had left it no option.

It may reasonably be doubted that Sithebe, a senior cabinet minister, liaised

with police on Uwusa without informing Buthelezi.

The documents strongly imply that police consulted Sithebe before briefing Woods on the commission of inquiry. In addition, the message from Steyn stresses that the original receipt for the R26 000 transferred to Uwusa was sent to the kwaZulu government — suggesting that Ullund helped cover up police involvement.

The relationship between Sithebe, the police and Uwusa is further clarified by a two-page document, also marked "top secret", dealing with MDM plans for a rally at King's Park in Durban to welcome newly released ANC leaders.

Stamped "Area Commander, Durban" on February 14 1990, this discusses "provisional arrangements" for Uwusa to pre-empt the MDM by booking the stadium on the planned rally date of February 25. Uwusa would then cancel its booking on February 24 and set an alternative date.

Arrangements were made with Natal Rugby Union general manager Roger Gardiner, described as "very sympathetic to this office", to make the stadium available to Uwusa at no cost, the document states.

The MDM has confirmed that it did apply to use the stadium for the rally and that its application was refused. The rally was held on a nearby field.

In a significant passage, the document says the arrangement would be discussed with Sithebe and Uwusa to "ensure there were no problems in the execution". It had "in principle" been approved by the Uwusa general secretary but Sithebe would have to give the final go-ahead, it says.

The document also says that Uwusa was in fact planning a rally in Durban, but that "Minister Sithebe had not yet decided on a date".

THE WEEKLY MAIL, July 26 to August 1 1991

Cosatu lists attacks by Uwusa 'vigilantes'

By GAVIN EVANS

AT least 19 attacks have been carried by "Inkatha/United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) vigilantes" on Congress of South African Trade Unions members over the past year, according to a Cosatu document circulated at the federation's congress yesterday.

It notes that 295 people were killed and several hundred injured in the attacks, many of them Cosatu members.

The document also lists 25 attacks on Cosatu leaders and members by "alleged Inkatha/Uwusa vigilantes", since 1986 when Uwusa was formed.

Cosatu has accused the "government as a whole" of responsibility for the attacks, and says that taxpayers' money has been used to fund Inkatha, set-up Uwusa and to carry out a "covert war against the democratic movement".

The 2 500 delegates to the conference are preparing to pass a hard-hitting resolution on the issue today, and plan to disclose the names of employers they believe are "implicated in the Inkatha/Uwusa violence".

A draft resolution, currently under consideration, calls for an independent multi-party inquiry into the scandal and notes that "the government has repeatedly appointed Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen to investigate allegations of security force involvement in violence" and that "he has produced nothing".

It also demands reparations to victims of violence, intensified international pressure, the resignation of the government and the "installation of an interim government immediate effect".

It notes, however, that Inkatha has "the right to exist" and makes a "special appeal to ordinary Inkatha members" to pressurise their leaders to "bind themselves to democratic transformation".

WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 7, Number 28. July 19 to July 25 1991

Two terse sentences that betray a political scandal ...

HASSA VERGADERING : INKATHA : KINGSPARK, DURBAN : 1990-03-25

1. Hierby aangeheg kwitansie vir die bedrag van R150,000-00.

A two-line memo from Natal security police headquarters, confirming payment of R150 000 to Inkatha for organising a rally

**WEEKLY MAIL
SPECIAL
INVESTIGATION**

Remarkable documents tell of
police payments to Inkatha

Police paid Inkatha to block ANC

THE South African Police have paid large amounts of money to help Inkatha oppose the African National Congress.

The *Weekly Mail* has also obtained copies of internal security police documents showing extensive discussions between Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a senior Durban security policeman about ways of preventing the ANC from eroding Inkatha's support in Natal.

At least R250 000 was paid into an Inkatha bank account by the security police for the purpose of organising rallies and other anti-ANC activities shortly after the release from prison of ANC president Nelson Mandela. One rally paid for by the SAP, at King's Park, Durban on March 25 1990, was the spark for an upsurge in civic violence that has come to be known as the Maritzburg War.

According to a top-secret security police memorandum, Buthelezi was very emotional and expressed extreme gratitude for the extent of the financial assistance provided.

The documents reveal that Buthelezi was concerned about declining membership figures in Natal at the time of Mandela's release from prison and had serious misgivings about the support of some of Inkatha's key leaders, including Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and former secretary general Oscar Dhlomo.

