

# Chapter One

## General Introduction

### 1. 0 Rethinking Swaziland's Racial Past

Despite the attention that the study of race relations has attracted in the wider world, the theme has been in the case of Swaziland under-researched. The same is true of its related aspect of the practice and abolition of racial discrimination. At the beginning of the twentieth century, W. E. B. Dubois predicted that, “The problem of the twentieth century (will be) the problem of the color line- the relation of the darker to the lighter races of man in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea”.<sup>1</sup> Recently, Paul Gordon Lauren has similarly observed that, “Few issues in our time have possessed such an overwhelming impact upon the world as race and its most easily identifiable characteristic– color”.<sup>2</sup> Reflecting on Dubois’ statement on race, Lauren has also pointed out that, “with remarkable prescience, Dubois understood nearly ninety years ago that as the world became smaller and as contacts between peoples of different races increased, the deep and emotional tensions caused by racial prejudice and discrimination would become acute”.<sup>3</sup> Though small in terms of geographical size and often ignored in discussions on prejudice and discrimination, colonial Swaziland has shared in this experience. To emphasize the importance of race relations in Swaziland, one of my interviewees described the subject as forming, “part of the foundation of Swazi history”.<sup>4</sup>

Through the use of written and oral data this study attempts to reconstruct the history of different racial communities in Swaziland. The study deals with its subject by focussing on four crucial concerns. These are; (1) the evolution of the colonial racial order, (2) the expectations and strategies of those who campaigned for the legal abolition of racial

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in, Paul Gordon Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination*(Boulder: West view Press, 1988), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* , p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Interview, Arthur Khoza, Selection Park - Mbabane, 4 January, 2005.

discrimination, (3) the factors which led to the outlawing of racial discrimination, and (4) the immediate changes brought about by the abolition of racial discrimination in the country as well as the reactions of the various racial groups to that development.

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the impact of discriminatory policies and practices on Swazi society as well as the demise of legal, *de jure* discrimination. It discusses the different forces that shaped the racialisation of Swazi society from the period of the early black and white contacts in the 1840s up to the early 1970s when the term of the first post-colonial government in power ended. The latter part of thesis discusses the abolition of formal discrimination which was effected in 1961. Specifically, the study traces the evolution of Swaziland's racial past and examines the development of *de jure* racialization in the country. The study describes the origins and development of the racial history that evolved in Swaziland up the 1940s and identifies the major turns and phases in that evolution. Thereafter, the study analyzes *de jure* deracialization in the country and attempts to explain the role played by various historical contexts and forces in influencing such a process in Swaziland. In particular, the study focusses on the theme of the abolition of racial discrimination during the colonial period.

One of the major themes discussed in the thesis is the advent of whites in Swaziland and the nature of the different frontiers in which the incoming (white) race interacted with the host (black) race. Historical evidence indicates that the processes of interaction along these frontiers were not uniform. While relations between the main groups remained more or less egalitarian before a substantial number of whites settled in the country, during the concessionaire period up to the end of nineteenth century, relations had begun to take a skewed shape in favour of the white newcomers in the emerging industrial centres. This was particularly the case in the agricultural and mining sectors.

The thesis also analyses how the skewed nature of the relations which had been entrenched at the work place by the end of the nineteenth century were intensified after the establishment of British colonial rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The intensification of this process was achieved largely through the implementation of

policies that tended to favour whites at the expense of blacks and Coloureds— an intermediary group whose embryonic phase was located in the 1910s. The intention of these discriminatory policies was to provide discriminatory access to resources and better social services to whites who were given preference over the other groups because of the colour of their skin. These tendencies were justified through the white supremacist ideology maintained through the doctrine of paternalism, which viewed black persons as perpetual minors. In effect these policies kept blacks at the lowest rung of the social pyramid while it elevated whites to the apex. This pattern which was jealously guarded by the patrons of the system had by the mid - 1940s taken a distinct shape characterised by a racial inequality that was tilted in favour of whites.

Further, the thesis explores the development of Coloured community identity and consciousness from the early 1900s. Swaziland's white settlers and colonial officials collaborated with Christian missions in the forging of Coloured identity in the country through among other things, the lobbying for, and provision of, separate Coloured facilities. However, in the formation of these processes the study maintains Coloured persons should not be merely viewed as victims as they were also active agents. In the 1950s and 1960s Coloureds were assisted by their patrons to lobby for separate political representation. The study notes that the notion of Coloured identity was relatively complex. However, persons who embraced this identity tended to subscribe and identify with the myth of white superiority since it placed them above blacks in the socio - economic pyramid. Largely, the immediate post - abolition period and subsequent decolonisation politics left persons in this category defeated and without a sense of constitutionally - defined citizenship.

The thesis also analyses the manner in which the educated elite in Swaziland executed its struggle against discriminatory policies and practices from 1945 onward. The challenge posed by the educated elite basically came in the form of radical protest documents. However, no corresponding radical protest action was mounted within the country. The context of the protest documents largely indicate that influences of contemporary international relations as well as wider Asian and African politics were predominantly at

play. Interestingly, the questioning of British imperialism and anti - colonial politics was at the same time taking root in the British colonies of Asia and Africa. The thesis notes that this period served as a springboard for engaging the Swaziland colonial government with regard to issues of racial discrimination.

Since no adequate internal pressure was mounted to compel the colonial government to outlaw racial discrimination in the country the thesis argues that as Britain was becoming increasingly embarrassed internationally about her discriminatory colonial policies, she sought to use Swaziland as her model of harmonious race relations. The thesis therefore maintains that the intensification of South Africa's apartheid policies, the changing British imperial policy and politics, as well as the changing international diplomacy and wider Asian and African politics in the 1960s unleashed a decisive onslaught on Swaziland's racially discriminating legislation. Though the notion that black - white relations in Swaziland were harmonious had been in existence since the early colonial period, it now served an urgent and specific purpose in British politics, and international diplomacy.

Another question posed by the study relates to the capacity of the anti - discriminatory legislation to transform Swaziland's racial discourse. The study observes that though discriminatory legislation was outlawed in Swaziland, the instrument used was not geared towards a radical departure from previous discriminatory practices. While the legislation, for example, appears to have been lenient towards the offender whose crime was not met with severe punishment, the process of laying a charge was equally cumbersome and frustrating on the part of the offended. Moreover, this legislation was modelled along that of Northern Rhodesia's Race Relations Mediation Act of 1957, which tended to subscribe to the notion that movement towards non - racialism was to proceed gradually. Such a notion indicated an apologetic gesture towards the unseating of the white man from his dominant and racially entrenched position of privilege.

Finally, the thesis concludes that no serious and fundamental changes were brought about by the abolition of racial discrimination in Swaziland. Apart from the observation that

the general Swazi population was not even aware that an anti - discriminatory legislation had been passed, those among the whites who were not pleased with this development left the country, and those who remained continued to engage in largely subtle, but at times overt, discriminatory practices. It is argued, in this study, that the outbreak of industrial strikes in the early 1960s embodied dissatisfaction about the anti-discriminatory legislation as it did not satisfy workers' quest for non - racial policies and practices at the work place. Despite such developments the white settlers in Swaziland as well as the British imperial government continued to hail Swaziland as a model of harmonious race relations in Southern Africa. Such an approach was adopted not only to justify British imperial policy and its associated virtues, but also to disassociate the British with the racial tensions and conflicts that had been prevalent in countries such as South Africa, Kenya, and Southern Rhodesia. The main value of this study is that it fills a very important gap in the human relations and social history of Swaziland. The abolition racial discrimination, it should be equally noted, is one area crying out to be studied in depth in many parts of Southern Africa.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Perhaps this disposition is as a result of the fact that South Africa which has been at the forefront in the debates on the historiography of race and racism in Southern Africa has been languishing under apartheid. It is only quite recently that the themes of the formal abolition of racial discrimination and deracialisation have begun receiving some attention.

