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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED SOCIAL RESEARCH

ADDITIONAL SEMINAR PAPER

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BY: NDWANDWE

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POLITICS IN SWAZILAND 1960 TO 1968

A selection of reports in the

Times of Swaziland

Edited by

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University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg

1968

INTRODUCTION

This collection of newspaper reports constitutes a personal record of what was said between 1960 and 1968 through the forum of the Times of Swaziland, the only newspaper in the country. (Izwi lama Swazi folded up long ago). Editorials have been omitted, chiefly for reasons of copyright, and the selections made are concerned with the actions of political groups rather than the opinions of individuals.

I am aware that some people would have preferred that some reports should not have been re-printed, for fear of being embarrassed by the past. To such people, I can only apologize if I cause offence. I believe that we may learn from the lessons of the past, which may provide stepping-stones into the future, particularly for those who have yet to enter the fields of politics and administration.

This collection does not attempt to be an account of all that was said during the period, but rather an attempt to record certain aspects of the main features of the period, which I felt would give a coherent story.

I am grateful to the Times of Swaziland for permission to gather these reports into one volume. In almost all cases, they appear unabridged.

My sincere thanks and appreciation go to Mr Patrick Sipho Nxumalo for his enthusiastic assistance both in typing and selecting the reports ; and to my wife LaKumene for her support and encouragement.

Lastly, but not least, I wish to thank Professor John Blacking, Chairman of the African Studies Programme, and the University of the Witwatersrand, without whose assistance this work could not have been produced. Although the reports had been collected over the years, the whole operation of assembling, indexing and binding the publication, was carried out in five weeks, in order that it might be ready before Swazi Independence on September 6.

Other material omitted from this publication, and material collected during and after Independence, may be published later.

SISHAYI SIMON NDWANDWE

22.8.68

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NOTE : It is regretted that owing to an editorial oversight, the entry for 31.5.63 was placed before the other entries for May 1963.

14.10.60. NGWENYAMA WARNS SWAZI NATION POLITICS CAN LEAD US TO HARDSHIP

Party politics could only lead Africans into hardship, said Swaziland's Paramount Chief Sobhuza II, when he addressed members of Swaziland Political Party - the Progressive Party - at his Residence eMasundwini, Bremersdorp, recently. Party Politics, said the Ngwenyama, had caused the crisis and confusion in the Congo.

"The policy of one man, one vote can only lead us into hardship and that is why I am opposed to party politics," said the Paramount Chief.

He appealed to African leaders throughout the continent to make an end of party politics. Instead, he said, they should give their full attention to the current national issues that affected their peoples as a whole, and not only to particular sections.

He called for the immediate abolition of parties and the establishment of national congresses that would look after the total interests of the continent.

He held that parties were sectional in their approach to many problems and it was common for them to neglect the national issues and concentrate on individuals interests.

He gave as example of "one man, one vote," the system practised in Russia and Nazi Germany. Yet, he said, this system was claimed to be a sign of freedom. He hoped that the continent of Africa would not follow suit.

Referring to the great industrial development in Swaziland, he said that such tremendous progress could not have been achieved along party lines.

28.20.60 PROGRESSIVE PARTY ON THE DEFENSIVE

Letter from J.J. Nquku, President of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Prominence has been given to the meeting held at the Royal Palace at Masundwini on the 17th September, 1960. However, the report has been partial and incomplete, and gave only the buttered side in order to please or satisfy that section of the community which believes in bureaucratic dictatorship rule over the Africans.

Mr Editor, democracy allows freedom of speech, assembly and association and as long as the Union Jack flies over this territory, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity to voice our views without fear. If, Mr Editor, efforts are made to silence us then Divine Providence will take it up on our behalf and certainly the stones will cry aloud and the donkey will yet speak.

In democracy, Mr Editor, opposition is permitted and is tolerated in this British Protectorate of Swaziland ; it can't be otherwise.

Mr Editor, it grieves us to find our local press, if I may be allowed to say, giving a distorted version of the story, and in this we have ample evidence to support our assertion. For example, in the Times of Swaziland it is stated "Politics can lead us to slavery." How can one reconcile these two different versions? The Izwi Lama Swazi says, "He called for the immediate abolition of parties." This is utter exaggeration and as a democrat the Ingwenyama never uttered this. He made it so plain that he was only throwing out a suggestion as food for thought. Useful discussion is being continued between the King and the Party, and there is no crack whatsoever in the nation, and under the leadership of the Swazi Monach the nation will continue to speak with a united voice.

Mr Editor, the Swazi King is a true democrat and we, as progressives, protest most strongly against anything that tends to point him otherwise in the eyes of the world.

Mr Editor, at this occasion the proceedings were fully tape recorded and it is only when they are played ba that the truth can be ascertained.

Finally, Mr Editor, the Progressive Party is a peace-loving organisation and its policy is based on the principles of co-operation and racial concord. It puts out now a hand of friendship, to be grasped by all those who are interested in the future welfare of this country. Let us forget the past differences, join together and pull together as Swazi-landers, but not in the least at the expense of anybody or any other section of the community.

11.11.60. CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE IN SWAZILAND

At a meeting held at Mbabane on the 4th November, 1960, the Resident Commissioner met Constitutional Committees representing the European community of the Territory and the Swazi National Council to initiate formal discussion on the constitutional development of Swaziland.

This meeting followed separate meetings held during October between the Resident Commissioner and both the European Constitutional Committee and the Swazi National Council.

His honour referred to the stances which militated against the colonial policy of Her Majesty's Government which was, he said, to guide dependent territories to responsible self-government within the commonwealth in conditions which ensured the people concerned a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression. The Resident Commissioner said that in accordance with this policy, the Secretary of State had instructed him to initiate discussions with a view to examining the means by which the people of the territory could more effectively play a part in its government.

The Resident Commissioner said that he was aware of the desire of both European and Swazi for the establishment of a joint Legislative Council in the Territory at the present time. He warned that both sides lacked experience of working together, and expressed the view that an essential preliminary to any examination of constitutional reform would be the attainment of a proper mutual understanding. His Honour said it was important to realise that there were a number of problems and conditions which would require close consideration and suggested that, because of the complexities of these issues and of the machines of constitution framing, it would seem desirable to appoint a small working committee representative of the interested parties, namely government, the Swazi, and the European, each section of which would be answerable to its parent body and, eventually, to the public of Swaziland.

The Resident Commissioner suggested that the task of the working committee should be :

(a) to examine the circumstances which militated against common purpose and co-existence ;

(b) to consider what form of constitution was desirable for Swaziland and to draft it accordingly ;

(c) to consider the need for subordinate or local forms government in Swaziland : e.g. at district level and for urban areas.

The meeting endorsed the analysis of the situation given by the Resident Commissioner. The representatives of the European sections of the community expressed the view that no objection existed to the early establishment of a Legislative Council and agreed forthwith that three of their number should serve on a working committee. Representatives of the Swazi Council stated that they would have to report back to their principals before any decision on the point could be given. The meeting accordingly adjourned to enable them to do so.

It is to be hoped that this meeting is the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Swaziland. It is clear that all present appreciated the serious nature of the tasks ahead of them and were resolved to proceed in their duties in a spirit of co-operation.

Members of the committee present were :-

Messrs A. Millin, C.B.E., C.F. Todd, R.P. Stephens, H.D.G. Fitzpatrick, O.B.E., B.P. Stewart, M.C., G. Bordihn, E.S. Bowman, Bantwabenkosi Lutho, Madevu, Sifuba, Makhosini, Councillors P.L. Dlamini, S.T.M. Sukati, M.B.E., J.S.M. Matsebula, J.M.B. Sukati, B.E.M., A.K. Hlophe, M.P. Nhlabatsi, J.J. Nquku, D. Lukhele, Dr A.P. Swane, Dr A.M. Nxumalo.

On behalf of the Government were His Honour the Resident Commissioner B.A. Marwick, C.M.G.C.B.E., J.C. Martin, O.B.E., Acting Government Secretary; W.E.C. Pitcher, O.B.E., Director of Education; J.H. Steward, O.B.E., First Assistant Secretary; M.J. Fairie, Acting Secretary for Finance and Development.

SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1961 POLICY SPEECH

Nobody is more alive to the dangers of involvement in politics than Ngwenyama himself. In his famous policy speech in April, 1960 which sparked off the constitutional crisis, he made it clear that what he had outlined were "his own personal views." He underlined this by adding that he "would support whatever was done, provided it was done in the best interests of Swaziland." I quote from the report of the Constitutional Committee in whose complication Mr Todd played a leading role.

Those whom Mr Todd regard as Ngwenyama's "people" constitute the clique from which privilege on the White side selects the "loyal Swazis" to sit on boards of company directors. This clique and White privilege ganged up and produced a fifty-fifty formula to muzzle public opinion and establish a government dominated by the financial corporations.

Does anybody wonder why Mr Todd is full of praise for those Swazis who stood "meticulously and staunchly" by him in London? What would happen to their companies if they did not?

The people who are betraying Swaziland are not the British Government or the local Administration. They are those who refuse to give the vote to the majority of men and women born into humiliation, poverty and exploitation simply because they are not White.

As leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party, I call upon all African European and Eurafrican citizens who value freedom to stand shoulder to shoulder to resist by all lawful means the Todd group's attempt to sabotage movement towards a fully democratic and non-racial constitution ; To impose the will of self-seeking minority on the majority ; To create strife leading to economic instability and unemployment ; To divide the Africans and to incite foreign powers to interfere in our domestic affairs.

16.2.62. THE TWO PROGRESSIVE PARTIES

Which is the real Swaziland Progressive Party? There are two now. Mr J.J. Nquku's and Dr A.P. Zwane's. Both are sending out information purporting to emanate from the SPP!

