

WORLD AFFAIRS

ticularly outraged by Pretoria's failure to consult them on the matter: neither territory was informed of the merger until it was announced in June. The two tribes are now challenging the government in the South African courts. While lower courts recently ruled the territorial transfer was illegal, few South Africans believe the tribes will ultimately triumph. Should higher courts uphold the tribe, most observers say, the white-run government will only pass legislation changing the laws.

Deep Passions: That could lead to violence—and open rebellion. Zulu passions run deep on the issue. The territory in question, Ingwaruma, contains the burial place of their revered Chief Dingaan whose unsuccessful attack on the Boers in 1839 was so violent it is known as "The Battle of Blood River." Many Zulus worry about Swazi domination; some even fear they will be killed. "This is the first taste of black dispossession that is taking place in our lifetime," Buthelezi said. "But if it is God's will that the Zulu people and the whites of South Africa face a second Blood River, then so be it." Still, if history is any judge, the traditionally warlike Zulus might have second thoughts about turning to violence. Their last two ndabas were preludes to bloody battles against whites. And in both wars, the Zulus lost.

JOSEPH TREEN with PETER YOUNGHUSBAND
in Nongoma

EL SALVADOR

A Passing Grade
On Human Rights

The Reagan administration gave the government of El Salvador a passing grade last week for its progress on human rights. The certification cleared the way for congressional approval of further military and economic aid to the war-torn country, yet the administration's report amounted to something less than a ringing endorsement. Defending the certification before a House committee, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders insisted that the Salvadoran government had made headway in redistributing land, controlling the armed forces and bringing about free democratic elections. But he admitted that it "has a long way to go to achieve full success."

Some House members suggested that congressional approval of the certification could be a close call. Massachusetts Democrat Gerry Studds charged that Enders's report was based on statistics that were "ludicrously inadequate." Studds helped find 80 cosponsors for a proposed House declaration dismissing the administration's report as "null and void." For now, the congressional majority seems likely to go along with the administration and approve \$61 million in military aid to El Salvador. But the dispute over certification is far from over.

Rallying the tribe: 'Let the government hold a vote and hear the voice of their people'

SOUTH AFRICA

The Angry Cry of the Zulus

The Zulus came to Nongoma last week in cars and buses, on horseback and in donkey carts, on foot and on bicycles. Gray-haired veterans of tribal wars carried the spears their grandfathers used in battles against the British and the Boers. Women led children by the hand or carried them on their backs. They came at the call of King Goodwill Zwelithini for an *ndaba*—a consultation of the people. When they finally assembled, more than 100,000 Zulus stood before the king, who was resplendent in his full-length leopard-skin robes. "Are you still the Zulu nation?" he shouted, brandishing a spear and a warrior's shield. The crowd roared its assent. "Give your support to me and my government," he asked. "My courage comes from the sound of your steps behind me." The crowd quickly gave him the answer he wanted: as the king's royal bodyguards—dressed in lion-skin robes and ostrich plumes—began a war dance, they chanted the traditional royal salute: "Bayetel! Bayetel!" ("All hail! All hail!")

Violence: The king called the *ndaba*—the first since the Zulu War of 1879—to tell his people about an impending crisis: a decision by the South African government to give a large portion of Zulu territory—and 135,000 Zulus—to neighboring Swaziland, home of the tribe's traditional Swazi rivals. "When I go to the other world, how will I tell my ancestors that Zulu land has been given to the Swazis?" King Goodwill asked

the *ndaba*. "And what will they say to me if I allowed this terrible thing to happen?" He also warned his tribe—the largest black ethnic group in South Africa—that opposition could turn to violence. "We shall do everything in our power to resist this by peaceful means," he said, "but if that fails we cannot say what will happen."

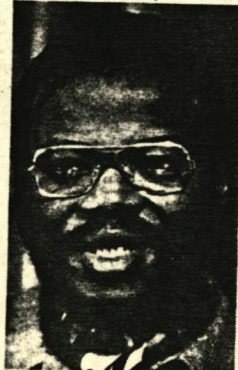
More than a protest, the *ndaba* was also designed to pressure South Africa into holding a referendum on transferring both Zulu land and another black territory, KwaZulu, to Swaziland. "What counts most is the opinion of the people who now face losing their South African citizenship," said the Zulu's chief Minister Gatscha Buthelezi. "Let the government hold a referendum in both territories and hear the voice of their people." But South Africa is adamantly opposed to any vote. Pretoria says it is only "adjusting" the country's borders along what it claims are precolonial tribal boundaries. "The merger represents

the long-cherished ideal of the Swazi people who have for long been deprived of Swazi citizenship by an accident of history," says Minister of Cooperation and Development Piet Koornhof.

The leaders of the two black territories disagree. They argue that the South African government is simply trying to further its "homelands" policy—a plan that would make South Africa's whites a technical majority by creating nine semi-autonomous "states" for blacks. Black leaders are par-

Buthelezi: Revolt

Susan T. McElhinney—Newsweek



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