## 1. 1 Theoretical Framework

For some time now, relationships informed by race, have been the focus of scholars from various disciplines, theoretical perspectives, and geographical locations. As a consequence, analytical approaches to race relations have included plural society theory, rational choice theory, socio - biology, Marxism, Weberianism, the anthropological theory of ethnicity and psychological theories of identity.<sup>6</sup> The usefulness and relevance of these approaches in different social and historical contexts cannot be overstated. While this study suggests how some aspects of these paradigms can be incorporated into its analytical approach, it has not been tied down to any of them.

How is an approach that is not tied to a particular theoretical school possible? By turning to some vantage point once embraced by another scholar we might be able to develop some answer. John Rex<sup>7</sup> considered that although the theories on race tackled their theme from different perspectives there was a sense in which they were complementary. In a similar fashion this study argues for the analysis of race relations in Swaziland through the prism citizenship. The research considers that though there are so many ways of looking at race, there could be some reward in approaching the theme from a citizenship perspective. This approach is adopted in order to deal with race related issues over a wider and broader area as citizenship deals with various political and socio-economic issues. Such an approach is premised not only on the notion that colonialism, African traditional rule, as well as immediate post - colonialism as systems of government had an irresistible impact on the citizenship rights of Africans, Europeans and Coloureds in various ways but, also on the assumption that notions of citizenship were informed by social identities of various types.

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<sup>6</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of theories of race and racism, see, J. Solomos and L. Back (eds.), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*(London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>7</sup>See, Rex, J. *Race and Ethnicity* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1986) and J. Rex, “The Role of Class analysis in the study of race relations– a Weberian perspective” in J. Rex and D. Mason, *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 63 - 84.

This study also frames itself against the backdrop of imperialism. The focus on imperialism is based on the assumption that the British Empire was defined by a shared sense of British identity, which linked British communities around the globe. The concept of a British identity was open to a variety of interpretations, both at home and in the overseas colonies settled by British emigrants. It has been rightly argued that imperialism and racism were never identical but instead their interrelationship was dependant upon time and place.<sup>8</sup> In analyzing the practice of racial discrimination there are two distinct but related issues which are taken into consideration in this study. These are the ideas on which white popular ideas were predicated and the implementation of pragmatic racism. Saul Dubow has argued that the scientific racism which developed in South Africa over time was the product of efforts by intellectuals to rationalise the political history of the people of South Africa.<sup>9</sup> Dubow has shown the role played by scientists and scientific ideas in the development of racist ideologies. However, his interest is confined to the ideological sphere. While his discussion can be drawn from to analyse ideas about race the same cannot be claimed with regard to pragmatic racism.

In an attempt to explore how the British (both at home and abroad) perceived imperial society, David Cannadine has challenged historians to rethink, for example, the meaning of the concepts inequality and universality as they were implemented within the empire.<sup>10</sup> He points out that there were other ways of seeing the empire besides the oversimplified categories of black and white with which we are so preoccupied. For the purposes of this research the relation between imperialism and racism is analysed in an attempt to understand how and why common - sense images about race were influenced by the role played by Britain as a colonial and imperial power. Specifically the study explores the extent to which the commitment to some form of British identity was pronounced and / or even contested in the racial politics of Swaziland.

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<sup>8</sup>G. Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution: A history of European Racism*(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. x.

<sup>9</sup>S. Dubow, *Illicit Union: Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*(Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

<sup>10</sup>D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*(London: Penguin Press, 2001).

Of interest during the colonial period was the manner in which the concept of citizenship was used as a mechanism to exclude Africans in various spheres of public life. In the colonial period, for instance, the entire African population was politically and economically excluded in a variety of ways. In the British colonies, they were categorically treated as 'subjects' rather than 'citizens'. Mamdani has analysed the legacy of late colonialism and the obstacles to democratization in post - colonial societies.<sup>11</sup> He examines contemporary Africa to argue that the legacy created a bifurcated world inhabited by subjects on the one hand and citizens on the other. Mamdani's analysis, though generalized and irate, is particularly useful as it offers a vantage point from which to deal with African problems by attempting to develop home-grown analytical approaches, as opposed to applying frameworks that have proven to be suitable in other geographical and historical contexts. It is this inspiration that motivated this study to analyze the practice of racial discrimination and its abolition through the prism of citizenship. Moreover, the argument he advances that colonial rule produced a division between urban - based and rural - based forms political system is broadly applicable to Swaziland.

It has been suggested that a major aim of African nationalism was to end the exclusion of Africans from political and economic participation. The educated elite who formed the social base of political nationalism in Africa was to negotiate their inclusion into the civil domain, by winning concessions of civil and political rights. This social group (i.e. the educated elite), were in a sense caught up in an identity crisis. Having transcended the domain of native authority rule, they were not readily accepted by the colonial rulers into the civil society, a domain of the 'civilised', with no political and social rights extended to them. It is within this particular context that the analytical approach adopted in this study is considered suitable for studying race relations in Swaziland. African traditional rule, especially during the colonial era attempted to contest the claims of colonialism in some spheres while it collaborated in others. Through the lens of citizenship the study will explore such ambiguities and investigate how such contexts informed the

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<sup>11</sup>M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*(Kampala: Foundation, 1996).

construction and contestation of national identity and citizenship among different racial groupings.

In America, the critical race theory has been a very influential tool in the tackling of racial inequality.<sup>12</sup> This theory emerged from the concerns that racial reform in the United States was progressing slowly, and that any gains made by civil right laws of the 1960s were quickly being eroded in the 1970s.<sup>13</sup> Discontented that the American justice system had embraced a colour blind approach to social justice and, inspired by their belief that past racial injustices had to be corrected, advocates of this theory challenged the existing laws, arguing that they discriminated against persons of colour.<sup>14</sup> According to this theory, deracialization is to be initiated and translated into social action by those in society who denounced discriminatory practices and policies. Effectively, racial discrimination is to be confronted from all angles and in all spheres of society. This approach is contrary, for example, to views held by van den Berghe, who argues that the persistence of ethnicity and racism is biologically determined<sup>15</sup> and Banton who maintains that the disappearance of ethnic and racial barriers will come only when those in control perceive material and social benefits for doing away with them.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>For a comprehensive text on the theory, see, R. Delgado and J. Stefancic (eds.), *Critical race theory: the Cutting Edge*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000). According to Delgado, earliest writings on this theory can be traced to the works of Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman in the mid 1970s. For one of such writings see, D. Bell, *Race, Racism and American Law* ( s.l : Little, Brown, 1973). Critical race theorists believe that in order to appreciate their perspective, the voice of a particular contributor must be understood.

<sup>13</sup>In addressing these concerns, legal scholars such as Derrick Bell, Matsuda Lawrence, Robert Delgado and Crenshaw challenged the philosophical traditional position of liberal civil rights stance of colour blind approach to social justice.

<sup>14</sup>According to Delgado and Stefancic (eds.), *Critical race theory*, Bell and Freeman, Derrick Bell, a lawyer by profession began to fashion arguments that were designed to change existing laws.

<sup>15</sup>See, P. L. van de Berghe, *South Africa: A study in Conflict*(Middleton, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1965) and P. L. van de Berghe, "Ethnicity and the socio - biology debate" in J. Rex and D. Mason (eds.) *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>16</sup>M. Banton, *Racial and Ethnic Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.  
M. Banton, *Racial Theories*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

David Roediger<sup>17</sup> has explored the concept of whiteness and applied it to a group of whites, not usually presumed to “have race”. The very idea of whiteness, Roediger contends, is not simply racist. He maintains that it is pernicious also because it oppresses whites as well as people of colour, and especially white working men. To expose this unstable history, full of hazy areas of racial definition and roads of struggle not quite taken, Roediger believes is to attack the notion of whiteness in the political present.<sup>18</sup>

Another approach to the concept of whiteness is the work of Ruth Frankenberg.<sup>19</sup> Frankenberg's thesis is that race shapes white women's lives through a system of racial privilege. Drawing on recent writing which views 'race' as a fluid social, political, and historical construct, Frankenberg explores white women's lived experience of 'race', and specifically 'whiteness'. In this work, she sees white women's lives as the sites both for the reproduction of racism and for challenges to it. Her work also provides a webbed explanation of the position of white women in American culture, rooted in the failings and blindness of the feminist movement around race.<sup>20</sup>

Contrary to the approaches that ascribe racialising to certain biological or economic factors, the approach adopted by the current study is informed by the literature that view race, not as a given, but, as a historically constructed phenomenon. In the same vein, therefore, deracialisation is not construed as a process that occurs naturally or due to certain omnipotent forces that determine society's destiny but, as a process in which the

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<sup>17</sup>D. Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics and Working Class History* (London: Verso, 1994).

