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Inkatham UDF-Cosatu document to be debated at top-level talks

Bold new

NESR

for black

ATARIL WIT

'A DOCUMENT which could lead to a powerful new united force in South

recent peace talks is to be presented to the presidents of the three organisations and the ANC as an agenda for a proposed meeting.

tails of which have not yet been made public â\200\224 was disclosed last night by

dress to Inkathaâ\200\231s national council.

apartheid to the document.

Without revealing the major content of the document, Chief Buthelezi disclosed the following proposals:

o that the four presidents, Chief Buthe-

lezi (Inkatha), Mr Elijah Barayi (Co-

'satu), Mr Archie Gumede (UDF) and Mr

Â® lever Tambo (ANC), 'meet to examine . the document;

o that they appoint two committees â\200\224a permanent consultative committee to attend to the ongoing need to overcome difficulties between the organisations, and a joint peace committee to organise a peace conference;

| ible for organising mass rallies m  
k | troubled areas.

| Certain aspects of the proposals '%1{1  
| be debated today at Inkathaâ\200\231s annual  
â\200\230| conference: The conference will also

stitution formulated by last nightâ\200\231s national council meeting.

African politics, drafted by delegates |  
from the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha at

The existence of the document â\200\224 de-

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his ad-

Chief Buthelezi said he could see future historians tracing a whole new ! political era and the final collapse of

o that the peace conference shouldâ\200\230ap- -  
point peace rally committees respons- |

debate amendments to Inkathaâ\200\231s con-

e

While Inkatha should do nothmg to  
upset the initiatives, Chief Buthelezi  
said, â\200\234we still have to face up to the  
questxon of whether we have to aban-  
don what we are doing and rely only on  
the combined initiative as the  
ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance suggestedâ\200\235.

â\200\234It is where we go from here that we

l have to be cautious about.â\200\235

Chief Buthelezi said his â\200\234gut feelingâ\200\235 |  
was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu |

were reappraisxng their attitudes

towards Inkatha as part of the re-â\200\231  
appraisal of the South African situa-

tion,

â\200\234We could well be entering into an  
era in which black politics is given a  
completely different face.â\200\235

He said if NP leader F.W. de Klerk  
did in fact become state president after

the September elections and took  
meaningful steps towards the politics  
of negotiation, Inkatha would have to  
throw its full weight behind any devel-  
opments which were positive.

Ifthe ANC in particular and the UDF  
and Cosatu were reading the times eor-  
rectly, they would know that major  
il\lfts were taking place in all southern

rica.

He believed that they knew that the  
hate which had led to â\200\234hideousâ\200\235 kil-  
lings spreading from the greater  
Pietermaritzburg region to other parts  
of KwaZulu and Natal was destroying  
black unity and had to be stamped out.

â\200\234I must say that on face value the  
document now being presented to the  
four presidents is positive and repre-

â\200\234sents a very major advance towards

really meaningful  
Chief Buthelezi said.

black politics,â\200\235

â\200\234These proposals cannot be faulted  
from the point of view of Inkathaâ\200\231s poli-  
tics ... we must do nothing from our

side that scuttles them.â\200\235 â\200\224

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224  
Reports of an applica-  
tion by jailed ANC  
leader Nelson Mandela  
to have a graduation  
party in his isolated  
prison bungalow were  
quashed yesterday by his  
wife, Mrs Winnie Man-  
dela.

â\200\234It is an infringement  
of the familyâ\200\231s ideals and  
our respect for the man

. there is no occasion  
for a man behind bars to  
celebrate,â\200\235 Mrs Mandela  
said vesterday.

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Sapa.

Mandâ\200\235 2 was recently

plan  
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unity

ngfHis stu-

ondence.

' a?.varded' ?eâ\200\230g&eb wn law |

Reuters news agency  
' earlier quoted sources  
' close to Mr Mmdï\201las  
- family as saying an-  
?fa had asked the SA

- Prisons Service a month  
' ago for permission for  
. the graduation party.

Mrs Mandela said she

' did not know who the  
| â\200\230â\200\234sources

close to the  
familyâ\200\235 â\200\224 who allegedly

submitted the basis for  
the earlier report â\200\224  
could have been.

She said the only gath-  
ering which had been  
planned was a meeting  
for prayer on her hus-  
bandâ\200\231s birthday, July 18..  
â\200\224 Sapa.

pâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

BUTHELEZI proposals  
cannot be faulted from  
Inkathaâ\200\231s viewpoint

Almpresslons of the Lusaka conference

Facing the South African pro

AP WAOITNES Y -

'DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern Afri-  
can Studies at UCT took part in the Lusaka  
conference with the ANC. These are his i impres-  
sions

IN the hypothetical event of a free and  
democratic election in South Africa the  
ANC would receive the votes of at least 60%  
of the black population. On the other hand,  
according to survey data, only two percent  
of the white population support the ANCâ\200\231s

constitutional proposals for universal fran- .

chise in a unitary state. That, in a nutshell,  
isthe South African problem.

Unless the ANC is brought in from the  
cold and induced to participate in a pro-  
cess of constitutional negotiation, the  
South African deadlock will continue, with  
horrifying long-term consequences.

It was with these premises in mind thatI

joined the most recent safari to Lusaka,  
under the leadership of the estimable Mike  
Olivier of Five Freedoms Forum. The 115 of  
us were a mixed bunch, unified only by our  
common lack of real political leverage in  
white politics.

We were received graciously and hospi-  
tably by the ANC whose members are genu-  
inely pleased to receive first-hand news  
from â\200\234homeâ\200\235, as they all unfailingly call  
South Africa. Homesickness and nostalgia  
are among the characteristics you notice  
first. Sophistication, intelligence and  
determination come a close second.

The temptation for some is to romanti-  
cise the ANC, and to be swept away in a tide  
of euphoria. We saw the diplomatic face of  
the ANC â\200\224 the charm of Thabo Mbeki and  
Pallo Jordan, and the benign wisdom of  
Oliver Tambo. They have finely-honed  
skills and an ability to state the ANCâ\200\231s posi-  
tion with firmness and dignity.

The â\200\234other sideâ\200\235 of the ANC, which we  
did not see, is best represented by the Um-  
kohnto we Sizwe commander, Chris Hani,  
reputedly a tough and uncompromising  
hardliner. The longer the armed struggle  
continues the more likely it is that the hard-

liners will capture the key leadership posi-  
tions.

- A number of us were critical of the ANC's

armed struggle and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We were quite unable to shake them out of their implacability, and arguments that sanctions and violence are counter-productive were dismissed.

This is tragic, but no one could produce

an effective reply to the ANC's claim that its taking up arms, after nearly 50 years of scrupulous commitment to non-violence, was the inevitable response to the state's own violence.