The *Weekly Mail* has receipts, First National Bank deposit slips, and internal security police memoranda, marked "Top Secret/Uiters Geheim", which confirm the police payments to Inkatha as well as face-to-face meetings between Buthelezi, some of his cabinet ministers,

and Major Louis Botha, senior officer in the Durban regional security police, to discuss how to deal with the ANC.

In a 10-page memorandum to the chief of security police in Pretoria, dated February 13 1990 (number S7/28/3/8/4n), Botha asks for R120 000 because it was of "cardinal importance" that arrangements be made for a massive turnout at

**BYENNE MOCH and
ANFOORNIER**

an Inkatha rally "to show everyone that he (Buthelezi) has a strong base".

"It is recommended that a clandestine grant of at least R120 000 be made available for this purpose," Botha wrote to his superiors. "It should also be accepted that Inkatha

does not have the financial means to arrange such a gathering on its own. The consequences of this rally failing will have far-reaching implications for Buthelezi and the RSA."

Further letters and receipts show that this payment was made in hard cash into an account in the name of Inkatha/Kgare (Kgare is the organisation's Sotho name) at First National Bank in Durban on March 15,

10 days before the rally. The account number was 221426-8006961533.

The security branch of the police has since been disbanded but it is widely believed that its officers are still deployed for covert political operations.

The *Weekly Mail* also has confirmation of a payment of R100 000 to Inkatha to organise another rally on November 5 1989. The rally was in fact held on November 19 and was addressed by King Goodwill Zwelithini.

This document, a letter from Brigadier JA Steyn, deputy regional chief of the security police in Natal, to the commanding officer of the security police in Pretoria, says that Buthelezi and his justice minister, Jeffrey Maserwa, asked that their "thanks and great appreciation be passed on to those responsible for passing on the funds.

"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 that he had not expected it."

The *Weekly Mail*, working in conjunction with *The Guardian* of London, has run extensive checks on the documents. It has confirmed the Inkatha bank account numbers, the identities, addresses and telephone numbers of all those named in them, and the details of the Durban rallies.

There is no conclusive evidence that Buthelezi or members of Inkatha knew that the money deposited into their account came directly from the security police.

Botha is well known in Durban as a security policeman with close links to Inkatha and at the time of the documentation was often seen in Buthelezi's company. In the words of one source, "wherever Buthelezi was, Botha was."

●To PAGE 3

‘Chief Buthelezi was very emotional. He could not say thank you enough’

— From the memo signed by Major Botha

It is believed that he was for some time involved with Buthelezi's personal security.

The question of police support for Inkatha was raised in parliament earlier this year by the Democratic Party's Kobus Jordaan. He asked whether any section of the intelligence service or the SAP had given financial or organisational support to groups such as Inkatha.

President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok refused to answer as this would "defeat the legal protection of security information".

Botha's 10-page memorandum motivating the payment to Inkatha gives a rare insight into how the security police see Inkatha as the only organisation capable of countering the influence of the ANC. He refers to discussions with Buthelezi over a two-to-three week period and previous security police reports on "Conflict within Inkatha following peace talks" and "Strategic perspectives: Chief Minister Buthelezi and Inkatha: Implications for current negotiations politics".

Botha argues that the police should support Inkatha because Buthelezi, under pressure from some of his ministers because of falling support, would otherwise be forced to join forces with the ANC.

"During our discussion it became very clear that the actions and political manoeuvres of the ANC were a matter of concern to the chief minister, especially if one considers the shrinking Inkatha membership figures," Botha said.

He added that Buthelezi had hoped that he would win support after arranging the return to the country of Pan Africanist Congress veteran Prince Velekhaya Shange (described only as "Prins Shange") and ANC veteran Dr Wilson Chonco.

"It is also clear that he is very suspicious of overtures from the ANC which according to him would make it easy for the ANC hierarchy to destroy him if he and Inkatha joined the ANC..."

"He is also worried about the possible role of his supporters and cabinet members, namely Dr O Dlomo (sic), minister of education, Dr F Mtshali, minister of health, Chief Gumede, minister of public works and minister S Sithebe, minister of home affairs," Botha said, also referring to another memo on "Internal conflict in Inkatha as a result of peace talks".

Dlomo, then also Inkatha secretary general, resigned from the organisation and the kwaZulu cabinet two months later.