<sup>18</sup>His purpose is to make visible the category of whiteness in white workers' consciousness, in order to “situate the past labour organization within the dynamics of race and gender formation”. He, therefore, contends that racism and the idea of whiteness have been ideologies sustained and shaped, in part by white working people while political and class elites have always used whiteness as a hegemonic ideology to legitimise their power, dividing the working class and limiting the political horizons of white workers

<sup>19</sup>R. Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>20</sup>Besides posing a challenge for the construction and reconstruction of racism in different contexts, this work also begs for the investigation of racism in various social relations to unveil the manner and extent to which they are racialised. For a similar theoretical approach, see, J. Solomos and L. Back, *Racism and Society* (London: Macmillan, 1996).

role of human agency is decisive. It is within such a framework, for example, that the critical theorists have proposed social action and Roediger, political action, as strategies for confronting policies and practices that promote racial inequality. What is being emphasized in this study is that the analysis of deracialisation has to take cognisance of the reality that racialisation in society takes place across multiple social relations and often, in complex and dynamic ways. This approach is adopted to enable the research to analyze the process of deracialisation in Swaziland meaningfully. Equally important is the evaluation of the extent to which policies and practices in the post-abolition period marked a departure from, or continuity with tendencies of the pre-abolition racial discourse. It is hoped that the approach used in this study will not only be able to get at the root of the experiences of Swazi society but, will also be found, even if in various degrees, to be applicable in wider contexts.

## 1. 2 Review of Available Literature

The literature in this section will be reviewed under four main categories; namely literature on (1) Swazi history, (2) Colonialism and racism, (3) South African racial history, and ( 4 ) Southern African and East African white settler history.

In 1934 Hilda Kuper arrived in Swaziland to study the Swazi society. Her main study, on race relations in Swaziland, was published in 1947.<sup>21</sup> Though it makes reference to black and white relations in Swaziland in the 1940s, it is based on material collected during the years 1934 -7. One reviewer in 1948 pointed to this factor as a fundamental weakness of the study.<sup>22</sup> In her study, Kuper argued that relations between whites and blacks were unequal. She claimed that Europeans were generally in an advantageous position, because they were entrenched in a dominant position by the legislation.

To justify this pattern of dominance, she contended, the myth of the superiority of the whites was propagated. This myth was maintained across the political and economic spheres within Swaziland. Kuper observed that race was also fostered through psychological, cultural and social differences. The crux of Kuper's analysis was that colour was the main index of rank and privilege in Swaziland. She observed that the 'uniform of colour' remained an important unifying factor either among the Blacks or Whites. On the other hand, differences between the two were crystallized by stressing their respective customs. For her, skin pigmentation was the fundamental distinguishing factor between black and whites; other differences arising from their political and socio - economic conditions were not inherent but rather a blend of sanctioned prejudices.<sup>23</sup> She further observed that the emphasis on colour in Euro - African relations were perpetuated through myths, and regulated by using certain stereotypes. She, however, did not investigate the process through which these prejudices were sanctioned over time.

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<sup>21</sup>Kuper, *Uniform of Colour: A Study of White - Black Relationships in Swaziland*(Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1947).

<sup>22</sup>See, B. A. Marwick, A review of Kuper, *Uniform of Colour*, in *Bantu Studies*, vol. 7 (1948), pp. 135 - 136.

<sup>23</sup>Kuper, *Uniform of Colour*, p. 155.

Influenced by the academic undercurrents of her day she launched a criticism of common racial myths, arguing that the concept of race was unscientific and loaded with unfounded biological notions. In her attempt to divorce the notion of culture from race, she used, the term “ethnic”<sup>24</sup>, as an alternative, but without explanation or definition. In some respects, Kuper’s study is also static and not sensitive to periodic changes. The use of phrases such as, “early days”<sup>25</sup>, for instance, implies a timeless past. The current study attempts to inject a sense of change into the study of race relations in Swaziland which Kuper’s study robbed us of, as it assumed that the basic patterns of black and white relations in colonial Swaziland were fundamentally the same throughout. Such an approach lacks the capacity to observe the ambiguous dynamics that tend to underlie relations of this nature. Notably, there is no explanation by Kuper of the exceptional cases such as the emergence of poor whites in her “uniform of colour thesis”. There is also no attempt to show the nature of the contest in which the races were involved.

This study attempts to show how the struggles in which the different races engaged ultimately shaped the racial order that prevailed. Further, the position and struggles of Coloureds, which have been given very little attention by Kuper, will be given special attention in the study. The imagined threat presented by their group to the entrenchment of white supremacy is a critical but an under-explored theme even in South Africa. Their position, struggles and attitudinal changes across generations will be analysed. An attempt is also made to discuss their feelings and aspirations by discussing their political and socio - economic history.

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<sup>24</sup>See, for example, *Ibid.* , p. 47.

<sup>25</sup>See, for example, *Ibid.* , pp. 41 and 47.

In an official study commissioned by a post - colonial Swazi government, Kuper later provided a biography of King Sobhuza II of Swaziland.<sup>26</sup> In this study she was only able to observe that racism in Swaziland was less visibly enforced compared to the Republic of South Africa.<sup>27</sup> On the question of how racism impacted on Sobhuza's life and reign, she offered the brief observation that he behaved as an objective person in his dealings with whites. Kuper's account fails to see Sobhuza's initiatives and struggles from his enthronement in 1921 as an attempt to redress injustices brought about by racist practices in Swaziland. This inevitably leads also to her inability to capture the theme of contest and the patterns of conflict that characterized relations between different racial groups during Sobhuza's reign.<sup>28</sup> This study attempts to capture Sobhuza's thinking on race relations in Swazi society. Similarly, a king's Liason officer has written a personal biography to show how being close to Sobhuza and royalty, groomed and equipped the author to deal with royal etiquette and protocol.<sup>29</sup> While this contains little discussion of black and white relationships, some insights on the nature of labour relations in white farms, the concept of white superiority, racial stereotypes as well as some aspects of race relations in South Africa, are provided without much analysis. The present study attempts to engage these issues more deeply by exploring the manner in which they impacted on black and white relations in the country.

In a recent collection that explored the situation of blacks in Southern African colonial white farms, Jonathan Crush wrote a chapter describing the situation and reactions of black farm labourers in colonial Swaziland.<sup>30</sup> Focussing on the 1930s, he observed that blacks laboured on white farms in Southern Swaziland in servile positions and under

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<sup>26</sup>H. Kuper, *Sobhuza II: Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland*(London: Duckworth, 1978).

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.* , p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>For a criticism on Kuper's failure to point out conflicts in Swazi society, see, T. Lodge, A review of Kuper, *Sobhuza II*, in *African Studies*, vol. 39, no.2 (1980), pp. 230 - 232.

<sup>29</sup>J. S. M. Matsebula, *The King's Eye*(Cape Town: Longman, 1983).