We were told of the letter written by Chief Albert Luthuli to Prime Minister J.G. Strijdom in 1957 pleading for him to show

b6 | was amazed to hear  
well-known communists  
in Lusaka talking like

born-again democrats. ys

statesmanship in stemming the spate of discriminatory legislation and urging him to talk to the ANC and other organisations.

The insulting reply, from a secretary, promised to find an opportunity to lay the letter before the Prime Minister. We were further told that presumably no such

— opportunity had arisen, since nothing further was heard.

While I remain unconvinced of the case for armed struggle, and fearful of the implications of civil war, I have to acquiesce in the ANC's claim that its capacity for violence and its ability to promote mass action represent its major bargaining chips in the conflict. Blacks, collectively, have acquired a veto power in South Africa, and the sooner whites recognise this the less protracted the conflict will be.

Publicly, the ANC avers that the white oligarchy is not as strong as is commonly supposed, (semi) privately, many do recognise its strength and accept that armed

struggle is merely one of several pressures to be exerted on the South African Government to force it to the bargaining table. It is

also firmly of the belief that such reforms .

as the Government has made are actually strategic retreats caused by the domestic and international pressures exerted upon it.

A strongly-held ANC view is that apartheid is incapable of being reformed: they will not countenance any proposed dispensations in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained. Whites have to understand just how galling and intolerable an affront to black dignity is any form of discrimination.

I have no doubt that the ANC are keen to negotiate, although they will not do so unconditionally. They require the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the commuting of death sentences imposed upon those convicted of political offences, and the withdrawal of troops and paramilitary police from the townships. Moreover, they say that they will not participate in negotiating structures, like the National Forum, that have been generated by the apartheid system itself.

There is a pathological suspicion of the Government's bone fides which is hardly surprising and a general belief that F.W. de Klerk's recent declarations are merely restatements of the same old thing and a rear-guard action to preserve apartheid.

At the same time many ANC people have a genuine fear of escalating hostility and South Africa's economic decline. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, there are pressures from the Soviet Union for the ANC to seek a political rather than a military solution.

The belief, assiduously promoted by South African propagandists, that the ANC dog is wagged by the communist party tail, is untrue. In fact, as several people told me, the reverse is more true. SACP people have been more or less completely assimilated into the ANC.

In any case the communist bogey can hardly be exploited in the traditional way, given the virtual collapse of Marxism-Leninism

with the ANC

3 July 1989

nism as a credible system. I was amazed to hear well-known communists in Lusaka talking like born-again democrats. One such person, much demonised in South Africa, told me of his strong support for Mr Gorbachev and when I asked him if he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, - where multi-party systems are in the pro-



cess of being established he replied: "I hope so."

He went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny, saying "once the bastards get in you never get rid of them!"

Coming from someone who has swallowed Stalinism, the brutal repressions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland without a peep of (public, at any rate) protest, this was hopeful.

I had long discussions with various ANC people who had drafted the 1988 constitutional guidelines, which are an amplification of the Freedom Charter. I was impressed with the modest and scholarly Zola Skweyiya with whom I participated in a session on constitutional options.

The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial unitary state, but in discussions I gained the impression that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no party or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution. They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid "winner takes all" outcomes.

Our constitutional discussions were too lengthy to summarise, but suffice it to say that my impression is that the ANC is aware that minorities may have entirely reasonable (and not simply residually racist) fears under majority rule. Areas of possible compromise and agreement are there.

Finally, it needs to be said that the non-racial ethic is fundamental to the ANC's political culture. It has not always been easy for the ANC to defend this position, but, to their great credit, they have done so, and, as far as they are concerned, non-racialism is an unquestioned principle.

â\200\230BLUEPR

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R PEACEâ\200\231

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Document may lead  
to collapse of  
apartheid: Buthelezi

Daily News Correspondent  
ULUNDI: Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi dis-

closed that a document which could lead |

to a new powerful united force in South

African politics had been prepared for a  
- proposed meeting soon between himself  
and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF  
| and Cosatu.

In his presidential address to Inkathaâ\200\231s Na-  
| tional Council last night, he said he could see  
| future historians tracing a whole new political  
| era and the final collapse of apartheid to the  
document.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister was referring to a  
document â\200\224 details of which have not yet been  
made public â\200\224 drafted by delegates of Inkatha,  
the UDF and Cosatu at their recent peace meet-  
ings in Natal.

Certain aspects of the proposal would be debated at  
todayâ\200\231s annual general conference of Inkatha. He  
would ask his partyâ\200\231s delegates to present the confer-  
ence with a synopsis of  
the recent joint talks.

The national council  
meeting had to formu-  
late certain relevant  
amendments to Inkathaâ\200\231s  
constitution which it  
would be up to the AGC  
to consider.

T

While Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the combination of peace initiatives, â\200\234we still have to face up to the question of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234I can well see future historians tracing a whole new political era, and in fact the final collapse of apartheid, to this

. very document and to  
| the united action that it

made possible.

Dr Buthelezi said his â\200\234gut feelingâ\200\235 was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu were re-appraising their attitudes towards Inkatha as part of a more general reappraisal of the South African situation and the

major developments |  
which were likely to |

emerge.

Todayâ\200\231s conference

needed wisdom to exam- |

ine seriously whether his gut feeling was correct.

â\200\234We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely different face.

â\200\234On face value the document is positive and represents a very major advance towards mean-

ingful black politics,â\200\235 Dr  
| Buthelezi said.

THE CITIZEN

JQMMMENT |

â\200\234Handouts |

PUBLIC servants are well cosetted and certainly do not need any more consideration from the government than ordinary folk.

Yet the government has announced additional housing subsidies of from R40 to R80 a month for public servants.

The announcement comes a day after the government announced that social pensioners will receive a once-only bonus of R60 in October.

The pensioners do deserve help in these difficult days, when the prices of essential foods and other commodities have gone sky-high and pensioners find it hard to keep themselves alive.

But a once-only bonus of R60, while welcome, will not go very far. :

However, it is the timing of the two announcements which have laid the government open to Opposition charges that it is trying to â\200\234bribeâ\200\235 pensioners and public servants to vote for the ruling National Party.

The pension bonus will be paid to 2 143 000 pensioners, of whom 1 378 000 are Black.

The government says it decided on the bonus because of the rising cost of living and in response to representations from welfare organisations and the three Houses of Parliament

Both the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party see the bonus as an election â\200\234bribeâ\200\235 and a way of â\200\234buyingâ\200\235 votes.

The two parties naturally cannot object to the - idea of helping pensioners.

However, the CP says the R60 is the equivalent of R5 a month, taken over a full year, which is completely unacceptable.