Friction between the two leaders split the party into two recently. At that time Mr Nquku was president and Dr Zwane Secretary-General. Each has a large following, but which has the bigger is not likely to be known until Mr Nquku returns from overseas and tests his strength against that of Dr Zwane.

In the meantime both factions are active, each claiming to be the SPP.

A letter from Mr Nquku's followers signed by Mr B. Simelane, acting president, and 12 other members of the old executive committee, says that Dr Zwane has been dismissed from his office as Secretary-General and has nothing to do with the SPP.

On the other hand, a circular from Dr Zwane's supporters lists the resolutions passed at the "Special General Meeting of the SPP held at Gugu Hall, Kwaluseni on February 24 and 25."

One resolution calls on Mr Nquku to return to Swaziland immediately and warns him to stop making statements or press interviews, as his visit overseas was not mandated by the Executive Committee of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

So which is the SPP? Mr Nquku or Dr Zwane's.

23.3.62. PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Letter from Andreas H. Nxumalo, Manzini

In reply to the article which appears in your Newspaper, I would emphasize that Mr J.J. Nquku is the President and founder of the Progressive Party. If there would be any change of leadership, it will be in August, 1962, as the constitution says.

The so-called elections at Kwaluseni are not recognised because :-

1. They are unconstitutional and not fully representative.

2. The President was away and the majority of the executive disapproved of it. Only Johannesburg members of the party urged this.

3. The cause of the split has not been stated in the presence of the President.

4. The only solution for those who disagree with the administration of the SPP is to have patience until August, or form a new party.

Swaziland needs a leader who possesses patience, humanity, diplomacy and justice.

22.6.62. THE NGWENYAMA DENIES MAKING

50 - 50 OFFER

The Ngwenyama has denied that he offered 50 - 50 Swazi-European representation on the Legco, as proposed in the Swazi and Constitutional Committee report. Up to now it has been widely accepted, especially among Europeans, that the Ngwenyama had offered numerical equality on the Council. Only last week Mr C.F. Todd, leader of the elected members of the European Advisory Council said that on the question of 50 - 50 representation there could be no compromise as far as the E.A.C. was concerned. Mr Todd added and Ngwenyama in council supports the European stand on this issue.

It is obvious from this that Mr Todd and other members of the E.A.C. are convinced that the Ngwenyama supports 50 - 50 representation on the Legco.

They emphasised "this generous 50 - 50 offer" at meetings which they held to explain the proposals of the Constitutional Committee.

6.7.62. THAT 50 - 50 PROPOSAL

Members of the Swazi National Council addressed the conference of the Swaziland Students Union at St Christophers High School last weekend and confirmed that the Ngwenyama did not say at his speech at Masundwini in April 1960 that the Swazi and the Europeans should have 50 - 50 representation on the proposed Legislative Council. They said that the Ngwenyama meant that Europeans and Swazis should meet on an equal basis.

In their discussions the students attacked the bill of rights which the Constitutional Committee proposed should be incorporated in the constitution.

They also attacked the 50 - 50 representation proposal, the way Swazi would be elected to the Legco, and separate representation.

They told the National Council members that they were opposed to the constitutional proposals because they did not fit in with the ideal of a non-racial State of Swaziland.

7.9.62. ZWANE BACK

Dr Zwane, leader of one of the territory's SPP, walked into Swaziland from the border gate at Oshoek on Tuesday until he was able to catch a bus at the Piggs' Peak turn off.

Dr Zwane, who arrived in Johannesburg from overseas on Sunday, was detained by detectives on Tuesday morning and taken to the Security Branch Head Quarters at the Greys, Johannesburg. He was taken to the Swaziland border by the South African Police.

5.10.62 NQUKU AND ZWANE DID NOT GO

Mr J.J. Nquku, president of the original SPP, and Dr A.P. Zwane, president of the second SPP, ignored the invitation to attend with their followers the conference called by Mr K.T. Samketi, president of the third SPP, in the Msunduza Hall Mbabane last weekend.

Mr Samketi and the Secretary of the party, Mr O.M. Mabuza, planned to show members which was the real SPP.

But few people attended. The Saturday session was postponed because members of the party wished to attend the reception for Mr D.L. Dlamini, the oldest teacher in Swaziland, which took place that day.

On Sunday only about 80 people attended the conference. Mr B. Simelane, vice-president, said that another special conference would be called soon.

12.10.62 SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL : ITS ROLE IN THE FUTURE

The people of Swaziland still do not know what form our future constitution will take. But whatever the shape of things to come, the European Advisory Council is bound to disappear (not, we hope, "unswept, unhonoured and unsung"). Its useful life will come to an end when members elected to the Legislature will have more to do than merely to proffer advice.

But the Swazi National Council must continue to play an important part. This was indeed implied by the then Secretary, Mr Reginald Maudling, in his preliminary comments of the proposals of the constitutional committee. In dealing with the legislature and Swazi law and custom he remarked : "Arrangements could be made for consulting the Swazi National Council in respect of certain executive matters affecting Swazi interests."

That there are serious differences of opinion between officials and others about political plans is not common knowledge. But all are agreed on the need for avoiding an abrupt breach with Swazi tradional ways. Thus the officials in their minority report (or "reservations") remarked that - "The vast majority of the people of Swaziland .... at present accept the traditional system to which they are accustomed." And to quote again the Secretary of State : "I agree with the Committee on the importance of preventing a clash between the tradional institutions and any new forms of machinery that may be introduced.

"The Swazi National Council will therefore not only survive, but will be rejuvenated, and it will have to adapt itself to new ways. It is therefore important that the Council should think about it!"

We do not suggest that there should be a break with tradition, rather that the Swazi National Council should be reorganised to make it better equipped to face the challenge of the future.

16.11.62 ZWANE SAYS UNITED KINGDOM IS AGAINST 50 - 50 PROPOSALS

Dr A.P. Zwane, President of the Three Swaziland Progressive Parties, who put his views to the Colonial Office in London recently, said at a meeting at Msunduza on Saturday that the British Government was convinced that the 50 - 50 constitution would not work. He had made the statement at an earlier meetir at Manzini. He described the proposed constitution as a political monstrosity and said that no one could impose it on the country and expect peace to prevail.

"To the credit of the Swazi National Council I must point out that if their 50 - 50 arrangement is not accepted they will press for universal adult suffrage," Dr Zwane said : "It is clear to everyone now that the breach between the political parties and the Swazi National Council is healing."

"The Ngwenyama when addressing the teachers at Masundwini, said that much as he disagreed with the common roll he could not agree with Mr Maudling who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies that there should be special qualifications for the common role.

"The SPP has always stated that the only qualifications should be age and sanity.

"We should not think that Mr Todd and the political toddlers who believe that Swaziland should become the vassal state of the so-called Republic of South Africa will let matters end there.

"Having failed to impose their 50 - 50 political monstrosity on Swaziland, they will now proceed to qualify the vote. They will give the vote to rich Swazis and to all White people (even those who vote in South Africa).

"The SPP takes very strong exception to the qualified franchise. We believe in Universal adult franchise."

Dr Zwane said that a smear campaign was being carried out in the country that the SPP was communistic. It was fashionable in some quarters to label communist everyone who fought imperialism.

Today they heard no more of the British Empire, but that did not mean that all was over with imperialism.

"Colonialism, which is the major manifestation of imperialism, is still with us."

Dr Zwane said that their biggest refuge from imperialism is their party.

"Therefore it can be genuinely stated that the party is supreme." Dr Zwane said that there was only one road for the nation to choose - the path to universal adult suffrage. The rest would follow.

There would be compulsory education and the crime of illiteracy would be wiped out. In the civil service, the number of expatriate officers would be reduced rapidly. Africanisation of the Civil Service would be made number one priority. Attempts would be made to bring into the service those Europeans who had made Swaziland their home.

"At present these men and women are snubbed by the British Government, whose preference appears to be for pure Britishers and Republicans (of South Africa). Promotions in the civil service would be based on merit and not on colour as is the case at present."

Physical fitness would be made the password for the nation. The people would be educated to realise the importance of preventive medicine. Health Inspectors would be employed to examine all beasts slaughtered for human consumption. No one would be given a butcher's licence unless he could vouch for the inspection of all carcasses to be set aside for food.

"At present health inspectors have nothing to do with the so-called Bantustans or the so-called native areas."

Dr Zwane said that proper sanitary arrangements would be set up in all areas, urban and rural. Particular attention would be paid to the water used by the inhabitants of the territory. Social Welfare Workers would be appointed to work among the people and a special department of social welfare would be set up.

"In this way the people will be guided away from the evils of prostitution, infant neglect, and so on. A special department of child welfare would be set up under the department of social welfare."

Dr Zwane said that the entire economy of the country would be overhauled. Consumers' and producers' co-operatives would be set up. Co-operative Banks would be established to enable the people to exert their influence on the economic development of the country.

Hydro-electric schemes would be set up, as the rivers of Swaziland provided a paradise for the hydro-electrical engineer. The power produced would be used extensively for the Agricultural and industrial development of the country.

In this way it was hoped that the country's national income would be rapidly raised and the wage-earner would be assured of better wages.

To ensure that the malnutrition was wiped out of the territory a minimum wage of R40.00 a month would be paid to every worker. This would be provided for by legislation. Companies that came to work in Swaziland would be compelled by law to reinvest a proportion of their profits in this country. These companies would be asked to take as many Swazis and other local shareholders as possible.

"There is room in Swaziland for private enterprise, but we should see to it that it is not reduced to absurdity as obtains at present."

14.12.62 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY ON LAND

Letter from Samuel Khumalo, Johannesburg

It is unbecoming for a man of the stature of Mr Corbett, a senior member of the European Advisory Council, to fling mud at a political opponent as he did in his letter about Dr Zwane (Times of Swaziland, November 23). It is in bad taste, antagonises the vast majority of the Swazi people, and is bound to create a cleavage in Swaziland.