Botha added: "If he (Buthelezi) seeks reconciliation with the ANC, there is the possibility he will be accepted and



The man behind the Inkatha memos, Major Louis Botha, was chosen to accompany President FW De Klerk and his wife Marika on their official tour of Natal in October last year. He can be seen here behind Mrs De Klerk.
Photo: Courtesy SUNDAY TRIBUNE

then removed from the scene ... If he stands on the political sidelines, then he won't be able to take part in the game later on, which will also lead to political humiliation.

"It is the fear of this division (of the police) that, bearing the above in mind, the minister will seriously consider throwing in his lot with the ANC with far-reaching implications for Natal and the ANC. With the release of Nelson Mandela, this becomes a serious possibility," Botha reported.

Botha went on to say that Buthelezi was worried that, with the release of Mandela, the ANC would be seen as commanding the support of most blacks, and many whites, Indians and coloureds, and that this would be used overseas to put pressure on Pretoria during the negotiation period.

As a counter, he says, Buthelezi planned a mass rally at King's Park on March 25 1990 where he would speak against armed struggle and sanctions. Botha recommended that police help pay for the rally.

The rally was a failure. It poured with

rain on the day and only about 10 000 people attended, though Inkatha contested these figures. Clashes between busloads of Inkatha supporters and residents of Pietermaritzburg townships broke out before and after the rally.

The next few days saw some of the bloodiest conflict in the area, including a planned invasion of Edendale by Inkatha-supporting "impis".

These revelations are supported by recent disclosures that there is a sophisticated plan by the government to use Inkatha as a conservative counterweight to the ANC during negotiations.

Earlier this year Sipho Madlala, a self-confessed security police agent, told reporters in Natal that he had been recruited by officers in the security police and military intelligence to assassinate pro-ANC Zulu chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Other evidence is now emerging about clandestine support from military intelligence and the police for Inkatha so that the Zulu movement can be used to undermine the ANC.

Axing of homicide MP premature — Buthelezi

By CARMEL RICKARD

KWAZULU MP Psychology Ndllovu, convicted of culpable homicide by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, has not been suspended as an MP because he may appeal against the verdict.

This was announced by kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi when asked to comment on Ndllovu's future in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA).

Ndllovu was found guilty of culpable homicide for the September 1989 killing of a man from Swayimane. He was ordered to pay R10 000 to the dependants of the deceased and was given a two-year jail term, suspended for five years.

Buthelezi said while the KLA made provision for the exclusion of people convicted of serious crimes, it would be premature to confirm Ndllovu's suspension at this stage since he still had further recourse in law.

Last month Ndllovu's senior colleague in the KLA, Deputy Minister of the Interior Samuel Jamile, was jailed for life for murder and attempted murder. Buthelezi did not comment on the Jamile case at the time — officials at his office said he was too busy — but this week he released detailed comment on the Ndllovu case, and on a number of kwaZulu MPs implicated in murder trials.

He said he was "totally appalled" by the fact that members of the KLA were implicated.

However, he had always found it remarkable that in general black South Africans had tried to bring about change through peaceful means despite the harsh experience of apartheid and oppression.

He said that he had understanding for black people who had opted for violence; although he believed they were wrong he had never condemned individuals who joined Umkhonto weSizwe.

"I know that things get too tough for some humans to endure and then they seek violent redress.

"The world should look at members of the KLA who have been implicated in murder trials as victims who have not been able to carry the burden of peace that the rest of black South Africa carries.

"They are wrong and their apprehen-



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

sion by the law and being brought to trial is right."

He added that members of the KLA might have been attacked more than other blacks because they were kwaZulu MPs. "The ANC has waged an ugly war against kwaZulu ... It might be they feel more burdened and are subject to greater strain than other members of the public.

"I am making no excuses for any member of the KLA implicated in a murder trial. All I am doing is saying that the KLA is not characterised by those who have been implicated. They are tragic exceptions to the rule."

Buthelezi said the image of the KLA was "tragically damaged" whenever a member was involved in a murder trial. KLA members had tried to work for peace and when any of its members acted differently, "he or she shames the whole assembly".

"South Africans see the assembly shamed by criminal acts committed by members, but they do not see the KLA itself culpable of the criminal acts of any of its members who may have been convicted."

However, he said he did not believe there was a "general loss of faith in the members of the KLA" because of the recent trials.

The KLA's record of achievements meant it had "escaped unscathed" from the trials. People believed the trials simply showed "the failure of individuals".

He said his heart went out to all South Africans "who could not bear the weight of oppression they felt and resorted to violence".