And the DP, stressing the plight of the pensioners, says that if the Minister of Finance,

Mr Barend du Plessis, â\200\234thinks that a one-off |

R60 bonus will buy their vote, he is in for a

rude awakening.â\200\235

In the case of the extra housing subsidy for public servants, the government says â\200\230â\200\230inter-est rates on mortgage loans for private housing have recently increased to relatively high levels.

\*As a result, the monthly repayments on the loans have reached such proportions that they have brought financial pressure to bear on personnel in the public sector. These pressures cannot always be accommodated within normal monthly budgets.

â\200\234The government has therefore decided to institute a supplementary monthly housing subsidy in order to alleviate this financial burden and to ensure that personnel in the public sector are not exposed to situations where they can no longer afford to keep their existing houses.â\200\235

Although it is true that the bond-rescue scheme for home buyers announced last month may prevent many people losing their homes, it is not a subsidy scheme but merely enables the bond holder to capitalise the difference between current interest rates of around 20 percent and a rate of 17 percent.

The public servant, on the other hand, is getting an extra housing subsidy, which is quite a different matter.

The DP and CP also condemn the extra subsidy as an election â\200\234â\200\234bribeâ\200\231â\200\231.

The R460 million write-off of the maize farmersâ\200\231 debt, the promise of aid to hard-pressed | tobacco farmers, and a reduction in controversial toll road levies are also regarded as election plays.

The Minister of Finance set aside a contingency fund of R1 billion at the time of the Budget.

He thus has a huge sum for distributing largesse.

If he does so, an already cynical public will react unfavourably. ;

Bread-and-butter matters have become a very important election issue, but handouts to favoured sections of the community will not relieve the burdens of the ordinary man in the street, but only sour him further.

Besides, the economy is in enough difficulty without R1 billion being injected into it for vote catching or any other reason.

The government should, therefore, take care

thag.its actions. do-not-backfire o it.: < et -t

REPORTS of an applica-  
tion by jailed ANC leader  
Mr Nelson Mandela to  
have a graduation party in  
his isolated prison bunga- |

day by his wife, Mrs Win-  
nie Mandela.

the familyâ\200\231s ideals and our  
respect for the man. There is  
ne occasion for a man behind  
bars to celebrate â\200\235 Mrs Man-  
dela said.

Mr Mandela was recently  
awarded a further degree in law

correspondence. ;  
But Mrs Mandela who  
clashed with her husband and  
â\200\230 members of the mass democrat-  
-ic movement recently because  
| of her relations with the â\200\234Man-  
dela Football Clubâ\200\235, said the

function would be â\200\234out of con-  
textâ\200\235 considering her husbandâ\200\231s  
| incarceration.

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s lawyer, Mr Is-

it (the application for the party).  
' But I certainly did not make the  
â\200\231 apphcatnon e :

quoted sources close to Mr Man-  
delaâ\200\231s family as saying Mr Man-  
dela had asked the SA Prisons  
Service a month ago for permis-  
| sion for the graduation party.

Mrs Mandela said today she  
had last seen her husband three

!

|

low were quashed yester- |

â\200\234It is an infringement of "

after completmg his studies by |



family was not in the habit of |  
throwing parties and such a

~mael Ayob, said: â\200\234I know about '

Reuter news agency earller |

| at her husbandâ\200\231s birthday.

nnie qu

of Mandela â\200\230pa

weeks ago. She knew nothm

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about such an application by  
him, she said. :

The Reuter article said that,  
according to the same sources,  
â\200\234Mr Mandela wanted to hold a |  
â\200\230party in prison for up to 50 peo- |  
ple to celebrate gaining his law  
degreeâ\200\235.

The agemg leader has been in

jail for more than a quarter of a  
century. He was sentenced to  
life imprisonment in June 1964  
and is presently held at a prison (!

~ bungalow, complete with swim-

ming pool, in Paarl.

His sentence began after a  
trial for sabotage and conspira-

cy to overthrow the government  
by revolution.

Mrs Mandela said the only  
gathering which had been  
planned was a meeting for  
prayer on her husband's birth-

' Nelson Mandela in  
! did not know who the sources

. to the family, she added.

S

Part of family

They are considered to be

- part of the family, anyway, she

said, And we have not seen  
them for 20 years.

Mrs Mandela, who married  
1957, said she

close to the family who al-

legedly submitted the basis for |  
. the earlier report could be.

There is no such source close

Such a party would not be in

keeping with the family tradi-

tion.

But a spokesman for the SA  
Prisons Service commented:

The matter of a graduation  
ceremony for Mr Mandela is  
being considered. Sapa :

, day, July 18. We shall be with  
him on his birthday and we are  
hoping to bring the family mem-  
bers from Transkei, and his  
grandchildren, she said

Mrs Mandela said that, if this  
could be arranged, it would be  
the first time in 20 years that  
the whole Mandela family |  
would be together. [

She said she would be delight-  
ed if jailed black leaders Walter

Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and  
Ahmed Kathrada â\200\224 mentioned |  
in the Reuter report as among |  
those who Mr Mandela wanted |  
. to invite to his â\200\234partyâ\200\235 â\200\224 were

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the battered structures of, sy, the  
Uniled Demecratic. Froumt, bas  
emerged relatively unscathed from  
swotessive States of Emergency.  
{Noi eatizely anscathed: Inkatha has  
&lso faced restrictions oo meetings  
and xccasionally, its media.) -

But its positiosing bas allowed pro-  
cess:s of politicisation and organisa-  
tiogu] entrenchment to continwe wna-  
bated. Hence the buge, precision-  
tuned conference. And bence, given  
-the Erocity of repression against his  
oppeeents, Inkathaâ\200\231s abitivity lo scold  
andlum!mï¬\202wmmï¬\202uï¬\201atweunpuâ\200\224  
nity.

But the differential lowels of state at-  
tack are not in themselves a sufficient  
explanation fmâ\200\231 Buthelezi"s buoyan-

cy.

wuumuj -

inkatha's strength, he said, "is  
monolithic; it #s granite-like; itis wn-  
shakeableâ\204ç, His critics would proba-  
bly apree, but would ascribe itto its  
shictly hicrarchical stractares, is pai-  
rosage, and s â\200\234sirong-armâ\200\235â\204ç tadics.  
Cestainly, there is never any short-  
a,gcofsuch symbois-at an Inkatha

Azi¬\202nsyezrâ\200\231aconfummc.hnilya  
delegate did not sport some okatha  
paraphernalia: khaki - safari-swits,  
green, yellow aond -black ties, (-  
coloared black berets, Ba-  
thelezi badges. In addition, the youth  
CORps were in guict evidence, wai-  
formed in beown fatigees, Mack mili-  
iary boots sud black bevets.