<sup>30</sup>Crush, "The Colour of Civilization : White Farming in Colonial Swaziland, 1910 - 1940", in Jeeves, Alan, H. (eds.) *White Farms, Black Labour: The State and Agrarian Change in Southern Africa, 1910 - 1950*(Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997), pp. 214 - 227.

brutal conditions. Crush's focus on a limited period and theme enabled him to deal with issues in a concentrated and exhaustive manner. Conversely, limited by his focus and periodization, Crush, does not relate the struggles of blacks in the farms to a broader national reaction to white racism. This study attempts to assess whether a different consciousness and a different attitude to a particular variant of white racism to that of Swazi living on Swazi Nation Land, animated farm labourers and fed into the ongoing campaign against racial discrimination in Swaziland.

Nhlanhla Dlamini who studied race relations at Swaziland's Havelock Asbestos Mine, from the 1940s to the mid 1960s focussed on the labour relations of colonial Swaziland.<sup>31</sup> This study examined race relations at Swaziland's Havelock Asbestos Mine and observed that racism was prevalent in the running of the company. It maintained that this situation was an extension of the pattern that dominated the Southern African mining industry. He also showed that blacks occupied a lower position in the social and economic relations of the mine, and concluded that whites were placed in a dominant position because of their skin colour. Though Dlamini argued that Africans at this mine engaged in covert and overt struggles to react to racially discriminating mechanisms he did not relate those struggles to the current national campaign geared towards the legal abolition of such discrimination.

Similarly, Colisile Nhleko examines the housing policy of Mondi Forest Company towards its black workers, in the northern part of Swaziland, not very far from Havelock mine and concluded that it was racist.<sup>32</sup> These works will be used as a basis to compare the nature of racism in other industrial settings such as the sugar belt in the Swazi Lowveld as well as the timber industry in the western highveld and southern regions. An attempt is made in this study to situate the struggles of the Havelock Mine labour within the broader contexts of race relations in the country and elsewhere in Southern Africa as well to show how the racialised provision of housing facilities and other amenities in the

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<sup>31</sup>Dlamini, "Race Relations ...".

<sup>32</sup>C. Nhleko, "Labour Relations at Peak Timbers, 1949 - 1990", B.A. Thesis, University of Swaziland, 1995.

country generally inspired protests and sparked off industrial unrest in the country. Mavela Shongwe explores the evolution of a teachers' organization in Swaziland, indicated some awareness of the racially patterned teachers' organizations in the country.<sup>33</sup> Though he promised to critically analyze the racial composition of these organizations, he never fulfilled that task. This study examines the racial patterns and trends in the public and private sectors. The racial orientation along which the education system was organized is analysed and related to the processes of racialisation and deracialisation in Swaziland.

The works discussed above are useful in so far as providing a base for an in depth analysis of the kind of racial discourse that prevailed in colonial Swaziland. The current study, however, maintains that the subject of the legal abolition of racial discrimination in colonial Swaziland is a neglected area. It seeks to investigate the role played by legislation in influencing relations between the different races and social groups in colonial Swaziland. The above reviewed works will also be used to gauge the extent to which the abolition of racial discrimination marked a departure from the pre - abolition racial discourse.

There are also some other general works on Swaziland, which though not focussing on race relations, do demonstrate awareness of the prevalence of racial divisions in the political and socio - economic organization of Swaziland. Philip Bonner,<sup>34</sup> Joan Scutt,<sup>35</sup> James Matsebula,<sup>36</sup> and Peter Gosnell,<sup>37</sup> for example, discuss the advent of white immigrants in Swaziland and the subsequent establishment of the White Committee, a body elected in the 1880s to attend to issues affecting their lot in the country. These

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<sup>33</sup>M. Shongwe, "Evolution of a Teachers' Organization in Swaziland, 1928 - 1999", M. A. Thesis, University of Swaziland, 2002.

<sup>34</sup>P. Bonner, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires: The evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth-century Swazi State*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 185 - 207.

<sup>35</sup>J. Scutt, *The Story of Swaziland*, 4<sup>th</sup> rev. ed.(Mbabane: Websters, 1983), pp. 26 - 27.

<sup>36</sup>J. S. M. Matsebula, *A History of Swaziland*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed.(Cape Town: Longman, 1988), p. 101.

<sup>37</sup>P. Gosnell, *Big Bend: a history of the Swaziland Bushveld*(Durban: Peter Gosnell, 2001), p. 240.

works, however, do not explore the nature of racial discourse in any detail. Had they attended to this area, their works would have been very useful in furnishing us with the nature of relations between blacks and whites during their early contacts.

In his doctoral thesis, Hamilton Sipho Simelane examined the impact of the Second World War on Swaziland's society and economy between 1939 and 1945, indicated the existence of a racial pattern in the division of labour in Swaziland.<sup>38</sup> However, he did not go on to analyze how the war impacted on racial ideas in Swazi society. He might have considered, for example, whether the Swazi who took part in the war had their outlook transformed with regard to black and white relations. The participation of black Africans in the Second World War has sparked debate among scholars. As a result, different explanations and conclusions have been offered about the political consciousness acquired by ex - servicemen in different parts of the continent. In the case of East Africa, for example, O. J. E. Shiroya and J. G. Liebenow have argued that black ex-servicemen developed a new political consciousness and consequently played a key role in demanding political changes in their countries.<sup>39</sup> A similar conclusion has been reached in West Africa in the case of Ghana.<sup>40</sup> In contrast Louis Grundlingh has argued that in the case of South Africa, the majority of black ex - servicemen showed no signs of having been politically conscientized by the war as shown by their re-absorption into their traditional societies and non-participation in nationalist politics after the war.<sup>41</sup> In a later article, Hamilton Simelane, similarly has argued that the majority of the Swazi

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<sup>38</sup>H. S. Simelane, "War, Economy and Society in Colonial Swaziland, 1939 - 1945", PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1991.

<sup>39</sup>See, O. J. E. Shiroya, "Development of African Politics in Kenya after 1945: The Contribution of ex - soldiers", *Transafrican Journal of History* Vol. no.2 (1979) and J. G. Liebenow, *Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania: the case of the Makonde*(Nairobi: Macmillan, 1971).

<sup>40</sup>See, D. Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946 - 1960*(London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>41</sup>L. Grundlingh, "Soldiers and Politics: A study of the Political Consciousness of Black South African Soldiers During and After the Second World War", *Historia* vol. 36, no. 2 (1991), pp. 55 - 66. For more details on the participation of South African blacks in the war, See, Louis Grundlingh, "The Participation of South African blacks in the Second World War", D. Litt. et Phil Thesis, Randse Afrikaans Universiteit, 1986 and Louis Grundlingh, "The Recruitment of South African Blacks for Participation in the Second World War", in D. Killingray and R. Rathbone (eds.) *Africa and the Second World War* (London: Macmillan, 1986).

veterans did not reflect a new political consciousness after the war.<sup>42</sup> Frederick Cooper has explored the post - World War II era to illustrate that it presents a useful analytical framework through which developments in Africa might be understood.<sup>43</sup> In the case of Swaziland Simelane has argued that during and after the war the country witnessed economic development.<sup>44</sup> This thesis explores the issues raised by these works to highlight the manner in which they impacted on race relations in Swaziland.

Gerard Kunene traces British colonial policy between 1920 and 1960, and shows that the policies of the Swaziland Administration were designed to promote the interests of white settlers while those of the Swazi were neglected.<sup>45</sup> Locating his thesis in the underdevelopment school, he argues that under British rule the socio - economic conditions in which the Swazi lived deteriorated. Though aware of racial division of the population in Swaziland, Kunene did not explore the theme of racialisation and its implications for black and white communities. Neither did he investigate the extent to which British colonial policy in the country informed racial considerations. Despite having examined Swazi reaction to British policy with regard to taxation, land allocation and workplace injustices, Kunene makes no effort to relate these to the abolition of racial discrimination. Such a consideration would have possibly assisted us in shedding more light on the nature of British colonial policy. By relating Swazi reaction to the theme of the abolition of racial discrimination the present study seeks to throw light on key concerns about issues of the day. Such an approach is particularly useful because for a larger part of the colonial period the Swazi saw what they perceived as injustices by the colonial Administration and white settlers to have been racially motivated.

