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.
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 covert 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 Fegate, 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 £10,000-guest wedding reception for Mr Packer’s daughter, Gretel, in Sussex.

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THE INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY

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 demolition 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 in court results 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 exists. 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.”

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US unions gave money to Inkatha

David Pallister

EVALUATIONS 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 Meany 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 Congress for “large scale assistance”.

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

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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

A red-brick community centre in this most inappropriately named area of Soweto, 110 refugees while away the day longing to return to the squalid squatter settlement they call home but unable to do so because, they say, Inkatha supporters backed by the police have established a reign of terror there.

The first shacks were burnt down at Mahengville on the night of 19 July, a matter of hours after the South African government had admitted the security police had met force, a revelation which reinforced the view in the townships that the state has endorsed the "black-on-black" violence of the past year.

On that very same night two weeks ago was the first death - a well-known Mahengville African National Congress (ANC) member, a worker at an organisation for the homeless, was hacked to death. Since then more than 30 shacks have been burnt down and hundreds of people have fled - most of them to relatives in Soweto itself. The names of five people who have been killed are known but the exact figures in thought by community leaders to be around 150.

The tales told by the refugees at White City yesterday offered a reminder that, for all the publicity of its crimes, the police and the political principle of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) still need do be given the degree of leverage and competition in politics that they have been denied.

A student leader in the National Student Federation yesterday referred to the IFP as "the political organisation of the ANC" when claiming they were engaged in activities that breached the "national interest".

On the day after Mr Twalo was attacked, the local organisation for the homeless, HOMELE, put out a statement that the police were "in a state of command and control".

A Catholic priest, who happened to be at the refugee-littered White City community centre yesterday afternoon to prepare for a funeral, surveyed the scene. "It's the same story - whatever de Klerk says. The police are working hand-in-hand with Inkatha. Just add to all the usual evidence, now we actually have uniformed Inkatha.

Mr Mandela, the ANC leader, 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 get a non-racial democracy in South Africa is to have a government," he said. "If de Klerk and his regime are not prepared to accept that demand then we must learn that there can be no further discussion between us and ourselves." Mr Mandela told a news conference on the first day of a visit to Brazil.
Nervous residents of the PWV area were aware that the ANC was leading the opposition to the 1987 election. In a recent opinion poll by Drum magazine which asked people about their political intentions, the ANC topping the poll by 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 use opposition as a tool to maintain his party's power base.

At least 1000 people have died since August in the worst urban violence in decades in clashes around Johannesburg between ANC supporters and Inkatha for migrant workers and ANC-supporting residents.

Building ties

Although Inkatha won only four percent in the Drum poll, in 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.

The Inkatha leader's reform and anxiety about a future under the ANC.

"We are being very much intimidated by the cívics," said Inkatha recruit Mr Joshua Mojal, referring to pro-ANC civic organisations.

He said his Tswana people were joining Inkatha, adopting Zulu language, food, ”Xhosa culture” and building ties with local right wing whites to combat the ANC.

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

"They are also a powerful force in the industrial heartland around Johannesburg.

Twelve township mayors recruited to Inkatha are "now making considerable efforts to persuade their townships even in areas where we have never existed," said Mr Khaya Mkhize, a newspaper editor in Natal.

Another analyst in Natal who declined to be named said: "We are very much interested in what the ANC is doing. We are very much interested in what the ANC is planning." She added: "If we could go to elections while we are stopped, they would vote for Inkatha, but we are not sure if we can go to elections while we are stopped." She added: "If we could go to elections while we are stopped, they would vote for Inkatha, but we are not sure if we can go to elections while we are stopped.

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 Kwazu tribal area.

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

Stooges

As they have seen Inkatha, widely reviled as stooges of the congress group, turn to politics, many are marked by the charge of being "in the pocket of Inkatha." The ANC is polarised on the question of the future of Inkatha.

"No, we are not in the security business. But as soon as they see that the ANC is in power, they will fold their arms when they are attacked," said Lawyer Nicholas Haysom.

"They have also penetrated the Prime Minister's Finance Ministry," said the pro-ANC civic organisation.

New recruits

"Inkatha has come to stay in South Africa," the presence of Inkatha in the minds of many is incredibly strong," said the pro-ANC analyst, who toured South Africa recently.

"They have also penetrated the Prime Minister's Finance Ministry," said the pro-ANC civic organisation.

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

"Inkatha spokesmen also said they were "increasingly" support of the ANC, but the ANC has denied all this. BUI 1986 launch, the ANC has been rejected by the ANC.

"Inkatha's leadership has been rejected by the ANC. The ANC has been rejected by the ANC.

The Inkatha leader's reform and anxiety about a future under the ANC.

"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 the Zulu population would turn to Inkatha for support.

"That would consolidate a far more flung support base previously not interested in Inkatha," Business Day newspaper said that for President PW de Klerk and Mandela, Inkatha's comments must be "the political equivalent of a cold bath - the realisation that the ANC and the Government are not the only parties capable of regarding to violence solutions".

On Tuesday, Mr Samuel Jamali, a deputy Minister of Taxation in the Kwazu homeland government was found guilty of murder and attempted murder. Although Jamali is not the only Inkatha member to face such serious charges, he is the most serious to be convicted, he said.

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

The sowing of ethnic divisions in the workplace through the funding of an exclusively Zulu union was bound to heighten labour conflict. Violence involving Uwusa members.