But this is by no means unique to

inkatha, it is the more abstract, ines-

hlhthmsahomtanwdb]rmvmj capable fact of the reverence in which  
{efficient) natwre, and the conference Buthelezi is held that make: the

After the lull:  
signs of new

Natal violence

THERE are ominous portents of a  
renewed wave of violence in the  
Natal/EwaZulu region.

Isolated instances of attacks af-  
fecting supporters of the United  
Democratic Front and Inkatha  
have been reported in 1984 even dur-  
ing the current struggle in hostili-  
ties but these seem to have  
been on the increase around the  
time of Inkatha's national confer-  
ence in Umtata.

While Inkatha blames its oppo-  
nents, UDF sympathisers say the  
reign of the apartheid has not  
been brought to an end by a pale  
struggle; in Mendi 1 week

ing in the east  
end, Chiel Man Buthelezi  
told delegates: "Even as we gath-  
er together, aliens are in;  
wade in to resist attacks against In-  
katha" He told the Weekly Mail

after the conference the coals

had never ceased to smoulder. I  
fear it is far from over Other  
delegates claimed their homes  
had been attacked after they left  
for Umtata.

THEY WOULD UNLEASH [THE  
present to the world &  
specimens of strength

and solidarity

' SHAUN JOHNSON

reports of the Inkatha  
congress at Durban

strongest impression. Shades of au-  
thoritarianism can of course be read  
into this cult of personality, but it re-  
ality cannot be denied.  
the 'the adulteration translates if; it into

resolutions emerging the

conference,

This is how it works: Buthelezi makes a long speech in which he sets out his analysis of events in the parliamentary and civil spheres over the past year. In each case, he lets it be known what he

candidly, sometimes using the same phraseology, the president's vision. The only difference, often, is that they are made even more hard-hitting. This year, for example, Buthelezi devoted a significant portion of his speech to denouncing the ANC mission in exile, and the COSATW-UDF alliance.

When the inevitable resolution appeared, it called on Buthelezi to ease being so lenient in his attitude to the leadership of the ANC Mission in Exile and to ask him to convey to Mr Oliver Tambo that Black South Africans say enough is enough. This is not to say that the resolutions are rigged in any way. There is simply unanimity and conformity, established over many years. The delegates' inputs are valuable, but not substantial. In the beginning there was the word, and the word was what Buthe-

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tha has misled them into 2 political  
force they would not otherwise be.

And there is a gentle, effective avuncularity in the way Buthelezi relates to these people, the fibre of his movement.

in: pressing them to distribute propaganda, organise meetings and generally agitate on behalf of Inkatha, he coaxes, wheedles, smiles beatifically: 'Do you take these documents (copies of his policy speech) and put them in boxes at home to let them lie?' 'No, I don't,' he murmurs faithfully; 'I'll let them be read to please

This is the friendliest face of Buthelezi, on his home ground, along with all the other aspects of his annual conferences, tell friends and foes alike that he is a politician who knows how to exploit the materials he has at hand.

A fiercer antagonism towards the ANC

THE resolutions emerging from the conference reflect a solidification of previous policies rather

- than shifts in strategy.

There is, however, intensified

\* antagonism toward the African  
National Congress and to the

the 2003 COSATU alliance. Hostility  
between the sides is not new, but  
in the wake of efforts to halt vio-  
lence in Natal and reported con-  
tacts between the ANC and Inka-

the 2003, the vehemence of the confer-

Mangosuthu Buthelex  
THANDEKA. GQUBULE re-  
ports later over the weekend, a  
UDF rier was allegedly set on fire.

In separate inci-  
UDF and Inkatha suppo-  
tters clashed in Imbali township, and  
houses of several Inkatha mem-

bers were allegedly set on fire.

dent.

ence indicated that there in these re-  
gards.

The gathering passed a resolution

blaming the ANC's mission  
in Exile for thwarting moves to-  
ward a black majority, and  
informing (its) leadership that  
we regard criticism of our presi-  
dent (Buthelezi) as criticism  
of ourselves.

. Inkatha warned that (the ANC).

is making it increasingly difficult  
for us to think in terms of taking  
initiatives to bring them back into  
the main struggle to establish a  
just society in South Africa.

In his presidential address, Bu-  
thelezi said the ANC was

declaring a war on death

against Inkatha, and that Inka-  
tha's hand of friendship had  
been spurned. This spirit of

Oliver Tambo

hate against Inkatha had been  
breathed into the life of the UDF  
and COSATU by the ANC, he  
claimed.,

Buthelezi told the conference he  
believed ANC president Oliver

Tambo â\200\234owed him a responseâ\200\235 af-  
ter an atleged Inkaiha initiative to  
sef up & fop-level meeting.

Inkatha says following meetings  
between secretary-gemeral Oscar  
Dhlemo and ANC executive mem-  
ber Thabo Mbeki, a high-level  
delegation travelled to London for  
â\200\234further talksâ\200\235. The ANC  
saubbed the delegation, Inkaths  
claims.

Expressing personzl hitterness,  
Buthelezi said bis â\200\234offerÂ@â\200\235 was  
made â\200\234from a posilica of  
strenpth. I am mot waking it as  
some kind of political beppar.â\200\235

Oiher resolutivos reaffirmed In-  
katha's

BOpposition to- sanclicas

@Rejection of a â\200\234pew versionâ\204¢  
of the Mational Council

Â@@Commitinent o the consiitu-  
fionzl propusals of the KwaXuly/  
Matat Indaba

Â@Rejection of the regional ser-  
vices councils and the fricameral  
System

SCommitment o a â\200\234black unity"â\200\235  
which "â\200\230c;:cep!ed a multi-siralegy

gllqjeiï-\202iuïï-\201 of armed struggle

DApproval of the Kwalulu pov-  
ernmentâ\200\231s iovolvement in the  
Joint Executive swothority as a  
â\200\234stepping stoneâ\200\235 o a legislative  
sutherity, and

Â@Demand for ihe release of Nel-  
son Mandela and other political  
prisoners.

In hiz report, Dhlvmo claimed  
Iskatba's prid-up membership  
stood Â¢ 1 582 1190, 40 000 up on  
last year's Iâ\200\231gure. The Inkatba  
Youth and Women's Dripades  
claimm meemberships of 601 202  
and 442 991 respectively.