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<sup>42</sup>H. S. Simelane, "Labour Mobilization for the War Effort in Swaziland, 1940 - 1942", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 26 no. 3 (1993), pp. 567 - 568. For more details on Swaziland's involvement in the war, See, Simelane, H. S. "War, Economy and Society ..".

<sup>43</sup>F. Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>44</sup>H. S. Simelane, *Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland, 1940 - 1960* (Manzini: Janyeko, 2003).

<sup>45</sup>G. S. Kunene, "British Colonial Policy in Swaziland, 1920 - 1960 ", PhD thesis, University of York, 1992.

Bonginkosi Sikhondze examines cotton cultivation in Swaziland between 1904 and 1985 and notes the provision of resources and facilities to farmers along racial lines.<sup>46</sup> His study however, does not emphasize the primacy of race nor assess the extent to which it influenced the development of cotton cultivation in Swaziland. In a recent publication he has similarly demonstrated general awareness of the role played by race in the political economy of Swaziland.<sup>47</sup> In this work, however, he is concerned about commodity production and food security. He largely focuses on political power and its role in frustrating the agricultural economy and economic investments. The current study attempts sharply to focus on the manner in which British policy impacted the different racial groups in the country. In this way it intends to investigate the socio - economic differentiation among Swaziland's main racial groups.

In different studies on Swaziland Balam Nyeko analysed various socio-political developments with clear implications for race relations. In these studies the relations between blacks and whites are dealt with though they are not the main focus of his attention. In an earlier article, Nyeko examined the role played by the Swazi traditional leadership in confronting the early colonial period.<sup>48</sup> In this article he discussed how it lost political independence as well as control over the economy without forfeiting its position as the ruling group. He concluded by observing that this leadership began advancing Swazi grievances against colonial authorities long before the emergence of modern political parties, a disposition which enabled traditional rulers to secure an unassailable position in the political system of Swaziland during and after the independence struggles of the 1960s. In another article<sup>49</sup> he also explored the influence of both Africans from South Africa and European advisors on Swazi rulers in the early

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<sup>46</sup>B. A. B. Sikhondze, "The Development of Cotton Cultivation in Swaziland, 1904 - 1985", PhD thesis, University of London, 1989.

<sup>47</sup>B. A. B. Sikhondze, *Beyond Subsistence: Aspects of the Political Economy of Swaziland* (Matsapha: Mandu Printers, 2004).

<sup>48</sup>B. H. L. Nyeko, "Pre - Nationalist Resistance to Colonial Rule: Swaziland on the Eve of the Imposition of British Administration, 1890 - 1902, *TransAfrican Journal of History* vol. 5, no. 2 (1976), pp . 67 - 83.

<sup>49</sup>B. H. L. Nyeko, "The Influence of Foreign Advisors and Educated Africans Upon the Swazi Rulers in the Early Colonial Period" (unpublished paper, located in the Special Library of the Swaziland National Archives, undated, but, probably, 1971).

colonial period. He noted that there was a fundamental misunderstanding between these so - called advisors and their employers. He argues that there seemed to be no mutual agreement on what was to be their role.

In Nyeko's doctoral thesis colonial rule is at the centre of his analysis and he depicts the Swazi traditional leadership as responding to it.<sup>50</sup> He later modified this approach and examined the initiatives of the Swazi leadership in its dealings with British colonialism.<sup>51</sup> In a further paper in which Nyeko sought to place the African voice in its rightful place in his reconstruction of the colonial history of Swaziland, he redressed the omission of the Swazi voice on the question of the transfer of Swaziland to the Union of South Africa.<sup>52</sup> In this paper, Nyeko argues that African opposition to the transfer had considerable influence on the administration's thinking. This approach was contrary to the one earlier used by Hyam when examining the case of the transfer.<sup>53</sup> Instead of focussing on developments within Swaziland, Hyam pays much attention to the plans and attitudes of South African and United Kingdom statesmen. From that angle Hyam is unable to capture local opinion on the issue, let alone, that of the advocates of abolition on the issue.

Elsewhere Nyeko has also attempted to provide a synthesis of the historiography of Swaziland, with an emphasis on the colonial period.<sup>54</sup> He has done so by situating the historiography of Swaziland within a broader context of historiography in Africa which

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<sup>50</sup>B. H. L. Nyeko, "The Swazi Leadership's Response to Colonial Rule, 1902 - 1930", D.Phil., Makerere University, 1977.

<sup>51</sup>See, B. H. L. Nyeko, "African Initiatives and Responses in Colonial Swaziland: The Swazi Leaders and the Land Question, 1902-1926". Paper presented to the International Conference on Southern African History, National University of Lesotho, Roma, 1 to 7 August, 1977.

<sup>52</sup>B. H. L. Nyeko, "The African Voice in Colonial Swaziland: The question of Transfer, 1910 - 1939", *Mohlomi, Journal of Southern African Historical Studies*, vol. III / IV / V (1981), pp. 1 - 15.

<sup>53</sup>See, R. Hyam, *The Failure of South African Expansion, 1908 - 1948* (London: Macmillan, 1972), especially the epilogue pp. 184 - 198.

<sup>54</sup>B. H. L. Nyeko, "Interpreting the Colonial Period in African History: The Case of Swaziland", (History Staff Seminar Paper, The University of Zambia, 24 February, 1982).

focuses on the European colonial era. Though Nyeko used colonialism as his paradigm, he makes no attempt to place his arguments within the framework of the current racial discourse. Such an approach would have benefited his work substantially for it would have shed some light on the extent to which race played a role in informing the historical processes he discusses. In his argument, about the omission of the African voice on the issue of the transfer, it would have been, for example, illuminating to explore whether or not the Union's racial policies fed Swazi opposition to the transfer. Ultimately, such a probe would unveil the resources upon which the opposition fed.

In a recent article, Nyeko has surveyed current trends in the way in which scholars had begun to approach Swazi history, culture and social change since the 1980s.<sup>55</sup> In this work Nyeko shows that while earlier studies tended to focus on the ruling elite and royalty recent trends indicated that there has been a significant shift of focus to the ordinary Swazi. In his challenge for historians to break into new areas for research, Nyeko also urged an approach that recognises broader regional dynamics. However, neither he nor any of the scholars who have pinpointed the new research areas to be explored made suggestions about studying Swaziland's racial history. In essence, however, Nyeko's works show that Swazi history contains an immense potential for exploring the theme of race relations.

Another category of literature focuses on racism during the colonial period. The works of Frantz Fanon are of value in understanding racism during this period. In his first major work Fanon asserted that white colonialism imposed an existentially false and degrading existence upon its black victims to the extent that it demanded their conformity to its distorted values.<sup>56</sup> He shifted the analysis of colonialism away from the political and economic factors emphasized by other theorists of decolonisation to an emphasis on psychoanalytic and phenomenological factors. This enabled him to construct the

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<sup>55</sup>B. H. L. Nyeko, "History, Culture and Social Change in Swaziland: A Survey of Recent Studies" in *Uniswa Research Journal*, vol. 11 (1997), pp. 1 - 16.

<sup>56</sup>F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967), but, otherwise, originally published as *Peau Noire, Masques, Blancs* (Paris: Seuil, 1952). The work was translated from French by Charles Lam Markmaan.

colonizer and the colonized as racialised subjects and thereby to indicate the differential paths of the neuroses generated by colonial domination: inferiorization and delusions on the part of the colonized, phobias and anxieties on the part of the colonizer. In essence, Fanon examined race prejudices as a philosopher and psychologist although he acknowledged social and economic realities.

