

Buthelezi's Zulu party

continued

the wrath of Police Minister James Kruger, who last September warned Buthelezi against extending Inkatha's membership out of the apartheid strictures.

When, on January 29 this year, Buthelezi addressed 15,000 people at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto (the second mass meeting he has held since June 16, 1976 – a sign of his growing strength in the township that will determine the ultimate fate of the country) he was warned by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, to confine his speech to a forthcoming election in kwaZulu.

He did not do so, telling the crowd that "I find it impossible to come here to talk to you about any kwaZulu issues. There are no kwaZulu issues outside the perimeters of one South Africa."

At Jabulani he made his stand on several issues unequivocally. He wanted the students to return to the schools they have mostly boycotted since the disturbances. He slammed banned newspaper editor Donald Woods for calling for disinvestment from South Africa since, "I do not think I must adopt facile stands which mean suffering for my people without achieving the

aims we are struggling for." And he called for a boycott of the forthcoming countrywide elections (Pretoria-staged) to local African community councils as long as Dr. Nthato Motlana and his Soweto Committee of Ten (almost universally regarded as the township's true adult leadership) remained in jail, where they have been since last October's crackdown.

In kwaZulu Buthelezi fought a long – and as yet unresolved – battle with small traders and others opposed to the involvement of large companies (local and foreign) in the Bantustan through the agency of the Corporation for Economic Development (formerly called the Bantu Investment Corporation, a controversy-wracked Pretoria body that seeks to create work in the ethnic homelands and which, by June 1977, had channelled R33.3m of investment into kwaZulu out of a total of R132m into all the Bantustans.

Kruger's clamp on the black consciousness movement makes it impossible to assess whether Inkatha's views have majority endorsement among blacks; they are the only ones audible at the moment, except those conveyed abroad by Woods, which may not be reported in South Africa itself since Woods is a "banned" man.

Willy-nilly, perhaps, Inkatha will fill part of the political vacuum created by Kruger. But if, in Pretoria's terms, he goes too far in welding black solidarity, he and

the movement stand to be banned. What then? The consequences are incalculable. Another Isandhlwana? Ten Isandhlwanas?

Inkatha, in kwaZulu, has ensured that the schools were not burned and that King Goodwill Zwelithini's allegedly pro-Pretoria political aspirations have been curbed. Goodwill is head of the Zulu royal family of which Buthelezi is a prominent, not prime, member.

Furthermore, because of the entrenchment of Inkatha, even the removal by banning or assassination of Buthelezi will not mean that Pretoria can inject a tame black along the lines of Lucas Mangope or Kaiser Matanzima, who will then lead kwaZulu to a barren "independence" and a future as a labour pool-cum-buffer state against incursion (a role the Bantustans are taking over from Mozambique and Angola since the April 1974 coup in Portugal).

Even the former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development Michiel Botha has admitted as much, saying he foresees "independence" for all the Bantustans –except kwaZulu.

As the most organised and thrusting organisation South Africa has seen since the Afrikaner National Party, whose early strategies it has indeed emulated, Inkatha must be reckoned with in any appraisal of the course of events in the beleaguered Republic. It is heading for a face-to-face collision with Afrikaner power.

Mounting threat to Tanzania's big game

Tanzania's rhino and elephants are being attacked by poachers with all the equipment of modern warfare. But a new squad of rangers has been formed to counter them, reports MARTHA HONEY from Dar es Salaam.

TANZANIAN wildlife officials are intensifying their anti-poaching activities in the face of an increasing threat to the world's last great animal concentrations.

According to Tanzania's Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Ole Saibul, "Poaching is now a serious enough problem for us to make special preparations to get on top of it. We're having people trained and retrained, using more modern equipment, transport and firearms because now we're facing poachers who are themselves better armed, some even with semi-automatic weapons."

The first group of 200 crack, new heavily-armed anti-poaching rangers has just graduated and will be stationed throughout Tanzania to supplement existing anti-poaching patrols.