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â\200\234are following t';c] Moses of South Afrca.â\200\235 Ti thovaty respo  
rendered dissent infrinkable, :  
The statementciparsd the of last weelch nkat anpual z:vas om-  
ference, and if tiere s asingle &0 sum it up, batwond Hrapioneâ\200\231 !  
These are no wizs far guessing its object: the Prageunf Inkaths and Cef  
Minister of Kwak. & Ulundi, Moses equals Nangiuths  
Unndi and, roe patcularly, Ulundi dusing the anad plimage of ntaka.  
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Itmay be ispled i fhe KwaZula hinterland, butlnithalaleas) hassorevhire  
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Woal Inkathaâ\200\231s power is, precisely,  
remiins an enijna Bt Buthelezi  
use this occasion ke sewve nolice â\200\224  
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â\200\234WE,â\200\235 saiÂ¢ ame speaker to the 5 000 :l{bg.ai:s assmbled o JJ  
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WEEKLY MAIL, July 8 to July 14, 1988 1

lezi sadd it was. This is pow en-  
trenched, uncontroversial practice.

The process of voting is a simifasly  
graphic demonstration of the con-  
formism of the Inkatha hard core. A  
resolution â\200\224 invasiably lengthy â\200\224 is  
read out, translated, and delegates are  
asked: â\200\234And what is your response,  
dear comrades " Hands are lifted, pa-  
pers shaken in the air, approval is  
chaniod. There is no snch thing as a  
nem con Motion al the annual |  
confercnce. Nobody bothers to count:  
concunence is absolute,

In this way Bushelezd is most cer-  
P tainly mostified in claiming a macdage,

& Whether it is the spontaneoes will of  
Âf the people ... well, that is another  
P question.

] Who are the thonsands, many of

whons have gavelled by the busload

from outlying areas, and who derive  
such obviovs pleasure from being  
part of the movement? They repeesent  
branch stroctures all over KwaZslo  
and Natal, and some come from be-  
yond the boundaiics of the Inkatha  
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They loc ., w0 the unscieniific cye,  
to be mosily middle-aged, more of  
them women than men, That they are

sirable, pennine devoless is bovond question.

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pesssient claimsta Inkatha is los- profound experience for lgacm. Âf  
ing wpport in MNaals whan areas, reflected this. Jubeki himsefa- |g 4 = . i They are electe  
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ULUNDIâ\200\224Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi disclosed last night that a document which could lead to a new, powerful united force in South African politics had been prepared for a proposed meeting soon between himself and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's national council, he said he could see future historians tracing a whole new political era and the final collapse of apartheid to the document,

The KwaZulu Chief Minister was referring to a document drafted by delegates of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu at their recent peace

meetings in Natal.

Certain aspects of the proposal would be debated at today's annual conference of Inkatha.

Last nightâ\200\231s national council meeting had to formulate certain amendments to Inkathaâ\200\231s constitution which would be for the annual conference to consider,

Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the

Buthelezi tells of move toward â\200\230united

forceâ\200\231 in politics

combination of peace initia-

â\200\230tives, but â\200\230we still have to

face up to the question tomorrow of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative as the ANC/UDF/Cosatu allianceâ\200\231 suggested.

â\200\230Gut feelingâ\200\231

â\200\230It is where we go from here that we have to be cautious about,â\200\231 Dr Buthelezi said,

â\200\230I can well see future historians tracing a whole new

political era, and in fact the  
final collapse of apartheid,  
to this very document and to  
the united action that it  
made possible.

Because it has still to be  
presented to the president

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of the ANC, I cannot distrib-  
ute it or quote from it in full  
just now.â\200\231

Dr Buthelezi said his â\200\230gut  
feeling' was that the ANC,  
the UDF and Cosatu were  
reappraising attitudes to-  
wards Inkatha as part of the  
reappraisal of the South Af-  
rican situation and major  
developments which were  
likely to emerge,

He said that if NP leader  
FW de Klerk did become  
State President after the  
September elections and  
took meaningful steps to-  
wards negotiation, Inkatha  
would have to throw its full  
weight behind any develop-  
ments which were positive.

Major shifts were taking  
place in all southern Africa.  
â\200\224 (Sapa) :

to collapse of ,  
apartheid: Buthelezi

Daily News Correspondent

ULUNDI: Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi disclosed that a document which could lead to a new powerful united force in South African politics had been prepared for a proposed meeting soon between himself and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu.

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ing their altitudes (o-

wards Inkatha as part of  
3 more general reap.  
praisal of the South African situation and the major developments which were likely to emerge,

Today's conference needed wisdom to examine seriously whether his gut feeling was correct,

We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely different face,

On face value the document is positive and represents a very major advance towards mean-

- ingfu) black politics, Dr

Buthelezj said.

ence with a synopsis of the recent joint talks.

The national council meeting had to formu-

late certain relevant amendments to Inkatha's constitution which it would be up to the AGC to consider.

While Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the combination of peace initiatives, we still have to face up to the question of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance, he said.

I can well see future historians tracing a whole new political era, and in fact the final collapse of apartheid, to this very document and to the united action that it made possible,

Dr Buthelezi said his gut feeling was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu were re-apprais-

## SAVING

FOREST glade lies  
empty in the moonlight.  
Suddenly the distant  
bushes part. An im-

mense shape rolls into the open,  
making for the lake. Following  
him, ranged as carefully as a  
circus procession in descending  
order of size, streams the silent  
herd.

From their lodge, the tourists  
watch, as the elephant drink and  
leave.

Such romantic moments, once  
common in Kenya's national parks,  
are increasingly rare. The elephant  
of Tsavo are all but gone. The Afri-  
can elephant, like the blue whale and  
the black rhino, is on the fast track  
to extinction.

Driven to despair by this dreadful  
prospect, most conservation groups  
have been clamouring for a ban on  
the ivory trade. Some African gov-  
ernments also think it would be a  
good ideal. On July 4 the govern-  
ments of ivory-producing and con-  
suming countries met in Botswana  
to discuss a proposal by Tanzania  
for a ban, and whether to recom-  
mend to the Convention on Interna-  
tional Trade in Endangered Species  
(Cites), which meets in October, that  
it place the African elephant on Ap-  
pendix 1, a measure that bans trade  
in a species threatened with extinc-  
tion. An obvious precaution? No.  
Sadly, a blanket ban may hasten the  
elephant's disappearance.

The African elephant's misfortune  
is its tusks. For centuries, their main  
cash value has been as sources of  
raw ivory.

One problem for conservationists  
is that figures on the number and  
distribution of elephant are hard to  
collect. The creatures do not oblige  
demographers by staying in one  
place, or even in one country.