In one work he analysed the Algerian Revolution and argued that culture was dynamic and could be transformed by struggles in which people stepped into history by individually and collectively assuming responsibility for their destiny.<sup>57</sup> Through the use of case studies, he noted that “Algeria’s European minority is far from being the monolithic block that one imagines” and that some Europeans, had even under severe torture, “behaved like authentic militants for national liberation”. In another work Fanon argued that colonialism is a process of systemic structural violence that eventually triggers a violent reaction.<sup>58</sup> In his view the violent nature of this reaction is tragic but cathartic. Its cathartic nature lies in its ability to dissolve the inferiority complex of the colonized and to release the tension that has been trapped in the body for a lifetime of oppression. He also dealt with political spontaneity and critiques political parties and organizations. Specifically, he argued that African political parties tended to model themselves on European structures, had a bias to the urban and were unable to speak to the rural peasantry. He went on to suggest that in the colonial situation the urban proletariat was relatively privileged and that, as the Mau Mau in Kenya, spontaneous rural uprisings are more likely than organised urban insurrections.

More recently, Christopher Fyfe has written a stimulating article arguing that in colonial Africa racist policy was justified and used to regulate relations between blacks and whites.<sup>59</sup> In his discussion he is particularly critical of scholars, especially historians who have turned a blind eye to the reality of rule based on race in colonial Africa. Fyfe concludes that to discard race as a concept for analysing Euro - African relations in

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<sup>57</sup>F. Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*(New York: Monthly Review Press, 1965).

<sup>58</sup>F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*(New York: Grove Press, 1968).

<sup>59</sup>C. Fyfe, “Race, Empire and Historians”, *Race and Class* vol. 33, 4 (1992), pp. 15 - 30.

colonial Africa was to discard evidence proving that skin colour mattered much in the human relations of the time. Fyfe observes that white rule was well organised and systematically enforced over a larger part of the continent. His article, however, is largely generalized and he does not present any primary data to substantiate the assertions he makes. By focusing on Swaziland this study attempts to explore the racial history of a specific country. Similarly, Akosua Adomako Ampofo has noted that, “In Ghana, while the discourse on ethnicity endures, discussions about race or national origin are barely audible”.<sup>60</sup> The current study analyses the nature of white rule in Swaziland in order to understand the manner in which it was regulated in that context. The findings of the research will relate the extent to which Fanon and Fyfe’s arguments are applicable to the manner in which white rule was administered in Swaziland as well as its reception by the colonized.

Paul Gordon Lauren has traced the historical evolution of racial discrimination from antiquity right up to the 1990s.<sup>61</sup> Lauren argued that discrimination against some human beings by others has characterized humankind throughout history. More importantly, he pointed out that the problem of racial discrimination intensified in the twentieth century as it came to dominate international (diplomatic) relations. He further observed that political power played a central role in influencing practices and policies related to racial discrimination. He went on to argue that global developments such as the outbreak of the Second World War and the emergence of the United Nations marked a decisive turn in the conceptualisation of racial discrimination worldwide. Lauren then analyzes the onslaught on racial discrimination within decolonisation politics though he wrongly assumes that all African countries gained independence first and then moved on to promulgate legislation prohibiting racial discrimination thereafter.<sup>62</sup> In the case of Swaziland, for instance, legislation outlawing racial discrimination came into force in 1962 with independence following later in 1968.

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<sup>60</sup>A. D. Ampofo, “Race, othering and gender and sexual identities of foreign women in Ghana”, *News from the Nordic Africa Institute* no 3, (October 2006), p. 26.

<sup>61</sup>P. G. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Boulder: West view Press, 1988).

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.* , p. 230 - 231.

Some works on South Africa are particularly useful for raising some comparative questions to be pursued by the research. Paul Maylam has recently written a very useful survey of South Africa's racial history.<sup>63</sup> He approaches his subject mainly through a historiographical discussion and an analysis of the evolution of the 'racial order'.<sup>64</sup> In accounting for the evolution of the 'racial order' in South Africa he revisits various arguments and factors such as the frontier thesis and the mineral revolution. In the final pages of his book, however, he stresses the importance of the 'ever-present' white fear which is very much alive and expressed in a less covert more implicit racial discourse centred on crime, corruption and incompetence. Though void of new primary research, Maylam has produced a work of original synthesis.

From the perspective of comparative analysis, two other major works on South Africa are particularly useful. Published more than twenty years ago, Stanley Greenberg's book<sup>65</sup> still has value for comparing South Africa's racial history with other societies. In this work, his inquiry considers conventional development models, notably that modernization leads to a steadily diminishing role for race and ethnic relations in social arrangements. His theoretical argument explains persisting divisions along these lines by reference to "internal colonialism" that results from economic disparities within a society. Focussing on the behaviour of major economic interests, Greenberg generates expectations for each actor in the process of development. He then applies these to specific cases: Alabama, Israel, Northern Ireland, and South Africa. These case studies suggest that— especially in the early period of economic growth— dominant economic

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<sup>63</sup>P. Maylam, *South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

<sup>64</sup>For some appreciation and criticism of this work, see, C. Saunders, Review of Mylam, *South Africa's Racial Past*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), An [H-Safrica@h - net. msu.edu.](mailto:H-Safrica@h-net.msu.edu), book - review (January, 2002) and J. Hyslop, Review of Maylam, *South Africa's Racial Past*, in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2003), pp. 140 - 142.

<sup>65</sup>S. B. Greenberg, *Race and State in Capitalist Development: Comparative Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

actors act to intensify racial divisions and domination. Racial domination is only undermined by a combination of outside market forces and ideas and by internal resistance from the oppressed groups themselves. To explore the comparative dimension of the proposed research, the utility and limitations of Greenberg's theoretical paradigm will be analysed in relation to Swaziland's patterns of racialism.

George M. Fredrickson<sup>66</sup> also made a major contribution to the comparative study of black - white relations in the United States and South Africa. He undertook the enormously difficult task of separating the social, economic, political, and ideological threads that have influenced the way in which intergroup relationships have been structured in these two societies. He predicated his undertaking upon the perception that a valid basis for comparison between the two societies is not a primordial and predetermined aptitude for "racism" common to American and South African whites. Rather, he argued that the emergence of long - term, historically conditioned tendencies led to more self - conscious and rigorously enforced forms of racial domination-trends, that were similar in general direction but surprisingly variable in rate of development, ideological expression, and institutional development.<sup>67</sup> In relation to Fredrickson's work, the study to be undertaken here will analyse the connection between social, political, economic and ideological forces and their implications for interracial relations in the case of Swaziland.<sup>68</sup>

Dane Kennedy undertook a comparative study of the formation and nature of the white settler communities of Southern Rhodesia and Kenya.<sup>69</sup> In this study Kennedy examines

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<sup>66</sup>G. M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.* , p. xix.

<sup>68</sup>I hope my approach will generally encourage more comparisons of racial patterns not only with South Africa but also with other countries in Southern Africa.

<sup>69</sup>D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890 - 1930*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987).

the patterns of white immigration to Southern Rhodesia and Kenya from the frontier era of the 1890s through the economic crisis of the 1930s. His main proposition is that the settlers of these two colonies have too often been portrayed as dominant, all-powerful and ruthlessly efficient in their maximization of profit and privilege. Through the extensive use of private and official manuscripts Kennedy offers a stimulating perspective on the social dynamics of white settler colonies in imperialist Africa. In exploring the complications with which settlers were confronted in the alien lands, he convincingly illustrates how the white societies were able to create a distinct and unified culture. Kennedy analytically demonstrates how the social identity of white colonists was radically recast to accommodate their special circumstances. Kennedy's study is of long lasting importance to the field of African history because it reveals the powerful dynamics of solidarity within colonial societies that consequently enabled them to create and maintain a system of domination over the indigenous African population. Aside from the author's limited focus on white settlers, the period covered by the text also does not permit a full coverage of black reaction to white domination.