This increased vigilance seems to be brought about by two factors. One is that the world demand and price for ivory,

rhino horn and other game trophies has shot up in the last few years. The other is that there is increasing concern within Tanzania about the alarming growth of various forms of corruption. In a recent major address President Julius Nyerere declared a "total war against bribery and corruption" and announced that the Anti-Corruption Squad will now be under his personal charge. It is widely believed that ivory and trophy smuggling is one of the most lucrative forms of corruption.

Interviews with wildlife officials and conservationists reveal that although precise poaching figures are not known, several developments are clear. The first is that Tanzania's poaching is at least partially interlocked with the much more sophisticated and highly organised Kenyan poaching rackets.

The elephant population in Kenya is rapidly being depleted. Surveys indicate it

is now between 55-75,000 and that 25,000 elephants were *legally* exported from Kenya last year alone. In contrast Tanzania has an estimated 300,000 elephants. Also in recent years ivory has fetched a much higher price in Kenya. The biggest price difference was in 1973 when ivory sold for Shs.200 per kilo in Tanzania and for twice that much, Shs.400 per kilo, in Kenya. Today the gap has closed somewhat, to Shs.300 per kilo in Tanzania and about Shs.450 per kilo in Kenya. Poaching is worst in Tanzania's northern game parks along the Kenyan border and officials contend that a majority of poached trophies cross into Kenya. The northern game areas, consisting of Serengeti, Lake Manyara, Ngorongoro and Tarangira parks, are Tanzania's greatest tourist attractions and indisputably the finest parks in the world. But now they are suffer-

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TANZANIA POACHING

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ing the heaviest toll at the hands of poachers. As one conservationist put it, "The further away from the Kenyan border the game is, the safer it is."

Secondly, while public attention has been focused on the poaching of elephants, Tanzania officials are now most concerned about the rhinoceros. The price of rhino horns, used as an aphrodisiac in Asia, has shot up from \$45 per kilo to \$250 in the last year. According to Tanzania's Director of Wildlife, Raphael Jingu, most of Tanzania's rhino horns are now being bought by Arab companies who have moved into the market "in a big way in the last six months," replacing the traditional Hong Kong buyers.

Rhinos are particularly vulnerable to poachers. They are clumsy, slow moving and largely defenceless, and therefore easy to kill. Conservationist and former anti-poaching officer John Speed reported that on a recent tour of the Masai Steppe area in northern Tanzania he saw evidence of large-scale poaching of rhino.

"It's now the dry season and the rhinos come to the limited number of waterholes to drink. At every waterhole I found either water had been poisoned or platforms constructed on which poachers wait, sometimes for weeks, until a rhino comes to drink. There were four or five recent rhino skulls visible at every hole. Now it is difficult to see a live rhino."

He added, "This kind of poaching should be easy to patrol but I didn't see any game scouts in the area."

In Ruraha National Park in southern Tanzania, another area renowned for its rhino, the animals are also under assault. Tanzania's Director of National Parks, Derek Bryceson, reported that about 50 rhinos have been killed in the park in the last few months out of a population of only several hundred. "This is a large number of rhinos," he stated.

As Minister Saibul summarised the situation, "There has been a feverish pursuit of rhinos recently. The rhino in Tanzania is endangered but I'm sure we'll be able to prevent the total destruction with the plans we have at hand. But left on his own the rhino could easily disappear."

Since September 1973 Tanzania has banned all private hunting for sport. Now all the country's ivory, skins and trophies are handled by the Tanzanian Wildlife Corporation which is responsible for selling to foreign and local buyers and to the local ivory carvers' cooperatives. All the ivory and trophies are stored in the Game Division's Ivory Room in Dar es Salaam.