The table shows two guesses at the

## THE

Banning ivory trade is



wrong way

ELEPHANT,

to help them

distribution of Africa's remaining elephant, one from a 1981 survey for the African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group (AERSG) of the Inter-

national Union for the Conservation

of Nature, and one from the same group in 1989. No individual country's figures should be trusted, and

the wilder the country, the less reli-

able the numbers may be. The Congo and Gabon, for instance, implausibly appear to have increased their

stocks of elephant. The broad pat-

tern, though, is not in doubt. Africa's total elephant population has halved in eight brief years from 1.2 million to just over 600 000. Indeed, the picture may be worse if many of the 1981 figures are too low. Glummost of all is the fact that the numbers seem to have fallen fastest in some of the countries with the biggest incentive to protect their herds. Kenya, which depends on the elephant as one of its big five wild life draws, may have lost more than two-thirds of the 65000 elephant it had in 1981. Tanzania has lost almost 130 000 animals in the same period,

+ Zambia 115 000 almost three-quarters of its 1981 population.

In only five African countries - South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Namibia - out of the 36 in Africa with elephant, are numbers stable and the ivory trade controlled. Botswana's population has actually grown. Zimbabwe has been constant at over 45000, South

i Africa at 8200. The revenue from

their exports of ivory and elephant leather helps to pay for conservation work. One day soon, these may be Africa's last big elephant herds.



## SAVING THE

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### How elephants make money

If so, these will be the countries |  
that do best out of Africaâ\200\231s growing |  
trade in tourism. If the elephant goes  
from the savannah, so will much of  
the adventure increasingly sought by  
modestly wealthy tourists who can

as easily afford two weeks in Kenya k

as two weeks on Crete. 1

Zimbabwe has long found big- 1  
game hunting an even more lucra-  
tive use for its elephant. A group of  
American or West German hunters  
stalking one of the 100-200 elephant a  
year that are allowed to be killed  
â\200\230canveasily spend \$15 000 all told,

some of it going to local people who  
work as guides and bearers. That is  
perhaps five times as much as those |  
same people could make by poaching  
an elephant themselves. Some hunt-  
ers argue that their very presence, -  
armed to the teeth with guns and  
field glasses, is a deterrent to poach-  
ers. They are probably right.

How long has the elephant got?

New population projections, just  
done by a group from Imperial Col- |

lege, London, suggest that, at the |

rate of decline seen in 1986, ele-

phant could be gone by about 2010.

At the rather slower rate of loss seen  
in 1987, they might last until the |  
2030s.

One rough and ready way to check  
estimates of elephant populations is |  
through the trade in raw ivory. In  
the past year economists, zoologists  
and ecologists in the Ivory Trade Re-  
view Group, set up by the AERSG,  
have been trying to piece together  
the scale and direction of the world  
ivory trade.

### Selling slaughter

The group reckons that 6828  
tonnes of ivory may have been ex-  
ported between 1979 and 1987. An av-  
erage pair of elephant tusks weighs  
9-10kg. That suggests that between  
680 000 and 760 000 elephant must  
have been â\200\234exportedâ\200\235 over the peri-

od. That will be a low figure. More ivory will have been used in Africaâ\200\231s own carving industry (â\200\230â\200\234workedâ\200\235 ivory is notoriously difficult to track)

or lie buried in the bush, waiting for the inevitable rise in the world price as extinction nears.

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â\200\234The numbers show how utterly powerless Cites has been to control the ivory trade. Under a quota system set up in 1986, ivory experts are supposed to be authorised by Cites. The quotas are based on the figures

that exporters themselves think represent a sustainable yield. In 1986 Cites authorised the export of some 108 000 tusks. That would have represented more than 50 000 dead elephants â\200\224 10 times the annual figure that some conservationists regard as Africaâ\200\231s sustainable yield.

In fact, actual exports recorded by Cites were only 60 000 tusks. Good news? Not at all. At roughly 4,7 kg a tusk, that represents some 282 tonnes of ivory. The ITRGâ\200\231s figures suggest the true total was more than double that. Rather than bother with the paperwork to get a quota auth-

Goodbye, jumbo  
Elephant numbers: regions and selected countries  
1981 1989  
376,000 103,000  
Central African Republic 31,000 27,000  
Congo 10,800 25,000  
Gabon 13400 92,000  
Central Africa total 436,200 278,100  
Kenya 65,000 18,000

- Tanzania + 203900 75,000  
 Sudan 133,700 21,000  
 East Africa total 429,500 125,600  
 Botswana 20,000 58,000  
 South Africa 8,000 8200  
 Zambia 160,000 45,000  
 Zimbabwe 47,000 49,000  
 Southern Africa total 309,000 203,300  
 West Africa total 17,600 15,700  
 Africa total 1,192,300 622,700  
 Source: African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group

orisation, most traders found it  
 simpler to smuggle.

And where does the raw ivory go?  
 Its final destinations vary from year  
 to year. Some of the biggest import-  
 ers (Belgium, Hong Kong) are also  
 big exporters. And some net import-  
 ers (such as Hong Kong and Macao)  
 export much of what they buy as  
 worked ivory. The dominant mar-

â\200\224 |

ket has long been in East Asia, and  
 especially in Japan, where ivory is  
 particularly prized for making  
 hankos, personal seals used by some  
 Japanese in place of a signature.

â\200\234Tewer than 40000. The difference is

Japan alone accounts for perhaps

40 percent of the ivory market.

From the ITRG figures, it is possi-  
 ble to see how little Africa gains  
 from the slaughter of the elephant.  
 Total exports of raw ivory are worth

| a Cites moratorium are the countries  
 ' of the south â\200\224 South Africa, Bot-

some R115-R138 million a year. That  
 is only 0,2 percent of Africaâ\200\231s mer-

chandise exports (if one excludes  
 South Africa and the Mediterranean  
 states).

To ban the trade seems the obvi-

ous way to stop it. The momentum

behind a ban has gathered pace at an  
 astonishing rate in the past months.  
 â\200\234I've been in conservation for 10  
 years,â\200\235 says Mr Simon Lyster of the  
 World Wide Fund for Nature in Brit-  
 ain, â\200\234and I have never known such a

rapid response by governments.â\200\235  
Since early June there has been a  
rush of international virtue. Prodded  
by the Press, Britain banned all im-  
ports of raw and worked ivory in  
June. It was swiftly copied by the  
rest of the European Community and  
by the US. More amazing to conser-  
vationists was the announcement of  
a ban by Dubai, one of the main en-  
trepot centres for the tusk trade and,  
a week later, an announcement by  
Japan that it was banning all im-  
ports of worked ivory, and all raw  
ivory which did not come directly  
from African producer countries, au-  
thorised by Cites.

Will it work? Conservationists  
point to the splendid recovery in the  
number of wild cats â\200\224 including  
leopard â\200\224 since they received an  
Appendix 1 listing. Sceptics point to  
the fact that the black rhino has been  
on Appendix 1 since the list started,

' away. A widespread ban, coupled

! will raise their black-market price.

back in 1975; in that time its nVm-

bers have crashed from 500 000 to

that leopard skins were a fashion fad  
in Europe and America; when people  
realised the danger to the leopar\_d,  
they stopped buying leopard-skin  
coats. The rhinoâ\200\231s horn goes to make  
dagger handles in North Yemen and  
cures for fever in East Asia. Not  
many members of Greenpeace in ei-  
ther place.