Although European hegemony did not go unchallenged in the pre-World War II period, it was only in the 1950s that African nationalism was to pose a fundamental challenge to the system of white dominance. In the case of Kenya, Donald Rothchild argued that the path towards deracialisation was mapped through negotiation between Europeans, Africans and Asians.<sup>70</sup> Analysing the changing relations between the three main racial communities, Rothchild employs a model of the shifting of bargaining relationships. He distinguishes two interethnic bargaining situations. First, a tacit bargaining situation in which "all parties recognise the mutually advantageous nature of a particular policy",<sup>71</sup> and reach a minimal consensus. Broadly speaking, Rothchild sees this situation as having existed through all but the decade or so of the colonial period; and as having recurred, though in a different form after independence. Secondly, he identifies a direct bargaining situation in which the racial groups communicate openly to reach mutually beneficial agreements. This was the situation during most of the 1950s and early sixties,

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<sup>70</sup>D. Rothchild, *Racial Bargaining in Independent Kenya: A study of Minorities and Decolonization* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1973).

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.* , p. 7.

as Kenya was moving through the Mau Mau emergency to independence and the British government held the ring while the racial groups struck their bargains. However, some developments during the colonial era such as the segregationist land policies and coercive labour regulations bring into question Rothchild's argument. Though some Africans derived some advantages from colonial rule, it is doubtful whether the majority recognised these as "mutually advantageous". Rothchild's arguments and conclusions are tested against Swaziland's constitutional developments in the 1960s to examine how the main racial groups bargained for certain concessions. This work shows the bargaining strategies of the main racial groups in Swaziland were influenced by local aspirations as much as they were the guided by changing international relations. It is also illustrated in this study that human agency played a crucial role in influencing the contemporary racial policies and practices.

Two separate but thematically related articles in a monograph edited by L. H. Gann and P. Duignan<sup>72</sup> deal with imperialism in Africa and have some relevance for the proposed research. One article is by George Bennet<sup>73</sup> who discusses the behaviour of British settlers north of the Zambezi. In this article he maintains that the territories inhabited by these settlers were true colonies as the British government exercised considerable influence over them. The exception was Southern Rhodesia whose direction was decided by the white settlers. Bennet then picks on Kenya as a colony upon which imperial policy was tested in regard to African countries with European settlement. This resulted in the major debates of the 1920s and 1930s focussing upon the colony and which generated an enormous critical literature. British humanitarians also tended to pay greater attention to activities in Kenya than those of other settler colonies. In Bennet's view, this is what has influenced a trend in the study of emigrants north of the Zambezi, whereby the fortunes of the Kenya settlers are traced up to the proposal of the concept of a multi - racial partnership. This idea though intended to be implemented in both East and

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<sup>72</sup>L.H. Gann and P. Duignan (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870 - 1920* vol. 2 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

<sup>73</sup>Bennet, G. "British Settlers North of the Zambezi, 1920 to 1960" in L. H. Gann and P. Duignan (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870 - 1920* vol.2(London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Central Africa broke down in the 1960s when the territories north of the Zambezi attained independence under African governments.

The second article is co - authored by the editors of the monograph (L. H. Gann and P. Duignan).<sup>74</sup> It discusses the changing roles played by whites in their contacts with the blacks. At the opening of the article the authors raise the argument that prejudice and notions of supremacy between different peoples are not necessarily manifestations of colour-based discrimination but also tend to appear between peoples who perceive themselves to be different from each other based on other criteria which do not take into account the issue skin pigmentation. The focus of their article is on Southern Rhodesia though it also refers to East and Southern Africa whenever they consider it to be relevant. Building on F. J. Turner's and Sir Keith Hancock's concepts of frontiers they move on to apply them to the European colonisation of Southern Africa. They discuss how different frontiers marked different phases in the history of the colonization. First, it was the hunter's and trader's frontier, which the authors maintain was followed by pacification. After the period of pacification came the planter's and farmer's frontiers. An equally important phase to follow was that of the miner's frontier. This was followed by the manufacturer's frontier. All these stages introduced certain characteristics to the political economy of the region. The authors of this article, however, argue that it was the movement of the manufacture's frontier (characterised by increased industrialization) northward from the Limpopo that created a complicated the socio - economic situation in settler Africa. The article concludes with a critical analysis of the major schools of thought on the subject of race relations and after raising some concerns about the future of settlers in independent Africa, concludes that their destiny lay in their hands. This exploration provides experiences against which to compare the different frontiers that unfolded in the case of Swaziland from being guided by development that ranges from forms of a relatively egalitarian race relations to hard core racist practices.

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<sup>74</sup>L. H. Gann, and P. Duignan, "Changing Patterns of a White Elite: Rhodesian and other Settlers" in L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870 - 1920* vol. 2(London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

It is also argued in this study that the black and white relations in colonial Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) usually portrayed as having been benevolent resembled those that prevailed in Swaziland's rural countryside for most of the colonial period.<sup>75</sup> In the earlier period of interaction between the two races blacks occasionally met whites as colonial administrators and missionaries. However, the discovery of copper in the 1920s attracted whites mainly from South Africa to the central part of the country. For a variety of reasons the British had never developed Zambia as much as Zimbabwe. Thus, a few white colonials settled in that colony. The relations that developed between blacks and whites along the copper belt were characterised by intense discrimination and segregation compared to the rest of the country. This situation led to serious industrial disturbances in the 1930s and 1940s.

In his assessment of the 1935 mine worker's strike on the Northern Rhodesian copper belt Charles Perrings,<sup>76</sup> for instance, noted that the grievances leading to the strike were fundamentally inspired by a strong desire to reverse white domination. The move towards deracialisation in this territory was initiated in the 1950s when some Africans suggested discriminatory practices and legislation had to be abolished. The whites conceded, though reluctantly, preferring a slow and gradual process. From 1955 committees were established in different districts to promote and encourage harmonious relations between the races.<sup>77</sup> These committees functioned mainly in advisory and conciliation roles.<sup>78</sup> Up to 1962 some Africans in these committees expressed a strong need for legislation outlawing racial discrimination while a majority of whites maintained that it was

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<sup>75</sup>For texts that discuss this scenario in Zambia, see, for example, University of the Witwatersrand Library (hereafter UWL) / William Cullen Africana Library, Government Publications, Zambia's Central Race Relations Advisory Committee, Annual Report, 1957 - 1962, R. Hall, *Zambia, 1890 - 1964: The Colonial Period* (London: Longman, 1976), especially the postscript, pp. 190 - 194 and K. K. Virmani, *Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom* (Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1989).

<sup>76</sup>C. Perrings, "Consciousness, Conflict and Proletarianization: An Assessment of the 1935 Mine Workers' Strike on the Northern Rhodesian Copper belt", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 4, no.1 (October, 1977), pp. 31 - 51.

<sup>77</sup>See, UWL / Government Publications, Zambia's Central Race Relations Advisory Committee, Annual Report, 1957.

<sup>78</sup>See, *Ibid.* and SNA, File 3233 / 78, Anti - Discriminatory Legislation, Northern Rhodesia, Race Relations (Advisory and Conciliation), Chapter 223 of Laws, 1957 edition.

unnecessary. Eventually, the politics of decolonisation superseded developments towards the legal abolition of racial discrimination. In 1964 the British handed political control back to blacks with relative ease, compared to Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia).

This study explores the extent to which Swaziland's race relations compare with those of other settler societies, such as those of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya described above. Specifically, in what ways is the Swazi case similar to that of the two settler societies and in what ways is it different? Did, for example, differences among whites override solidarity among whites? Or did solidarity among whites emerged as the prime factor, relegating all others to a subordinate position? What exactly was Swaziland's experience when it came to relations between different racial groups? In particular the impact of the mining industry on this processes is of interest because of the role that sector played in the economy of Swaziland. In addressing these questions this study relates them to the struggle for deracialisation to show how the mining industry emerged as a breeding site for racism as in the case with the rest of Southern Africa. The study further shows that the flaws in the anti - discriminatory legislation, and lack of political commitment as well as the narrow approach which was adopted in dealing with racial discrimination served to perpetuate, than curb discrimination in Swaziland.

### 1. 3 Data Collection Methods

The major focus in collecting data for the research was to capture the experiences of individuals from the different racial groupings in Swaziland whose activities and livelihoods have not been adequately addressed by those who have studied the history of Swaziland.