What Dr Zwane said, and to which Mr Corbett takes exception, is part of the policy of the Swaziland Progressive Party. No self-respecting Swazi will differ from it.

South African Swazis are disappointed that the party leader did not go far enough. He should enunciate clearly the policy of land reforms and the redistribution of land to the Swazi nation.

At the moment land and labour are exploited by a few syndicates and wealthy individuals and the bulk of the profits cannot be said to be shared by the Swazis, one of the burning reasons for their economic plight, an anomaly which must cease in a free and independent country.

One need not be a financier, an economist or an engineer, to put things right in Swaziland. We know how to achieve our desired goal when our country becomes free - the removal of unemployment and hunger, industrialisation, introduction of health programmes, housing and sound economy.

The Swaziland Progressive Party is the voice of the Swazi Nation. It is not dictated to by foreign ideologies or masters, be they colonialists, settlers or communists.

25.1.63 NQUKU QUESTIONED BY UNITED NATIONS MEMBERS

Mr J.J. Nquku, leader of the original Swaziland Progressive Party, told the United Nations Fourth Committee that the Swazi people were beginning to lose confidence in their traditional chiefs. He was replying to questions by members of the committee after he had "urgently appealed for United Nations intervention in Swaziland and establishment of an effective U.N. presence in the territories." The Fourth Committee deals with the problems of non-self governing territories. Extracts from the U.N. authorised summary of Mr Nquku's petition were published in the last issue of the Times of Swaziland. Extracts from his replies to questions are published below.

Mr Nquku was asked by Mr Atidepe (Togo) whether the "Traditional chiefs in Swaziland were hindering the struggle for liberation waged by the Swaziland Progressive Party and whether the administering power had been using the chiefs for its own ends."

Mr Nquku said that in the past "The Paramount chief had held an important position as the leader of and a rallying point for the people as a whole. The position of the chiefs had changed after the European invasion of Swaziland : They were now mere civil servants working for the administering power or mere creatures of the settlers. The Swazi people were beginning to lose confidence in their traditional chiefs.

"The Swaziland Progressive Party sought changes from within, not imposed from without. The party respected the Paramount chief and wanted to co-operate with the traditional leaders of the people with a view to achieving a national unity. His party had no quarrel with the African chiefs but wanted them to be progressive and to take the side of the people."

Mr Atipede said that according to the report of the Special Committee the indigenous inhabitants, who accounted for 97 per cent of the population, owned 52 per cent of the land, whereas the Europeans who represented only 2.4 per cent of the population, owned as much as 38 per cent of the land.

He asked the petitioner whether the Europeans had taken the Swazi people's land by force or whether the Swazis had ceded it voluntarily.

Mr Nquku replied that there would be no peace in Swaziland as long as the question of land ownership was not settled.

GRANTS OF LAND

The official report of Mr Nquku's reply goes on : It dated back to 1845 when - or so it was alleged - the then King of Swaziland had given some parts of the country to the Trekkers moving North to escape British occupation in the Cape Colony. The Swazi people, however, did not believe that a grant of land had in fact been made.

"The problem had been aggrevated with the arrival in 1886 of a European from Natal who had become adviser to the King of Swaziland. It had been while that European and his successor had been in Swaziland that, it was alleged, the King had given large tracts of the land to the Europeans. The Swazis would never agree that their King had actually given those concessions

1907 DEMARCATION

"When the demarcation had been carried out in 1907, only one third of the land had been left in the possession of the Swazis and the remainder had been in European hands. The people had complained and sent deputations in London, with the result that the position had been altered. The Swazi now owned 52 per cent of the land, which could be divided into four categories : The Native Lands, which amounted to one third of the territory of Swaziland ; the Crown Lands, handed back by the United Kingdom to the Swazis ; the land bought back by Swazis individually ; and the Land Settlement Areas, which had been bought by the Swazi Nation with the help of a grant of R140,000 from the United Kingdom Government.

"Some of the European owned land belonged to absentee landlords living in the United Kingdom and South Africa, and was lying idle. Some of it was used in winter only for sheep grazing. The Africans, on the other hand, were overcrowded in their areas."

ANNEXATION QUESTION

Mr Atipede asked whether the existence of racial discrimination in Swaziland, the "Seizure of land by Europeans", and the fact that a large number of Europeans from South Africa were employed in the Administration, were creating a de facto situation likely to lead to the annexation of Swaziland by South Africa. This was his impression from reading the report of the Special Committee established under a General Assembly resolution, and he wondered whether Mr Nquku agreed with him.

1909 AGREEMENT

Mr Nquku said that the 1909 agreement, whereby the United Kingdom had undertaken to transfer the High Commission Territories to South Africa at the appropriate time, had been concluded without the consent of the indigenous inhabitants of those territories. The Swazi people were afraid that preparations were under way for the incorporation of their country into South Africa. If anything went wrong, they would hold the United Kingdom, which was the protecting power, responsible. Swaziland had no quarrel with either Portugal or South Africa, and wanted to have friendly and peaceful relations with all its neighbours.

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

Miss Brooks (Liberia) asked whether it was true that South Africans were employed by the United Kingdom, in the Administrative services in Swaziland and, if so, whether they had dual citizenship.

Mr Nquku replied that there were many South Africans in the Administration, some holding key posts. His party failed to see how an individual could owe allegiance to any other country.

The Party felt that the members of the Constitutional Committee who had agreed that the Whites in Swaziland should be allowed to retain their nationality of origin had betrayed the interests of the people. It was still waiting for the United Kingdom Government's reaction on the question of dual citizenship.

THE CIVIL SERVANTS

In reply to another question Mr Nquku said that some civil servants with no qualifications had risen to high posts, whereas highly qualified Africans were promoted to senior posts.

Civil servants sent to Swaziland by the United Kingdom Government often resigned and stayed on in the country, enjoying all the advantages and facilities of citizenship, as directors of large companies or as land owners. His party had had occasion to complain of that state of affairs.

ERECTING FENCES

Miss Brooks (Liberia) asked whether it was true that the South African Government had erected fences round Swaziland. He said that the Swazis had been alarmed by a report published in the Star on September 10, 1962 to the effect that, under new arrangement between the governments of the United Kingdom and South Africa, the latter had begun to build check points on all eleven roads linking Swaziland with South Africa. It was said that South African troops would be stationed in those check posts as from the middle of 1963. South Africa had not taken any land from Swaziland since the original demarcation of the boundaries."

REFUGEES FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Miss Brooks asked whether it was true that there were large numbers of refugees from South Africa in Swaziland and that the United Kingdom Administration and the South African Governments had enacted legislation to ensure their return to South Africa.

Mr Nquku said that there were refugees from Mozambique and South Africa living in Swaziland, where they had been given asylum. The Swazis had been alarmed by Press reports such as an article published in the London Observer on 17 November,

1962, to the effect that it was proposed to amend the legislation, so as to deprive refugees of the right to remain in Swaziland. He did not know where matters stood, except that responsibility would rest with the United Kingdom Government.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

In reply to a question on the Constitutional proposals, Mr Nquku said that his party objected, in particular, to the fact that, "while the new constitution would grant the white section universal adult suffrage by secret ballot, the Africans would have to elect their representatives in the traditional manner, by acclamation. That means that the members of the National Council would be the King's nominees. Another unsatisfactory aspect of the proposed constitution was that it made no reference to the activities of political parties. Thirdly his party favoured a constitutional monarchy in Swaziland.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Miss Brooks asked whether it was true that universal adult suffrage was not being envisaged in the proposed constitution

Mr Nquku said yes ; In particular, women would not have the vote. Mr Mgoja (Tanzania) asked whether the petition could give more details regarding the infiltration of Swaziland and of its Administration by South Africans.

Mr Nquku said that his party's complaint did not relate to South Africans in particular but to the influx of Europeans in general. The authorities were encouraging the immigration of South African, United Kingdom and Mozambique Whites in the hope that the Europeans would eventually outnumber Africans in the country. The Swazi National Council had protested against the large-scale immigration of Portuguese.

8.3.63 THE SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

S. NXUMALO REPLIES TO TODD

Letter from S.S. Nxumalo, Leader, Swaziland Democratic Party

I listened with shock and distress to Mr C.F. Todd's broadcast over Radio South Africa last week and read with surprise his subsequent statement in The Times of Swaziland in which he attacked both the Secretary of States and the Swazi Administration's handling of the Constitutional talks.

One of the basic reasons why we in the Swaziland Democratic Party oppose the fifty-fifty formula is that there inheres in it the danger that it might transform Swaziland into Southern Africa's Sudeten land. By laying emphasis on group rights as against those of the individual it would perpetuate racial loyalties which South Africa could always exploit as an excuse for interfering in our domestic affairs.

That this fear was not unfounded was confirmed clearly in the broadcast. In the moment of crisis Mr Todd emerged in his true colours. He ran across the border -without consulting the Ngwenyama and the Swazi National Council, for whose welfare he seems so solicitous - and used a foreign broadcasting station to frustrate the will of the majority in his own country.

Mr Todd is the first to lecture us against the dangers of foreign agitators and interference in our affiars. It would appear that his political philosophy is based on the principle that what is vice in others becomes pure virtue when he does it.

I wish to protest in the strongest terms possible against his action in this regard, because it would very well be incitement to the White supremacists in the Republic to interfere in our domestic affairs. If the Swazi National Council supports Mr Todd in what he did, then we know where we stand with it.

In his anger against the Secretary of State Mr Todd does not give a correct picture of what actually transpired in London. The alliance of political organisations will deal more fully with this aspect of his attacks.