The countries that have most wel-  
comed the ban are those â\200\224 Tanza-  
nia, Kenya, Zambia â\200\224 which need  
the elephant as a tourist lure, but  
have been too inept or corrupt to  
prevent poaching. Those opposed to

swana, Zimbabwe and Malawi â\200\224  
which have been most successful in  
preventing poaching.

Those who support a ban say the  
existence of a legal trade in ivory  
makes it easier to sustain the illegal  
trade. Shipments of illicit ivory have  
been given retrospective Cites auth-  
orisations, or been given fake Cites  
certificates. Only by making all  
ivory trade illegal will it become ea-  
sier to police it. :

Conservationists hope particularly  
that the ban on illegal imports by  
Japan will knock the bottom out of  
the market. Already, they say, Bur-

undi has perhaps 90-100 tonnes of poached ivory stockpiled, waiting for the price to soar; Hong Kong has stocks of 500-700 tonnes stashed

with Japan's conversion, will make these stocks less valuable. :  
How bans backfire

A much more probable effect of a ban will be to drive up the price of ivory even faster. For some people who now buy legally imported ivory will buy smuggled ivory instead. If legal supply is choked off, but poaching continues as before, the increased demand for smuggled tusks

That will raise the profitability of poaching, and increase the risks poachers are willing to take. As the

elephants of the east and centre of \

Africa die out, the poachers will increasingly move south. Countries

like Zimbabwe and Malawi, in a new |

i

\_police as cocaine smuggling from the

white South Africa's Kruger National

kind of front line, will suffer most.

A ban will drive the ivory trade underground, making it as hard to

forests of Latin America.

Without a ban, how else can the world help the elephant to survive? The most essential part of any solution is to shame all African states into adopting the high quality of policing and management practised in the handful of southern states. Black states of east and central Africa should be appalled to compare their record of slaughter with that of

Park, an area the size of Israel, where there has not been a single poaching incident for two years. The reason? The game scouts are well paid, well trained and well motivated. Kenya's, by contrast, do not even have uniforms, let alone salaries high enough to attract incorruptible recruits.

Unless the African countries can be persuaded to manage their elephant stocks well, nothing other countries do will have much effect.

The rest of the world could, however, help with the persuasion by stumping up large sums of cash.

Already, aid programmes are increasingly augmenting the sums raised by conservation groups. Logically, if the rest of the world wants the elephant to survive, then it should not only compensate Africa for R130 million of lost exports, but help to foot the bill â\200\224 of perhaps R230 million â\200\224 for effective security against poachers.

It would be a tragedy if, by the end of the century, only a few thousand of Africaâ\200\231s elephant survive. That is less likely to happen if countries concentrate on making the existing machinery of conservation work better, rather than rushing all headlong onto a ban that makes matters worse.



Document may lead  
to collapse of  
apartheid: Buthelezi

Daily News Correspondent

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ter\_lng into an era in  
ghxch black politics is

lven a complete if-  
ferent face. B i

â\200\234On face value the  
document is positive and  
rÃ@presents a very major  
gdvance towards mean-  
ingful black politics,â\200\235 Dr  
Buthelezi said.

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Hâ\200\230 d Ju y8,198 ) 27  
i "i"\ne' Sydne;r Morning eral ; sat,urday, 1" D AT  
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en old enemies become old friends

e O R e 2 lt =i 1 FEER Â£ [ Surprisingly, there Were no recrimi-

VSOUTH AFRICA = â\200\230X%â\200\235â\200\234lâ\200\230!.'mâ\200\235 mgâ\200\230? o{ititel  
: | nations when the pair met at the airport - Bar last year, and when I saw women  
L e WG B W f - evn&cglackma' Jritypo . |- 20yeamslater, il 4101 lying â\200\230on the â  
\200\230ground with their, legs  
e st or\_;;axqon; Â¢ thJ: meefing is | ., The political distance between the | burnt and bl  
own off my first thought  
The SUpowers are - i â\202¬ :;gmî¬\20lcance aâ\200\230i)nst e back dsrop - black activis  
t and the white mayor is ' was:. I.vâ\200\231n!â\200\231nt to kill the person who's

s 9 hin : h C d: | of â\200\230Pâ\200\230::toeria's e;t%rts to vilify the | il#gagt. }\\_â  
\200\231hlletCzdiâ\200\230understands1:he dÂ°Â\$;?â\200\234lsÂ»d l;â\200\235aâ\200\230d- sl  
g  
' AN ST 2 Y A vt ecision to e up arms when .. Many delegates â\200\230saw thÃ© warmth  
â\200\230pUS\ mg tâ\200\230 e L an o or;\_n;a:xon\_mtheeyes;; ;hlct;:::iâ\200\230:-n Pret  
oria closed off peaceful methodsof = between Card and Tshwete as an  
t,he South African = i ekt ai}:ele;:::le proe%aigh Sehicaying 36 | protest, he is unable to  
" condone â\200\230optuplgsu.c indicator thatâ\200\231 â\200\230national re-  
Government towards the | ANC sÂ« sinister, shadowyâ\200\235 terror g B [ 57AS the e i, ther  
wers sontinge

3 .. movement\_.intent . only\_on. : : : conti

negOtlatlng table, "" innocent civilians in shopping centres. ; :iymc:tn:?c;t:%by â\200  
\230mplsn}ueâ\200\230sant tarqnsin  
S ARLENE G "~ This is coupled with laws that ban o g time Wil & long way  
repo AR.'E.â\200\230F m | favourable reports on the organisation Several â\200\230would-be  
delegates had t  
N . and\_prohibit the publication of any withdraw from the confeg â\200\235b ad to  
L T | statements by "ANC leaders, thus they risked losing thei:rejgl.;es mu:ye  
I T TAKES less than two hours to | ensuring that even those opposed to attended the controv  
ersial gathering. |

2] I

o " ;o S

â\200\234fly from Johannesburg to Lusaka. | apartheid receive distorted information ik e 2  
irom .y

But for the white South Africans | about the movement's policies. ' w0 brÃ©f;?? thueleSc;:l  
tth Az?:cl;l:s {câ\200\230 stl;ll(:

aboard a chartered Boeing 737, \* - Yet political considerations were ; = : â\200\224 the ci  
ty in which the AN?: hu :  
the Journgir ;yas a pilgrimage of | overtaken by emotion within minutes | . L l} headquarte  
rs â\200\224 received a bomb &srexzts  
immeasurable distance. \* Toe S e e i ] e % shi :