The oral data was collected through face - to - face, in - depth, open - ended interviews to allow the interviewees some freedom and flexibility in responding to questions raised by the study. A tape recorder and a notebook were used to record the interviews. Whenever funds permitted I used a video recorder to store interview information. The interviews were transcribed as separate texts from the thesis. Oral data was used primarily to recover those experiences that have not been adequately covered in written documentation. . Given that English and SiSwati are the official and commonly used languages in Swaziland interviews were conducted using either depending on the preference of the interviewee. That the researcher is fluent in both was advantageous since he did not require the services of an interpreter. In the process of interviewing, historians discovered that oral history could bring not only more information, but wholly new perspectives and interpretations from the previously ill - represented standpoints of ordinary men, women and children.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, Paul Thompson, among others, argues that oral history provides new perspectives and opens up fresh fields of inquiry.<sup>80</sup>

Despite such advantages, oral information has its own weaknesses. These include the failure at times by oral interviewees to recall all the details about the past, exaggerations, fabrications and deliberate distortions. It is widely recognized that human memory is not flawless; it is susceptible to error. Tosh, for example, points out that “it is naïve to suppose that the testimony represents a pure distillation of past experience, for in an

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<sup>79</sup>P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 234 - 265. See also, A. Portelli, “What Makes Oral History Different” in R. Perks and A. Thompson (eds.) *Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>80</sup>Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*.

interview each party is affected by the other”<sup>81</sup>. To minimise inaccuracies I strove at every stage of the data analysis to relate oral data to other independent (written) sources. Whenever possible I have attempted to conduct the interviews on some representative basis. Other ordinary citizens of Swaziland also contributed some insights on the general development of relations between different races in colonial and immediate post - colonial Swaziland.

The bulk of the archival sources for the study came from the Swaziland National Archives at Lobamba during a preliminary research exercise. I unearthed these documents between May and July 2003 whilst I was developing the research question. In February 2004 I spent most of the time exploring documents at the Wits University Historical Papers and Government Publications sections. Between March and April 2004 I made some extra visits to the same Archives as part of my field work. In June 2004 I spent one month at the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban, Natal. It was there that I came across the Miller papers kept in that Library. In August 2004 I spent another month doing research at the Pretoria State Archives in Pretoria. Here I came across a few documents. It was only the lack of adequate funding that prevented me from going to the Public Record Office and Rhodes House in the UK to pursue the research. Internet documents were helpful in showing how the UN responded to the issue of racial discrimination worldwide but particularly in Swaziland.

Newspaper articles, mainly published by the *Times of Swaziland* during the period considered in this study were also used to inform the study on the historical and contemporary issues influencing racist discourse in Swaziland. Close readings from some articles of this newspaper are informative on the subject. Some articles captured issues on the early contacts between the Swazi and Europeans, the conflict and misunderstandings between the two races ensuing from the era of concessions, and practices that depict colonial racist discourse. Some covered the meetings of the Swaziland progressive Association and its demands for the abolition of racial

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<sup>81</sup>J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the study of Modern History* (London and New York: Longman 1991), p. 178.

discrimination. The opinions of other social and political groups concerning deracialising were also given space in the newspaper. Concerns about citizenship and rights appeared in numerous newspaper articles. Apart from the newspaper writings, official documents of the post - colonial government such as the *The philosophy, Policies and Objectives of the Imbokodvo National Movement* and some public speeches made by Sobhuza in the 1960s and 1970s were of great assistance in reflecting on the policy of the post - colonial Swazi government as well as Sobhuza's thinking on the issue of racism.

The study also benefited from secondary sources from the Swaziland National Archives Special Library, University of Swaziland Library, and Wits University Library. Interlibrary loans from the University of Cape Town and University of Johannesburg, University of Natal and Stellenbosch University were also of great assistance. Sources used for the study from these libraries are shown in the bibliography.

#### **1. 4 Structure and Focus of Chapters**

This thesis examines the manner in which the abolition of racial discrimination in Swaziland was carried out. This discussion is presented through eight main chapters. Chapter one is a general introduction. It includes a historiographical discussion, a review of the methods used to collect data, a note on the nature of the sources used and the theoretical orientation of the study. In addition, the usefulness and limitations of the manner in which the study is approached as well as that of the sources used is evaluated.

Chapter two provides the background to the process of racialisation in the country. The history of the early contacts between blacks and whites in Swaziland is explored with the intention of uncovering the nature of the inter-racial relations in different zones of interaction. Most importantly, the chapter shows that during the early stages of contact whites did not necessarily interact with the Swazi from a dominant position, as often assumed.

Chapter three shows how the establishment of colonial rule became instrumental in entrenching whites in a dominant position in Swazi society. It explores not only how the assertion of British hegemonic rule subjected the Swazi into a subordinate position but the manner in which the promotion of white interests served to marginalise them in various socio-economic spheres. This marginalisation manifested itself largely through the provision of social services skewed in favour of whites. Ultimate various forms of discrimination applied to the Swazi were produced in the country's race relations. This discrimination was mainly institutional, pragmatic and cultural. The chapter also examines Swazi reaction to the discriminatory mechanisms by pointing out how through the revived cultural nationalism Swazi grievances were guided and articulated by the monarchy.

Chapter four explores the theme of Coloured consciousness and identity in Swaziland. By exploring the theme of Coloured Identity, an inadequately researched but key subject in understanding race relations, it is hoped that some of the significant issues pertaining to black and white relations are unveiled. It is observed in this thesis that Coloured

persons played a crucial role in defining their identity. However, in Swaziland's race relations Coloured identity and politics were sometimes used by the white dominant group to enhance and justify the myth of white superiority. This chapter observes that from the early 1900s, Swaziland's white settlers and colonial officials collaborated with Christian missions in the forging of the Coloured identity in the country through among other things the lobbying for and provision of separate Coloured facilities. In the 1950s and 1960s Coloureds were assisted by their patrons to lobby for separate political representation. The chapter notes that the notion of Coloured identity was relatively complex. However, persons who embraced this identity tended to subscribe to, and identify with, the myth of white superiority since it placed them above blacks in the socio-economic pyramid.

Chapter five catalogues the struggles launched by the Swazi intelligentsia in fighting against discriminatory policies and practices in the country. Not only does the chapter explain why the educated elite had to be at the centre of this battle, but also argues that apart from the adamancy of the colonial administration the elitist approach embraced by this group was equally responsible for the failure of the campaign to achieve positive results.

Chapter six explores the legal abolition of racial discrimination in Swaziland and the early independence politics. It examines the political developments which triggered discussions on racial discrimination. Further, it investigates how the suggestions that discrimination had to be abolished were received by various stakeholders and how it was finally outlawed. The chapter considers the forces at play in effecting this policy transformation. The changing nature of British colonial policy and other developments within Southern Africa are explored to explain why and how this major change had to take place. Largely, the immediate post - abolition period and subsequent decolonisation politics left persons in this category defeated and marginalised.

Chapter seven shows that, in spite of the fact that in 1961 racial discrimination was legally outlawed in Swaziland, such a step was neither a sign of commitment nor an

expression of political will on the part of the colonial administration to rid Swazi society of the scourge of racism. The lack of these elements was, among others, reflected by the nature of the anti-discriminatory legislation which did not contain any specific provisions on how to deal with discriminatory practices in the workplace where most blacks experienced rife racism on a day - to - day basis. This situation plunged the country into industrial unrest necessitating in the enlisting of army forces to bring the situation back to normal.

Chapter eight argues that, because of lack of political commitment, public reconciliation, and the absence of effective strategies to deal with long - lived racist policies and practices, discrimination persisted even during the period of the first post-colonial government. This chapter examines the impact of the anti-discriminatory legislation on Swaziland's race relations from the time it was promulgated up to the early 1970s. The aim here is to assess the immediate changes brought about by the legal abolition of racial discrimination.

The last section is the conclusion. Besides outlining the main thrust of the thesis, it attempts to capture the major findings of the research as well as highlight the main arguments.