Speaking for the Democratic Party, I must say that I was surprised when Mr Todd referred to ratification of the constitution. The talks in London were not a conference. The delegates could not, therefore, have "final authority to bind" any section of the population. The delegates and those they represented knew or should have known this when they accepted the invitations.

In London the Secretary of State made it plain that he had invited the delegates from Swaziland to hear their views. He made it clear that the responsibility to recommend constitutional reforms for Swaziland was his alone and that in advising the Queen he would take into account the views expressed in the talks and other factors. Talks of the retification in these circumstances is out of place.

He announced, further, that the talks would continue in Swaziland in a manner which the Resident Commissioner would consider best. He was eager that the views of Ngwenyama and his reactions to the preliminary ideas of the British Government to be conveyed to him before he made his final proposals. The resident Commissioner has had consultations in terms of the mandate given to him. To suggest irregularity here is arrant nonsense.

Mr Todd wants to know why the constitutional talks should be hurried and whose end is being served by this. We Africans are in a hurry to be free, so that we can make better use of our lives. Two hundred and fifty thousand black men and women who have known race humiliation demand that their ends should be served.

Mr Todd is perfectly correct when he says pressure was put on the Secretary of State or Lord Lansdowne to visit Swaziland. Mr Duncan Sandys said that he would very much like to visit the territory. He gave no specific commitment to come here or to send Lord Lansdowne and at no time made the visit by either a condition for continuing the talks. To suggest a break of promise is at least irresponsible.

Finally Mr Todd has the usual imperialist technique of dividing in order to rule in his solicitous attitude to Ngwenyama "And his people" who "stood meticulously and staunchly" by the European Advisory Council in London.

As leader of the Democratic Party I wish to give a serious warning against the bandying about of the Ngwenyama's name in political controversies. It can have disastrous results for Swaziland. It is contrary to Swazi Law and custom for to be involved in political controversies. He is the symbol of the Swazi people's unity. The responsibilities which go with this cannot be lived up to if he adopts sectarian political attitudes. Those who push him into the mud and dust of politics are his worst enemies, in spite of their protestations of friendship. The political parties want the Ngwenyama out of politics, for his own good and the good of Swaziland.

15.3.63 CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS

SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL DELEGATES REPORT

BACK TO THE COUNCIL

The Swazi National Council delegates to the Constitutional Talks issued a statement to the Times of Swaziland this week stating that the Council has not yet given any further views on the constitution. The statement was issued as a reply to last Friday's statement by the Resident Commissioner, Mr Brian Marwick.

Mr Polycarp Dlamini, Secretary to the Swazi Nation, and Mr S.T.M. Sukati, principal Liaison Officer between the Secretariat and the Ngwenyama, said in an interview that Mr Marwick had assured them that this press announcement was not intended to convey the impression that the SNC delegates had given further views.

They said that about 5,000 people attended a meeting of the SNC last Saturday to hear the views of the Secretary of State. It was one of the best meetings the Council had had and was well behaved and orderly.

The delegates reported back in full. It was necessary to report back to the full Council because the situation had changed since they went to London.

"When we went to London", Mr Dlamini and Mr Sukati said "our mandate was to support the proposals of the constitutional Committee, with its federal basis and its fifty-fifty proposals. The Secretary of State does not like that basis and has asked us to think over his proposal for a certain number of the members of the Legislative Council to be elected on a common roll."

"This proposal we have given to our people to think about. They said 'Thank you'. We would like to think about it and give our views in the next meeting of the Council."

The statement from the SNC delegates says that in London they had made it clear that before a constitution could be made,

(i) the status of Swaziland should be restored ;

(ii) the position of the Ngwenyama Sobhuza II and his successors, as King of Swaziland be fully recognised ; and

(iii) all rights and minerals of the Swazi people to be returned to them.

The statement says that these were not mentioned in the Resident Commissioner's announcement in the press.

The statement, deploring the haste with which things are being done, says that the Swazi National Council is the only established authority in Swaziland for the Swazi people. "This is a matter of life and death, and we would appeal to the Resident Commissioner and the Secretary of State to give to the people all the time necessary to make up their minds."

19.4.63 PROGRESSIVE CALL FOR HARMONY

The Swaziland Progressive Party has condemned "so-called leaders whose sole aim is to disrupt the peaceful life of the territory."

It said in a statement yesterday : At this critical hour in the history of this territory, hard efforts should be made to maintain harmony race relations for the country and its people.

"The policy of the Swaziland Progressive Party is well known, as it is non-racial and non-violent. The Party is committed to a policy of co-existence, and as in the past pledges itself to co-operate with the authorities, both Black and White, in the maintenance of peace and good government.

"In everything however, the party stands for justice for all, especially for the underpriviledged Africans of the territory. The party dissociates itself from all violent actions of the irresponsible and inexperience so-called leaders whose sole aim is to disrupt the peaceful life of the territory.

"The SPP calls upon all citizens of the territory, irrespective of race, to stand unitedly in order to preserve peace and thus allow the territory to proceed without interruption to its future prosperity."

The party has protested in a letter to the Government Secretary Mr A.E. Long, against the visit to Swaziland of the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr W.B.L. Monson, the Assistant Under-Secretary.

It says their visit "causes grave misgivings and it is unwelcomed and is looked upon with great suspicion."

"At the talks in London Lord Lansdowne made or recommended his own personal proposal regarding the composition of the Swaziland Legco, which differed with that of the Secretary of State and which in essence was undemocratic and unacceptable. This made it "perfectly clear" that Lord Lansdowne was inclined to support the 50 - 50 proposal of the unholy alliance of the European Advisory Council and the Swazi Traditionalists."

31.5.63 THE NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS :
Letter from Dumisa Dlamini to The Editor

The statement in the Times of Swaziland of May 10 that "Dumisa Dlamini and Macdonald Maseko have left the Swaziland Progressive Party and are now members of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress" reminds one of the fact that oppression feeds on disunity.

It is a fact well known by the Swaziland Public that the emergence of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress is nothing new, but a change of name from the Swaziland Progressive Party, and no less or more.

It is extremely surprising that the Times should issue such an obviously false and malicious statement to imply that there is a group led by Dumisa Dlamini and Macdonald Maseko which has left the SPP, to form a new organisation altogether, in spite of the fact that the Izwi, which locally released the change of name of the SPP, is controlled by the same office and management.

It is crystal clear and it goes without saying that the Times released this statement calculated for malicious purposes coupled with wishful thinking.

It is high time that the editor of the Times and those of his like and calibre know the real facts that our forces are now organised, more united and more dynamic than ever before, and that to put misleading wishful thinking on paper as a fact is indicative of sheer ignorance, malice or glaring stupidity.

The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress is symbolic of one thing and one thing only - the sudden awakening of a dispossessed people fully determined to rise to nationhood of equality with other independent and democratic countries of the world over - and knowing how hard it is to deal with the landmongers and imperialists, we can ill afford to disunite and weaken our forces.

It is however, an unshakable fact that we shall win at the end. We are fully prepared both as a political liberatory movement and as a nation to struggle, to suffer, to achieve and win back what we lost - our human rights and our motherland. This is the end of an era and the beginning of another.

EDITOR'S FOOTNOTE :

I regret the error. It was not intentional. It was not malicious. I was away from the office for a month and did not see the report in Izwi. The paragraph published in the Times of Swaziland was written after a letter had been received from an official of the Swaziland Progressive Parties. This official complained indignantly because, in an earlier report, we had described Mr Dumisa Dlamini and Mr Macdonald Maseko as officials of the party. "They are not", he said. The Times did not divide the Swaziland Progressive Party into three parts. The party divided itself. I can see no unity among the political leaders. The party politician is against the inner group of the Swazi National Council. The inner group is against the party politician. The overall picture is one of disunity, and the people are confused by it.

But the quarrelling goes on. Each group is fighting for power, for the support of the people and control over them. This is not unity. Nor is it on the interests of the people.

I do not believe that a National Liberatory Congress has any valid reason for existence in Swaziland. There is no fight for liberation here. It is merely shadow boxing against an imaginary enemy.

Mr Duncan Sandys, Britain's Colonial Secretary, said last year ; "We have in the space of 15 years, voluntarily divested ourselves of the greatest empire the world has ever seen and have brought independence to more than 700 million people - nearly a quarter of the population of the globe.

"There are now only about 35 million inhabitants in Britain's remaining colonies, distributed among some 45 separately governed territories.

"I can assure you that we have no desire to hang on to our small remaining overseas possessions a day longer than is necessary to discharge our responsibilities."

Then a little later, at the opening of the Swaziland Show at Manzini on July 13, the Ngwenyama said :

"The whole world is looking forward to a world of free people. Those who say they are fighting for freedom are flogging a dead-horse ; independence is coming anyway. And those who stand in the way of those who seek freedom are trying to achieve the impossible."

In Swaziland today there is no need for the freedom fighter, as he is called. The energy that goes into his shadow boxing could be useful service., when the country is given its independence, or in trying to improve the lot of the people now. The real evils here are poverty, ignorance, hunger and ill health. It is wiser to fight these evils than to fight one another or to hit at shadows.

3.5.63 SIMON S. NXUMALO HANDS MEMORANDUM TO DUNCAN SANDYS

The leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party, Mr Simon Nxumalo, presented the following memorandum on the Constitutional issue to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, Mr Duncan Sandys, in London this week :

I wish to take the opportunity of a brief visit to London to address further representations to you concerning the Swaziland Constitution, now that the Libandla has had an opportunity to consider the various proposals made recently in London.

You will recollect that throughout the recent London conference the constitutional alliance of political parties, of which I was the chairman, maintained not only that the Ngwenyama himself did not support the fifty-fifty proposals of the constitutional sub-committee, but also that Swazis as a whole were opposed to these proposals.