The Institute of Race Relations' annual survey attempts to contact its general secretary, Dumisani Dlutha, 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 within the Inkatha Legislative Assembly. Other members of its national executive include an industrial relations executive of Natsa ofgetie and a township superintendent.

Shortly before its May 16, 1986 launch, the Inkatha leader's reform and anxiety about a future under the ANC, Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to "launch Inkatha in the field of labour relations, to contest elections and designate from Cosatu." He spoke at its launch and is said to have raised funds for the union.

The dockets 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 kwazu cabinet.

IF Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok seriously believed he was dealing with a Workers' Union linked to the "counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violations in the campaign for the Labour Act," as described in a speech made by the union to the tune of R15 million as a means of promoting labour stability.

There is little evidence to suggest that the union has been brought against action, and the IFP's claim that workers have been "targeted" is not substantiated by evidence.

Clashes at kwazu Transport in Maseru have been frequent and widespread. The union is widely seen as a spark for that city's interminable cycle of factional killings. This gives a rich irony to Vlok's claims that workers with a union to the tune of R15 million as a means of promoting labour stability.

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 erosion of the Transvaal violence, Namibia blamed Inkatha/Uwusa members for a spate of death threats, assassination attempts on Namibia officials and open workplace fighting in Reef factories. Rey Namibia shop stewards were forced to leave their plants.

In a statement this week, Cosatu said Uwusa's campaign of intimidation had been "an orchestrated reign of terror against our members." Cosatu housewives and the police have been forced on a number of occasions to withdraw from the campaign.

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SA intelligence service  
'built up Inkatha'

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

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 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 Enmanseni with the specific purpose of servicing Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha office in 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 Dolinchek'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 Dolinchek 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 Dolinchek was imprisoned in the Seychelles. After his release and return to South Africa, he fled to Zambia where he co-operated with the ANC.

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 impi in 1986.

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 Ngobo was acquitted after telling the court he had lent the revolver to his brother, who had died in the interim.

Ngobo has also been charged in connection with the mid-1989 assassination of Numas shop steward Jaba 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 Mzahali, 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 Inkatha, 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 Sitho Madlala, who in April this year confessed to the murder of ANC-linked Chief Mhlubunzima 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 an investigation into the evidence led by police witness Captain Clifford Marrian during a January 1991 criminal trial. Marrian 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.
Uwusa is an SAP/Inkatha joint project

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

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.

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

Photograph: CLINT ZASMAN

Cosatu lists attacks by Uwusa ‘vigilantes’

By GAVIN EVANS

At least 19 attacks have been carried out by the “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 says these attacks are the result of a “resistance movement as a whole” of resistance for the attacks, and says that taxpayers’ money has been used to fund Inkatha 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 document 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 its government has repeatedly appointed Major General Ronne van der Westhute to investigate allegations of security force involvement in violence and that he has produced nothing.

It also demands repatriation of victims of violence, intensified international pressure, the resignation of the government and the “installation of an interim government”. 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”.

THE WEEKLY MAIL, July 26 to August 1 1991

The relationship between the police and Inkatha 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 Sithbe and Uwusa “to ensure there were no problems in the execution”. It had “in principle” been approved by the Uwusa general secretary but Sithbe 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 Sithbe had not yet decided on a date.”
Two terse sentences that betray a political scandal ...

** 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 23 1990, was the spark for an upsurge in civic violence that has come to be known as the Marikana 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 Dubimo.

The Weekly Mail has receipts, First National Bank deposit slips, and internal security police memoranda, marked “Top Secret/Unsends Gebens”, 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 5718/3/84/Jn), Botha asks for R120 000 because it was of “cardinal importance” that arrangements were made for a massive turnout at 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 falling 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 Sodho 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 believed police 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 memo 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 Mzawu, 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 South African security police.

Botha is well known in Durban as a security policeman with close links to Inkatha and at the time of this document was often seen in Buthelezi’s company in the words of one source, “wherever Buthelezi was, Botha was.”
"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 Koos Jansen. He asked whether any section of the intelligence service or the SAP had given financial or organisational support in groups such as Inkatha.

President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok refused to answer this as they would “defeat the legal protection of security information.”

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 discussions 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 African Congress Veteran Prince Veletsha Shange (described only as “Prince Shange”) and ANC veteran Dr Wilson Chombo.

“It is also clear that he is very suspicious of the ousting of the ANC which according to him would make it easier for the ANC hierarchy to destroy him if he and Inkatha joined the ANC,” Botha said.

“He is also worried about the possible role of his supporters and cabinet members, namely Dr O Dlamini (minister of education), Dr P Mthembu (minister of health), Chief Oudeye, minister of public works and minister S Sithebe, minister of trade and industry.” Botha also referred to another memo on “internal conflict in Inkatha as a result of peace talks.”

Dlamini, 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 then removed from the scene ... If he stood 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 Milabunzima 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 Ndlovu, convicted of attempted murder, by 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 Ndlovu’s future in the kwazulu Legislative Assembly (KLA).

Ndlovu was found guilty of culpable homicide for the September 1989 killing of a man from Swammyane. He was ordered to pay R 10 000 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 exclude Ndlovu’s suspension at this stage since he still had further recourse in law.

Last month Ndlovu’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 Ndlovu 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 understood for black people who had opted for violence, but he believed that they were wrong and had condemned individuals who joined Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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

"Future work should be directed to 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 apprehension from the law and being brought to trial is right."

He added that members of the KLA might have been attacked more than others 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 shame 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 reacted to violence."