â\200\234This trip has changed the rest of my | Â©f the ANC delegation meeting the | fsyï¬

\201ysmebefor:vmi seriously b  
life,â\200\235 enthused Malcolm Armstrong, ' "â\200\230â\200\234â\200\231Fâ\200\231â\200\234  
-â\200\230â\200\234,â\200\234L"â\200\235hâ\200\234}.â\200\231l"â\200\231â\200\234"- e Tyâ  
\200\231 | F?Ziambiin' authorities 'ittnou:fâ\200\231:' ');â\200\230the  
head of the whites-only Pretoria BoysÂ® - | A particularly poignant moment: | ' explosions  
in centraâ\200\231ljl...:srzka sl  
High School, as he u flew out of the came when an ANC executive member, | | carlicr. The. bl  
asts, which killed' oge  
Zambian capital last Sunday. ... .c.u. | Stâ\202-Ve Tshwete, greeted East Londonâ\200\231s  
Jr . 4 Â\$: man and blew off the foot of an AglnÂ®

Armstrong was a member of a |mayor, Donald Card, with a handshake - - nd blew off X .  
115-strong\_group which risked the |andahug. . . . . & O nggâ\200\230tzgÂ®::grfqelybenevedwb  
eme  
{rratliâ\200\230ptirkxetpriak.. by travelling to in;%gâ\200\231:gi~\202 hadll l'ml;;;t'z t  
:n police .. | rican agents.

usaka last week. The: A on cell in 1963, At the time,â\200\235" | | & ] - D  
four-c \*s:fquu:%i~\201;;m "o.f-,-f? | Tshwete was awaiting trial for plannin: 3 ! e it tâ  
\200\230;â\200\230:â\200\230Â®:â\200\231tl;egl Ctlglexat&s not to walk around  
the outlawed African National Con- | ' bâ\200\234!" up a power station; Card wasa â\200\231  
Oliver Tambo ... â\200\234There are T Brvien A maps or cameras in case -

| of yhitesin a changing | Scurity policeman intent on gathering L\* B (s sonferencd 27T vzt  
: EÂ¥ac | evidence to send him to the [â\200\234:% & TR R GRET T et 1 A  
largest-ever' | Eallows, The then-policeman gues.. } Tshwp;estact:@q;fi~\201m?i t::ud l?:er  
itl;..  
e ANC, since. |tioned Tshwete for three months, using . | Warfare as a method of toppling  
the  
- T don't think they realise the anger

g e e PR | the harsh methods that had earned him . | South African Government. = (i  
W theâ\200\235 organisation in ' the reputation of one of the countryâ\200\231s:., â\200  
\230and Sred the aimed strugple steates ki  
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. During the talks, local residents

" 1969 Tt was also, said ANC spokesman - MOST notorious interrogators. .  
| Tom Sebina; â\200\230ihe\*-â\200\231mos't!!iâ\200\230?-?portant |"" Tshwete was subsequent  
ly sentenced | Was about 100 â\200\234Â®:"stâ\200\234d&n f:\â\200\230r)xï~\201p;  
;.. The diversity of the delegates â\200\224 who | Survived three attempts on his life afte  
r; et oo  
\*â\200\234included students, business executives, | being formally condemtted to death by  
\* farmers, trade unionists and politicians ., theANC.. - :  
" such asâ\200\231 celebrated liberal Helen Suz-  
man â\200\224 provided tangibie proof of both  
| a growing non-racifyalliance in the  
| struggle against apartheid and an

beeis [Ã©mjei

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\* Pretoria and the ANC to stop !iâ\200\230lghtipg  
and start talking. Ul T  
V! i The\*S6viets, 'anxious' to'd ngage  
.- themselves from â\200\230Third World conflicts,  
Fmâ\200\224 FU S A oot -are encouraging the ANC to seek a  
they were taken for South African spies, â\200\231 political ' settlement to South Africaâ  
\200\231s  
" \*There are many who â\200\234wish this"" â\200\230problems, - | oo Y Â\$OVOTY  
conference. ilILâ\200\235 â\200\230warned'the' ANC - - Although their official line;is that  
eader, Oliver Tamb iatadis oo l, final strategic decisions rest with the  
' Tamboâ\200\231s rare resence at such a- 'ANC, Western diplomatic sources say  
Fconference, coupled with â\200\234attendance " Moscow is already starting to curtail jts  
t;by'- . 19 other members: of: the' ANCâ\200\231s |+ military aid to the organisation, - '  
! 35-strong executive, was interpreted as = At the same time, Mr F. W. de Klerk,  
| confirmation of the significance which - heir-apparent to President P. W. Botha,  
- (the ANC accorded to the talks about needs to give some indication of good  
â\200\230white fears involving a black majority ' faith to the Eummp leaqers he.v:\_mted  
- {government. hezgd s wi3195111 111+ 1+ last month, The British Prime Minister,  
B TR EVERU b â\200\230Margaret . Thatcher, in\_particular,  
o . â\202~Xpects a reward for â\200\230her â\200\230staunch  
Âf 13991104 [Tan sopaly Â«a; {lopposition to economic sanctions  
ady;t.- "against South Africa, - #a:Â¢ nn T B  
gâ\200\230 Moscowis \_.

i â\200\234NREE S Sl Jls AL BIEYS Some Â¢ senior - pai'ty";â\200\230 'nibÃ©ts

startlng to curtail its acknowlrledge' private,ly that tl:? : wotuilad

3 Fana jl : seriously consider eginning ' hegotia- .  
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e â\200\224 .Â«,â\200\230r"nï~\202,o.â\200\230-in turn, said ca b  
Â¥ ~would be prepared to detlare |  
Both the ANC and the South African temporary suspension of }  
Go nt are being pushed towards . â\200\234under certain conditionsâ\200\235; These  
tiating table by.the'changing included the â\200\230release oft/jailed leader  
f uperpower. .â\200\234i~\201â\200\234-,x-c:wâ\200\235-z'-- angmen Nelson--Mand\_ela.s;thxcd  
mm of Â«the  
! Recent regional evelopments, nota- three-year-old state of: emergency, the  
bly the .US/So\_viet:brokeredï~\201indepem- <Â« lifting of the ban on the ANCjand the  
Idence process in Namibia" and the â\200\224 tepeal of certain security legislation, -\  
ceasefire in Angolaâ\200\231s 14-year-old Civil, o Arlene Getz.is the Heraldâ\200\231s, Sou  
th Africa  
â\200\230war, have increased thâ\200\230ef\_pgeqsureâ\200\230 on ' [EOpondene, FACK LR

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