At the Libandla the Ngwenyama confirmed this position and, as you will see, from a summary of the resolutions of the Council appearing in the annexure to this letter, the Libandla also unanimously objected to the fifty-fifty proposals. I should add that the Tinkundlas were individually asked their views on these proposals and they were unanimously rejected.

The most important decision taken at the recent Council meeting was to support the principle of a common roll, and in particular to leave to Her Majesty's Government whether the question of voting on such common roll should be on the basis of adult suffrage or by the traditional method.

At the conference, and subsequently, the political parties pointed out that there was no satisfactory method of election by traditional methods, and moreover the proposals made by the Swazi National Council were not only more complicated than adult suffrage but also they excluded Swazi womenfolk from voting. Accordingly, I would suggest that the way is now clear for Her Majesty's Government to give Swaziland a constitution in which the Legislative Council will be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Even where actual ratios were altered, talk of an African majority would be empty as long as the sum total of tribalists and white seats exceeded that of those returned by the common roll.

(c) It could, in given situations, create conditions which would justify interference in Swaziland's affairs by South Africa or Portugal.

A White minority which voted separately would never develop that sense of identification with the other people here which is the first condition for a non-racial society It would always think in terms of group rights and interests.

South Africa has made it clear that she is the champion of White interests everywhere in Southern Africa. A White minority here which regarded itself as a group apart from the rest of the Nation would look to Pretoria for protection. In this way they could frustrate the will of the majority. Swaziland could be transformed into a Southern African Sudetenland. Great Britain has moral and other obligations to ensure that we are not sold into racial slavery.

MR TODD'S BROADCAST

A glimpse of what is possible was recently given by the way in which Mr C.F. Todd, leader of the European Advisory Council, used Radio South Africa - contrary to the requirements of secrecy - to discuss the London talks to win White, anti-African Support for his viewpoint in the Republic.

Partly as a result of this, pressures might be exerted against Swaziland which would have disastrous results on the protectorate's economy.

For the Republic to allow its network to be used in this fashion, when it is known that the Black race will not be allowed to state its case in reply, is a sinister form of interference in Swaziland's internal affairs.

We must have a non-racial constitution which gives pecple here a vested interest in unity and not in appealing to South Africa.

(d) It would surrender the initiative to influence events to privilege on both sides of the colour line.

The tribalists and those whom the European Advisory Council represents would gang up together against the common people and leave the latter with revolution as the only means of ensuring respect for their wishes.

(e) It would create dangerous certainty in the minds of the politically conscious Africans on Great Britain's real aims for Swaziland.

While on the one hand Great Britain seeks to encourage the establishment of a non-racial society, a racial roll or rolls would, in the eyes of most Africans, be seen as a move to perpetuate White domination in a new guise.

This uncertainty would be a poor foundation on which to build a non-racial society. There must be a mutual trust on both sides if the experiment we seek to launch here must succeed. If democracy was good enough when the White men dominated, it must be a good enough also when the Swazi has political power.

(f) It would be a victory for intransigence on the White side, which would incite intransigence in the African community.

If we allow attitudes which are now still malleable to harden in opposite directions, the non-racial ideal will be jeopardised.

Only a Constitution which genuinely facilitates non-racial collaboration will prevent a division in the territory which could set Black and White moving in irreconcilable directions.

In other parts of the Continent the mood of non-collaboration has had catastrophic effects on the economies of those countries where Great Britain appeared to want to perpetuate White domination in a new guise. Neither Black nor White want economic dislocation.

(g) There is not an English speaking country where racial rolls have been a success.

Where they not produced deadlocks they have in the long run hit hardest the White minorities they sought to protest.

This process of making the whole communities political guineapigs has gone on far enough and has been accompanied with enough failure to warn against attempts to introduce it in Swaziland, where the basic unanimity on co-existence creates favourable conditions for a bold policy of non-racialism.

(h) It would perpetuate divisions in the Swazi Community itself which would always threaten economic stability. Tribalism and industrialisation are incompatible.

A roll which gave a political power to the tribe, in addition to the economic power it has in the form of land, would slow down the process of "corroding" the tribal structure.

On the other hand, if one group of Swazis voted tribally and the other on the common roll we would sooner or later hear people talk of superior and inferior Swazis, of loyal and disloyal Swazis.

The political parties believe in a non-racial society in Swaziland but must realise that racial rolls will make it virtually impossible for the political parties to persist in this aim, and in certain circumstances the parties may well have to consider whether or not they can participate in elections based on racial rolls.

Finally, might I suggest the need for an early decision on Swaziland?

24.5.63 DR ALLEN MXUMALO, DEPUTY LEADER OF THE SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY, REPLIES TO MR NHLABATSI

I wish to reply to two letters, one by Mr M.P. Nhlabatsi in your issue of May 10 and another by Dr G.W. Reynolds in your last number. Mr Nhlabatsi prefaced his attack by saying that most of what Mr Nxumalo said in the statement he issued before leaving for London was misleading but he carefully omitted to say which portion he referred to. As deputy leader of the Democratic Party in Mr Nxumalo's absence I must state clearly that at no time has the party attempted to cast suspicion on the Swazi National Council or European Advisory Council. What we have done has been to expose the errors of the two bodies and expose the dangers in their policies.

I am glad to note that after fighting universal adult suffrage strenuously in the protectorate as well as in the London talks Mr Nhlabatsi has now seen the error of his ways so clearly that he can write : "The Swazi National Council has never at any stage opposed one man one vote method." If he and those who thought like him had not supported the fifty-fifty proposal in opposition to universal adult suffrage, the London talks would not have ended in a deadlock.

He argues that the system of election to the Swazi National Council is adequate for Swaziland's needs. We say, on the contrary, that it does not give the people adequate control of the council.

As all the citizens of our land pay the taxes, we in the Democratic Party want them to share effectively in the Administration of their affairs. The only way to do this satisfactorily is to give them the vote and control over the legislature.

Mr Nhlabatsi knows that he is not telling the whole truth when he says, "Every men has the right to air his views" in the Council."

Mr Daniel Dlamini, a prominent member of the Democratic Party was physically ejected from the precincts of the Council hall during the sessions of the April meeting which ended on the 23rd because, he was told he was a member of a political party.

On May 2 the Masundwini meeting was closed abruptly as soon as Mr Dlamini joined the queue of those who wanted to address the Libandla. Subsequently, he complained about this suppression of the free expression of views to Mr Nhlabatsi himself who replied and said that the Libandla was not a place for members of political parties.

We are as anxious as Mr Nhlabatsi is to ensure that minorities are not persecuted. But to treat them as privileged groups is the surest way to expose them to the very attacks Mr Nhlabatsi fears. We want them to identify themselves with all the people of the protectorate.

It is absolute nonsense to say Mr Nxumalo is championing the cause of the capitalists. The people who are really doing this are those members of the Swazi National Council who have already been offered directorships in some capitalist companies and the council itself, which states in its resolution of April 23 that it has already been offered "attractive terms" by capitalistic companies (if it retains control of the mineral rights). Mr Nxumalo does not sit on any board, nor does he own shares in any company. Mr Nhlabatsi cannot say this of some of his friends.

As deputy leader of the party, I can tell Mr Nhlabatsi with a free conscience who financed Mr Nxumalo's trips overseas. As he knows, Mr Nxumalo has been overseas only twice.

The first was when he went to London, which Mr Nhlabatsi also attended. The people who financed the trip were those who paid for Mr Nhlabatsi's ticket - the British Government.

After that he was given a leadership grant by America. Very many people from very many parts of Africa continue to get these grants to have a closer view of the American democracy. He took advantage of this to stop over in London to correct some of the impressions created by Mr Todd.

Carping criticisms is beneath Mr Nhlabatsi's high office and dignity. What Swaziland needs urgently is statemanship which will bring together those who think alike from all camps and enable them to work together for the good of the whole nation and not for any section of it, as people like Mr Nhlabatsi seem to want to do.

DR REYNOLDS'S LETTER

I hate to cross swords with Dr Reynolds, for whom I have a high regard. But when he accuses us of impertinence and himself proceeds to be impertinent, it is time he was put in his place.

He refers to a "backseat driver" behind Mr Nxumalo. People who live in glass houses should not throw stones. Dr Reynolds has a reputation for being himself a backseat driver and even composing Press Statements for political leaders whom he fears to embrace publicly.

There is no room for this type of secrecy in the Democratic Party. What Mr Nxumalo publishes represents the collective minds of the executive committee and not of any fictitious backseat driver.

Any leader who really loves his country would be irresponsible to go to New York and not contact the United Nations, correct the erroneous impressions that that body has of Swaziland and make friends for his country. Our problems are not unique. They are the problems of the continent.

Most of what he says about the Newsletter is, to use his own phrase, absolute rot. There are White people who want the African to be a junior partner in this country. They wanted a fifty-fifty formula. They also do not want the Black man to be "impertinent" to them while they reserve the right to be "impertinent" to him.

It is beneath Dr Reynolds's dignity to insinuate that we attack the police irresponsibly. He conveniently omits reference to our appeal for restraint on the side of the police and political leaders. I agree that in most situations our police act with restraint. But when they go wrong, let us be free to say so.

In the Democratic Party we do not tell other people how to speak to us. We are a Party of the suffering and exploited. If privileged people say they do not like us because we do not say "yes master" to everything they say, who is to blame? Our masters are the people of Swaziland and not those who used to abuse and accuse us of "childishness", when we tell the truth they do not like.

28.6.63 ARREST OF DR ZWANE : COURT REFUSES BAIL

Dr Ambrose Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress was arrested by the Swaziland Police at his consulting room in Manzini on Wednesday afternoon in connection with the disturbances in Mbabane this month. He was brought before Mr Etienne Fourie, a Mbabane magistrate, for formal remand. The court refused an application for bail made by Mr Horward Veale, of Messrs Colin Bissett and Mcnaughton, of Manzini, who appeared for Dr Zwane. Dr Zwane was remanded in custody until July 8.