The Corporation's sources of ivory are four-fold: one from "control work", that is animals shot by game scouts because they

are threatening human life and crops. Most are elephants, totalling about 2-3,000 per year. A second source is ivory and trophies confiscated from poachers, of which about 80% is ivory. According to Wildlife Director Jingu Shs6m. worth of ivory was confiscated from poachers in the two year period, 1975-76. A third source is what is termed "found" ivory and trophies from animals who have died and then been discovered by patrols or villagers. Mr. Jingu said this accounts for no more than 5% of the Corporation's ivory. And finally the

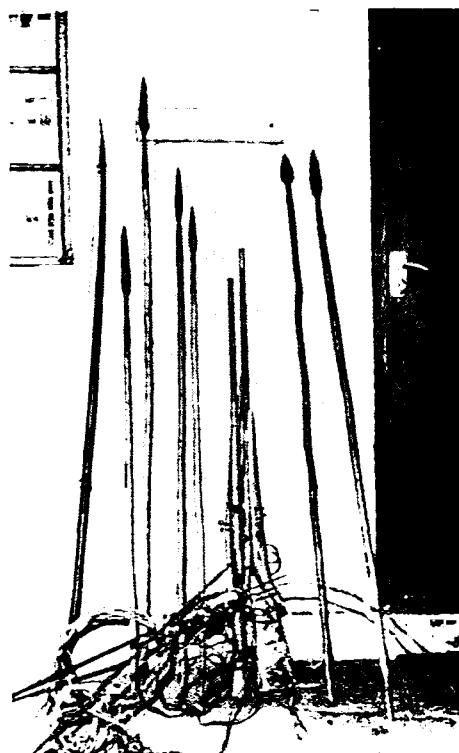
and other parts of the country patrolled by the Games Division is said to be far worse.

According to Mr. Jingu the Corporation sells 2-300 rhino horns each year, most of which it confiscates from poachers. But he estimates that this is only 10-20% of the rhinos being poached.

The elephant picture, where the numbers are much larger, is harder to determine. Alan Rogers, who teaches wildlife ecology at the University of Dar es Salaam and has done much research into the ivory poaching problem, says he cannot even hazard a



A line of elephants under threat: it is safer for them further from the Kenya border. Below: the poachers' tools, old style. But recently gangs with semi-automatic weapons have engaged in battles with rangers.



fourth source is from the very limited legalised hunting done by the Corporation. Again ivory from this source is negligible. Each year the Corporation sells ivory equivalent to between 5-10,000 elephants.

This is only a fraction of what is thought to be poached each year. Estimates are, of course, difficult to make but some figures are available. More than 30,000 animals are poached in the National Parks each year according to the Parks Division report. The situation in Tanzania's game reserves

guess as to how many elephants are poached in Tanzania each year. However, he states it has been determined that two to three times as much ivory is being exported *legally* from Tanzania than is being legally handled through the Ivory Room. This ratio is based on the large discrepancy in the records of ivory sold from the Ivory Room and that which is recorded as being legally exported by Tanzanian customs.

For instance, in 1972 the Ivory Room handled ivory from approximately 6,000 elephants. However, local customs documents record that 251,000 kilos or about 19,000 elephants were exported in 1972. This means that large quantities of ivory are being illegally injected into the system and then legally documented.

In addition it appears that increasing amounts of illegal ivory are being utilised internally by the growing number of ivory carvers. The number of ivory carving cooperatives has grown tremendously in the last few years, from about 10 in 1973 to 50 today.

Some recent poaching operations have been on a very large scale. Gangs of 30 to 40 poachers using semi-automatic weapons have on occasion engaged in pitched battles with Tanzanian rangers, and several rangers have been killed.

Further, Minister Saibul and others state that several times helicopters originating from Kenya have landed as far as 200km. inside Tanzania to pick up poached skins and ivory. The Minister explained, "I have mentioned this to my counterparts in Nairobi and warned them that in future we'll shoot down such helicopters." The newly trained rangers are prepared, the Minister said, to do just that.

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