He is charged with instigating a strike. Mr J. Smeath Thomas prosecuting said in opposition of bail that the Crown was considering more serious charges against Dr Zwane.

About 273 persons have been, or will be, arrested in Swaziland because of the strikes and unrest.

In Mbabane 25 arrests have been issued, the principal accused being Macdonald Maseko, Dumisa Dlamini, Secretary General of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, Nimrod Dlamini, leader of the Congress Youth League, Frank Groening and the wife of a senior prison warder, Mrs Nxumalo.

In Havelock the total number of persons expected to be charged is 168. The charges will most probably be public violence, alternatively procuring, inciting or aiding an illegal strike.

The majority of these persons have been remanded in custody, although one of the principal accused, Timothy Dlamini, is still at large. Some of the other alleged leaders of the disturbances at Havelock are Dumisa Dlamini, Henry Dlamini and Nimrod Dlamini.

At Piggs Peak 63 persons were arrested under the public Order Proclamation for holding an illegal procession. The principal accused is an ex-trooper, Vuzubela Samuel Dlamini.

At Big Bend approximately 17 men are expected to be charged in connection with the strike there. Most of these men were remanded in custody this week, including the principal accused, Michael Fakude and John Temba.

All the above cases will be heard early in July 2, the Big Bend cases on July 5, the Mbabane cases on July 8, and the Piggs Peak cases on July 15.

28.6.63 DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE DISTURBANCES

"The temptation is strong on both sides of the colour line to view the disturbances which swept the territory during the last fortnight mainly from the racial or political angles, says the statement issued this week by Dr Allen Nxumalo, deputy leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party.

"While racial facors and indigantion with the new constituional proposals have been complicating factors, the basic cause of the strikes is the crushing poverty of the masses of the Swazi people.

"The attitude of the Swaziland Democratic Party in this situation can be stated simply. We uphold the right of the worker to organise trade unions for collective bargaining. We accept the strike as the last weapon in a peaceful fight to improve working conditions."

"At the same time we have not failed to warn both our members as well as the territory that the strike is a two-edged weapon. For this reason, it has to be used in a most responsible manner. Because we have not been afraid to give this warning while demanding higher wages, we feel it is to the credit of the people of Swaziland that in those areas where people were prepared to listen to the Democratic Party, they took strike decisions which have had better results than those adopted by the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress.

"We accuse this movement of having betrayed the poor and exploited people of Swaziland in throwing the country into a series of sudden strikes without adequate preparation. The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress had not made provision for those who might be thrown out of work. It deliberately failed to make use of machinery already available for settling disputes between workers and employers. In its efforts to outbid the Democratic Party - which had earlier demanded a wages commission - the Congress called thousands of people out on strike and used the strike for political purposes.

"We also accuse it of having used intimidation extensively to prevent people from going to work. To the extent that it did this, it is responsible to a very large extent for the fact that many of them have lost jobs they cannot easily recover.

"Above all, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress endangered the security of Swaziland by attempting to throw the country into chaos, when it knew that this is precisely the excuse Dr Verwoerd needs to march into the protectorate to protect the interest of the White South Africans.

"Because of the Congress's precipitate action, the British have been given a first class excuse for sending into Swaziland their army. Now there is talk of transforming the protectorate into a base, now that the British are being pushed out of Kenya.

"The question in the minds of many people is : How do we get out of the mess into which the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress has thrown the country?

"As acting leader of the Democratic party, I appeal to all employers to resist the temptation to dismiss all strikers Apart from being counter - intimidation, dismissals will swell the ranks of the unemployed, build up an army of embittered people and damage race relations almost beyond repair.

"In addition, the employers must take into account the fact that in spite of extensive intimidation the strikers showed a remarkable sense of restraint. No life was lost as a result of strikers' action. Practically no real damage to property has been reported so far. This shows that the majority of the Swazis still want orderly development.

"We wish to urge the Government to speed up the work of the Wages Commission and instruct it to report back within three months. We urge, also, that British troops should be withdrawn with the minimum of delay after the internal situation has returned to normal.

"Finally, we ask our people who are still on strike to realise that they are no longer doing themselves any good and to return to work and help restore stability into the country.

"We ask the employers in every area to improve working and living conditions and, wherever this is possible, not to wait for the Wages Commission to report before they do anything to improve the damaged relations between Black and White."

28.6.63 NQUKU'S PARTY TO TAKE LEGAL ACTION

Letter from J.J. Nquku

As head of the legally constituted Swaziland Progressive Party, I take the opportunity to refer to the so-called statement on the Swaziland Constitution published recently in the press, and purporting to have come from the Swaziland Progressive Party.

The Swaziland Progressive Party wishes to dissociate itself completely from a statement such as this, which comes from an illegal group of men led by a self-appointed leader who do not in any way express the true views of the people.

The Swaziland Progressive Party, as a stable body under matured leadership, is preparing a well documented statement which will be a true expression of the sentiments of the Africans of this country.

Of course, the constitution as it stands is unsuitable, and therefore the Swaziland Progressive Party objects to it.

In order to preserve its good name the Swaziland, the Progressive Party has resolved to institute legal action against those who falsely claim to be leaders of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

28.6.63 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY REJECTS NEW CONSTITUTION

Letter from A.W.M. Nxumalo, Secretary-General of the S.P.P.

The Swaziland Progressive Party totally rejects the new constitution that is being enforced by the British Government, as it is not acceptable to the Swazi Nation.

As the system of the imperialists is being unfolded, it becomes abundantly clear that the promises of salvation are a delusion and a snare. It is of great interest to learn and observe how the various tactics are going to divide the nation.

It may have been said that there is mutual understanding between the inhabitants of the territory, but it is clear enough that these three groups forming the Legco will never understand one another.

The position of Ingwenyama is not what was stated by the United Kingdom Government in the provisional conclusions that he will be the King of Swaziland.

This remains a concern of the Swaziland Progressive Party to struggle with the people of Swaziland and build a nation free from race hatred and oppression, and have the Ingwenyama as Head of State, not as Paramount Chief of the Swazis. It goes on being our duty to fight for independence for the people of Swaziland to the bitter end, as put forward in our proposals submitted to the constitutional conference in London.

2.7.63 CONSTITUTION FIGHT : SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL MEN FLY TO UNITED KINGDOM

The fight over Swaziland's Constitution goes on. The Swazi National Council, obviously not satisfied with the constitution set out in the White Paper issued by the British Government in May, has sent a three men delegation to London to press for changes.

The Members are Chief Makhosini Dlamini leader, Mr Polycarp Dlamini Secretary to the Swazi Nation, and Mr A.K. Hlophe, Secretary to the Ngwenyama. They flew from Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg,on Tuesday.

Up to now The Swazi National Council has not made public its views on the White Paper, but the delegation gave an interview to a reporter of the Star, Johannesburg, before they flew to London.

According to the Star report, they said that they were going to address "Parliamentary Association and independent societies" in Britain on the Swazi people's reactions to the White Paper.

The Newspaper reports chief Makhosini Dlamini as saying, "We also hope to have talks with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Duncan Sandys."

Chief Makhosini added that the White Paper, which gave details of the new constitution under which Swaziland will be governed for the next three years, had "frustrated all our wishes. "

He said, "It was contrary to all representations made by deputations to the British Government on behalf of the Swazi people. Now we want to educate the British public on behalf of the Swazi people."

This comes after the announcement by Mr Carl Todd, leader of the elected members of the European Council that he was flying to London this week, "to negotiate for modifications on the franchise proposals indicated in the White Paper on the Constitution, and also to secure clarification and understanding with the British Government on some of the other issues" in the Constitution.

In a statement published in the Times of Swaziland last week, Mr Todd made it clear that he would fight for better franchise provisions for South Africans in the territory. He objects to their being without a vote on the national roll and to their being qualified to vote on the European role only until December 31, 1965.

Mr Todd said, however, that the European Advisory Council had agreed to accept the "broad proposals of the constitution."

26.7.63 THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ASKS FOR INDEPENDENCE NOW

Political events took a dramatic turn last week when the Democratic Party cabled the Secretary of States for the Colonies, Mr Duncan Sandys, and petitioned the United Nations for the granting of immediate independence to Swaziland.

The 3,000 word petition addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations states that uncertainty about the protectorate's constitutional future has slowed down the flow of capital and aggrevated the unemployment problem, which has already been complicated by Swaziland's closing of borders with South Africa.

Britain, says the Democratic Party, is unable to provide funds to finance bold programmes of industrial expansion and social reform which would enable Swaziland to solve her economic problems. Independence is demanded because it will enable free Swaziland to negotiate for aid, loans, investments, and the like, on conditions which will benefit all her peoples.

South Africa, according to the petition, is entering an era of turbulence, as world opinion hardens against apartheid.

The petition states that Swaziland does not wish to be involved in the bloody clashe she can see coming. Her role in this situation is to establish a non-racial society and to prepare herself as the first province in the federation of Southern African States which will include the High Commission Territories, a portion of Mozambique and South Africa. She can best give leadership in this direction only if she is free to give her people a single unifying constitution which would transcend race.

The petition admits that the pattern in Africa today is in the direction of intergrating smaller states into larger ones.

"Swaziland cannot escape this destiny, " it states.

It adds that the Democratic Party is committed to giving leadership in influencing events toward the final establishment of a large State.

Copies of the petition were sent to the Secretary of State for the colonies, to King Sobhuza II, and to the Resident Commissioner Sir Brian Marwick.

The Party had already instructed its representative in England, Mr Francis Mbelu, to fly to the United Nations to be ready with advice when Swaziland's constitutional future was discussed.

26.7.63

NQUKU AND THE TROOPS

Letter from J.J. Nquku

In the Times of Swaziland of July 19 you had this to say : "The War office in London is considering a request from Swaziland that the British troops remain in the Territory for the time being."

Lest this statement mislead the public and the outside world at large, I take this opportunity of making correction, pointing out that the Africans of the Territory are not part and parcel of such a request. Of course, it has been published already that the troops are here to protect their white brothers and vested interests.

Concerning this matter, a few weeks ago the Swaziland Progressive Party submitted to you a memorandum setting forth the views of the Africans on the recent strikes and the British troops but was suppressed. In this memorandum the Swaziland Progressive Party raised the strongest objection against the coming of the troops, pointing out that it looked upon this as invasion or occupation of the country.

Now it is hinted that the Gordon Highlanders will be replaced by the Loyals. In all fairness, the security of the country must be in Swazi hands, not in foreign protection. The creation of a strong Swaziland Police Force or Army is very much desired and this would also open avenues of employment to all Swazilanders irrespective of race.

The Swaziland Progressive Party further made it clear that it supported 100% all legal strikes and in this attitude, with the interest and welfare of the strikers, it approached the government and got permission to visit all centres where the arrested strikers were kept. This it did.

The Swaziland Progressive Party, with its policy of non-violence, denounces in the strongest language the reckless action of the leaders of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress. In any event, although the Swazis have grievances which have long remained unanswered, they, in the interest of the country, in everything rely upon peaceful settlement or negotiation. They condemn outrightly all forms of violence.

2.8.63 THE SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE CHARTER

After informal talks with Mr A. Campbell, of the Colonial Office, and Sir Brian Marwick, the Resident Commissioner, Mr Simon Nxumalo, leader of the Democratic Party, submitted a memorandum to Sir Brian on the new constitution with the request that it should be forwarded to the Colonial Secretary Mr Duncan Sandys.

In this memorandum the Democratic Party clarifies its attitude to the Constitution. It presses for the widening of the national role in ways which will accelerate movement toward a completely non-racial register of voters.

Other points raised in the memorandum are :

The elimination of taxation qualification for women pending the introduction of a new tax system for Swaziland ;

The extension of the vote to all tax-paying citizens who have been in the territory for not less than two years, regardless of their origins.

The enactment of a Swaziland citizenship act by the first legislature.

The memorandum also asks that every candidate for a seat on the national roll be nominated by 15 voters and not by 25 as proposed.

For the reserved seats nominations should be by Whites and ten Africans. One voter should have the right to nominate a maximum of two candidates.

Candidates for the National roll should have a right to stand for election in any constituency irrespective of their district or residence.

The Democratic Party makes it clear in the memorandum that its aim is "To build one nation in Swaziland and to create a feeling of belonging among all the residents of the Territory, irrespective of race or nationality. We do not want any of the future citizens to be discriminated against as voters, or provileged because they happen to carry a foreign passport, be it South African or British.

In an interview, Mr Nxumalo states that the party's stand on whether or not to take part in the elections will be decided by the national executive after receiving the British Government's reply to the memorandum. He referred to his letter accompanying the memorandum in which he told the Resident Commissioner : "Our party's major aim is to achieve within the shortest possible time independence for Swaziland within the framework of a fully non-racial democracy."

9.8.63 BAIL OF R500 FOR ZWANE

Bail was fixed at R500 for four of the 23 persons committed for trial in Mbabane Magistrate Court last week on a charge of public violence. These four persons are Dr Ambrose Zwane, Dumisa Dlamini, Macdonald Maseko and Nimrod Dlamini. They are also charged with instigating, procuring and abetting an illegal strike.

A smaller bail was fixed for the remainder of the accused, but the conditions were similar, namely, the surrender of passprts, and that they should not tamper with state witnesses, and should not take part in any illegal gathering, meeting or procession.

The names of the other principal accused, charged with instigating procuring and abetting a strike, are P.G. Katamzi, Phineas Nene, John Mamba, Mrs Nxumalo, James Dube, Frank Groening and Mrs Nkosi Isabella Dlamini.

Of the 24, accused one, Nicholas Khumalo, was charged at the end of the preparatory examination.

The 23 persons have been committed for trial on the charge of public violence in that during or about 9 to 13 in Mbabane each or all, with pursuit of a common purpose, did wrongfully and unlawfully and riotously assemble and gather together a crowd of persons with the intent by violence and forceful means to disturb and endanger the public peace and security, and by such means to invade and interfere with the rights of the people, and to make a riot and affray, by these means to assail or set at defiance the authority of the police and others in public authority, who are established to maintain law and order.

They are charged specifically with gathering a crowd in the vicinity of Msunduza of Mbabane, marching in and with a crowd armed with sticks and iron-bars and other weapons, ordering certain people to join in fear of death or injury ; assaulting certain people by violence or threat of death or injury, and with damaging certain property or premises.

By yesterday morning only Frank Groening and Gilbert Nxumalo had found bail. The bail conditions for the two women were allowed to stand. The other 19 were still in custody.

9.8.63 NOT UNGRATEFUL, SAYS SIMON NXUMALO

Letter from Simon Nxumalo

In your editorial last week you attacked the Democratic Party for ingratitude to Britain for what she had done for Swaziland, as well as for its decision to press for independence now. I do not remember a single occasion when the Democratic Party has gone on record as saying that Britain has not done anything for Swaziland.

We readily acknowledge the good done in the form of the irrigation scheme, the programme of a foreststation, the provision of facilities for technical and teacher training education. But when you take into account the poverty gulf between Black and White when you consider the expenditure per head on every White child in school and compare this with the thousands of Africans out of school, it becomes clear that Britain could have done better.

To take note of this fact it is not in any way an act of ingratitude, particularly when it is borne in mind that British investments in Swaziland have not been unrewarding.

Informed observers agree that very large sums are needed urgently to modernise Swaziland's economy and raise the living standards of her people. The British Government is making it clear that its capacity to sink money in the protectorate is extremely limited. As things stand, the Government is on an economy drive because of lack of funds from London.

Protection in these circumstances means that industrial development in the protectorate will be affected directly by Britain's inability to provide the money in sufficient quantities.

Independence will free us for purposes of negotiating with foreign countries or international agencies to raise the capital we need. If we are wise we would not really need to go very far. If the vast area to the South of the Zambesi were welded into one community, it would have the resources to raise the living standard of all its peoples.

When we demand independence, we are setting before all our people an ideal of fulfilment which is the only guarantee of survival for all. The tendency for smaller states to join larger groupings can be seen all over Africa. Motivated largely by economic considerations, sometimes it cuts right across linguistic or cultural lines.

It is Swaziland's destiny to pioneer the establishment of a truly democratic, non-racial society. As apartheid disintegrates under international pressure, we must raise a political structure here which will guarantee stability by making all races secure. This security can be permanent and real only if Swaziland becomes part of a greater federation of Southern African States.

16.8.63 ZWANE OUT ON BAIL

Dr Ambrose Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, was released from custody on Tuesday afternoon after bail of R500 had been deposited for him.

Dr Zwane is the sixth person to deposit bail of the 23 who were committed for trial recently on charges of public violence in connection with the recent illegal strike in Mbabane.

16.8.63 NQUKU'S PARTY MEMORANDUM TO SANDYS

Mr J.J. Nquku's Swaziland Progressive Party has sent a memorandum to Mr Duncan Sandys, Colonial Secretary, saying that it has rejected "the imposed Swaziland constituion announced in the British Government White Paper." The memorandum was sent after the party's conference in the Msunduza Hall, Mbabne,on August 3 to 5, at which a resolution was passed rejecting the constituion" simply because it is undemocratic and is giving autocratic and extraordinary powers to the European settlers through their white representative, Her Majesty's Commissioner, and further imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation."

The memorandum says that the party dissociates itself completely from "the back word view of the Swazi tribal leaders who, under the influence and control of South African Whites, adopt a retarding step to the progress and the development of the country and similarly advocate a dangerous policy of alignment with the South African whites for the incorporation or annexation of Swaziland.

"The Swaziland Progressive Party admires the firm stand you took in refusing to bow down to the unreasonable demands or threats of tribalists, who are ill advised by Mr Carl Todd of the Republic of South Africa."

The memorandum says that the three members of the Swazi National Council who have been in London had no mandate from the Swazi people and not even from the S.N.C. which it purported to represent.

"This self appointed delegation left the country before the assembly of the National Council met at Lobamba. This, according to tribal law, is the highest authority of the nation and nothing is supposed to be done without its approval."

"The Swaziland Progressive Party knows that the Swazi in asking for British protection for the Swazi from destroying himself, know exactly what the present Swazi tribal leaders are doing in selling their birthright to the foreign Europeans. In this connection, the Swaziland Progressive Party fully believes that the British Government will honour its pledge of guaranteeing protection for the Swazi and his country."

The memorandum says that it demanding independence for Swaziland the party did so fully believe "that under such independence would be genuine and not faked like the independence of Katanga under Tshombe."

The memorandum which is signed by Mr Nquku, then askes the British Government not to bow down to the "demands of the Swaziland Democratic Party which, under the influence and control of White settlers, is demanding immediate independence, which, in the opinion of the Swaziland Progressive Party, will be a great danger to true Swazi independence. In granting independence to Swaziland the British Government must see that such independence is strongly safeguarded against the hovering vultures who want to devour or incorporate the country. "

The memorandum accuses the Swaziland Democratic Party of inconsistency in its policy, and ends with the following statement : "The Swaziland Progressive Party in everything is co-operative, but not at the expense of the Swazi, and in everything will always remain an effective and constructive opposition in criticising what it considers to be unjust, or anything which is against the welfare and well being of the Swazi people."

The party's conference, which was attended by about 120 delegates from all over the territory, passed resolutions :

1. Accusing the Government of passing fascist legislation and oppressive laws.

2. Expressing alarm at the presence of the British troops in Swaziland and demanding their immediate withdrawal.

3. Suggesting higher wages for Africans so that they can live decently, and

4. Expressing dissatisfaction that not enough efforts are being made to wipe out discrimination completely in Swaziland.

In its resolution about the British troops, the party asks that they be replaced by a strong Swaziland police force or Army and in this way create more employment for the local population, irrespective of race.

23.8.63 SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL TO BUILD A PAPERMILL, SAYS MAKHOSINI

Prince Makhosini Dlamini, one of the three-man Swazi National Council delegation that went to London last month to try to persuade the British Government to change the Swaziland constitution, said at Coventry, England, on July 19, that the SNC intended to build a paper mill in Swaziland when the country's internal paper market has been developed. Such projects would naturally use pulp from the Usutu Pulp Mill.

Prince Makhosini said this in a speech of thanks after the three SNC members and a group of Swazis studying in the United Kingdom had been shown over the Coventry factory of Courtaulds Limited, joint owners with the Commonwealth Development Corporation of the Usutu Pulp Company.

6.9.63 NQUKU SAYS NO

Dr Verwoerd's announcement came as a "great shock and surprise" to J.J. Nquku's Swaziland Progressive Party, according to a statement issued yesterday by Mr Nquku.

It says that not very long ago Dr Verwoerd himself and one of his Ministers made public that, at any rate for the time being, incorporation had been ruled out of the question, and at the United Nations last December the South African representative reaffirmed this assertion.

The party says that "Before making any approach Dr Verwoerd must clean and keep his own house in order and abandon the objectionable policies of apartheid and separate development."

The statement goes on : "The Swaziland Progressive Party is fully convinced that the revival of incorporation comes about through the combined mischievous propaganda of the leaders of the local Euroepan and tribal leaders of the Swazi National Council, who seem to have contracted an unholy matrimony, or rather who have aligned themselves for the sole purpose of destroying sovereignty of Swaziland and the Swazi Nation..

"The Swaziland Progressive Party wishes to make reaffirmation that the entire Swazi Nation is strongly opposed to incorporation and that any attempt to reopen the discussion on the question would be considered as a betrayal by the British Government."

6.9.63 SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL PETITIONS THE QUEEN

CABLE SENT TO SANDYS

Following the suggestion last week by Mr Carl Todd, leader of the elected members of the European Advisory Council, that the Ngwenyama should call a meeting of representatives of the Swazi National Council and political leaders of the Europeans, to discuss the constitution anew and try to arrive at an agreed solution, came a dramatic announcement this week by the SNC that practically the whole population was unanimous in rejecting the White Paper on the constitution, and that the SNC has decided to petition the Queen and to request the British Government to stay the enactment of the White Paper until parliament had been afforded the opportunity of going into the matter.

The resolution containing these deicsions was passed at the meeting of the Swazi National Council at Lobamba on July 30,but the information was not released for publication until this week. The resolution reads :-

"The Council resolved that the Secretary of State has not been able to uphold the constitutional relation of Swaziland as a protectorate with clear limitations, the entrenchment of land and minerals, native law and custom, which all form the attributes of sovereignty in accordance with guarantees given to the Swazis. The Swazis find that the only course left to them is to appeal to Her Majesty in Parliament. The Council requests the Secretary of State to stay the enactment of the White Paper until this authority has been afforded the opportunity to go into the matter.

"The Council feels that the effects of the proposed constitution will cause racial conflict, untold misery and disruption to Swaziland. Practically the whole population is unanimous in rejection of the White Paper."

The text of the resolution was cabled to the British Government.

Mr Polycarp Dlamini of the Swazi Nation told the Star, Johannesburg, on Monday that the intention of the British Government to impose a constituion was a denial of the Swazi's rights as a protected people. They were not a conquered nation, and Britain could not impose on them a constitution which the majority did not want.

The petition, now being drafted for submission to the tribal authority, reviews the historical relationship between the two countries and emphasises Britain's moral obligation to respect Swaziland's position as a protected state. This position, said Mr Dlamini, was clearly enunciated by the Secretary of State before Mr Duncan Sandys, the present Colonial Secretary.

Mr Dlamini said that Mr Sandys had based his right to impose a constitution on the failure by the interested parties to reach agreement. But this ignored both the moral obligation and Britain's own democratic principles.

4.10.63 SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL CHALLENGED BY THE SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A statement issued by Dr A.M. Nxumalo, deputy leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party, says that the party regards it as one of its most important duties to warn the people of Swaziland against practices "which threaten the security of the protectorate. With this in mind, it warns all citizens to regard with the gravest possible suspicion the secret instructions (published recently) given to the traditionalists a leading South African Broederbonder."

The statement says that one of the goals of the Broederbond, a secret organisation, "is to make the Afrikaners the masters of Southern Africa, including the protectorates."

The statement says that the Democratic Party is alarmed that Swazis in responsible positions have been carrying on secret negotiations which can ultimately subvert constituted authority.

"We know that these men claimed to act on behalf of the Ngwenyama. So many things have been done against the people of Swaziland in his name. It would help clear the position of the Swazi royal family if the public were assured that Ngwenyama and royal family are not in any way whatsoever a party to the conspiracy to transform Swaziland into a Bantustan under the influence of the Broederbond.

"We know that prominent members of the Swazi National Council are behind these negotiations. They travel secretly to South Africa and meet the Broederbonder at night in his house. Their travelling expenses come from public funds.

"It is our duty to ensure that people know the dangers into which they are being led by the Council. For this reason we challenge the Swaziland National Council to :

i. Reject publicly Dr Verwoerd's recent offer to guide the protectorates to independence and tell the people clearly where they stand on this important issue.

ii. Deny publicly and unequivocally that the election and other tactics now employed in the campaign of ultimate subversion are in conformity with the secret instructions.

iii. Come out into the open and state its real attitude to the elections.

Mr Todd has stated publicly that he advises the Council. We ask him to tell the people of Swaziland if he advised the Council to consult with the Broederbond.

"Finally, we challenge the SNC to deny that it is using Ngwenyama as the centre figure around whom the Council is transforming itself into a new political party, to carry out the secret instructions from the Broederbond.

"We know that certain political opportunists in the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress are taking advantage of the fact that some of their leaders are still in goal and now hobnob secretly with the SNC to help in enabling Dr Verwoerd to make Swaziland a Bantustan. We warn these people that we shall let the rest of Africa and the world know all the truth about their sinister activities."

4.10.63 NO SECRET TALKS SAYS SNC

The following statement was handed to the Times of Swaziland by Mr Polycarp Dlamini, Secretary to the Swazi Nation, this week :

"I should like to state for general information that the allegations against the Swazi National Council on the following matters are untrue and unfounded. In fact they are tactics of evil doers who want to poison the minds of the public. It remains for those who nurse those evil beliefs to prove the contrary.

"Land Deals, whereby Swazi Nation land in the South was exchanged with some other land of the Republic of South Africa - I do not know where - never existed.

"Secret negotiations : There are no negotiations - let alone secret negotiations - between the Swazi National Council and Dr Verwoerd. Perhaps Dr Nxumalo will tell us the names of the conspirators he claims to have seen approach Dr Verwoerd.

"Dr Verwoerd has made no offer to the Swazi National Council : It is premature therefore for the "Democrats" to demand a statement from the Swazi National Council when that body has not been approached by anybody on the matter. Indeed, if there is substance in the so-called offer, we expect the British Government to approach us officially.

The Swazis are not divided - at least, not to our knowledge. Those who claim to know better should tell us where the division is, what causes it, which members of the Swazi National Council have been dismissed and who have taken their places.

Advised by Mr Todd?

"Decidedly not! In fact, the reverse could be true. Instead of talking about something they know nothing about, the Democratic Party would do well to tell us who their boss is. Many readers would be interested to know this.

"The smear campaign is a technique very ably employed by the Democratic Party themselves. It is surprising therefore that they should complain when someone else gives them a taste of their own medicine. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones!

"The Council's meetings, unlike the meetings of the political parties, are open to everybody irrespective of political differences. Time permitting, anybody, including members of the political parties, are allowed to speak and ask questions. I am glad to say that most of the political leaders have taken advantage of these opportunities.

"At the meeting of all Swazis in Johannesburg, held at the Donaldson Hall on Sunday, September 1, the motion to reject the constitution and demand independence was moved by Mr Charles Dlamini, who was seconded and the motion passed unanimously. Only the chairman, Mr D. Nkosi, had spoken up to that stage. Dr Nxumalo and Mr Simon Nxumalo had not spoken when the resolution was passed. It is wrong therefore for the Democratic Party to claim credit for what they did not do. The Johannesburg people passed the resolution of their own accord and with no lead from the 'Democrats'"

11.10.63 SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL ATTACKS DEMOCRATS

The information officer of the SNC states : "The deputy leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party has issued impertinent and irresponsible challenges which call for a reply. His statements about a conspiracy with the Republic, about the delivery of six light trucks from Johannesburg to be used for political campaigning, about six Councillors dining with Dr Verwoerd, and about the so-called Broederbond have no foundation in fact.

"The suggestions and insinuations are scurrilous and base, and are sad evidence of the depths to which this party will go, to gain some political advantage.

"The same applies to the mischievous challenge that the SNC should reply to Dr Verwoerd's offer. There never was any offer either the Swazi National Council or Swaziland and the SNC does not wish to become laughing stock by replying to supposed offers which are in fact no offers.

"It is regrettable to see the tendency of this so-called Democratic Party to try to build up its organisation on a basis of false allegations and calumny and on the indiscriminite defaming of public figures in Swaziland.

"We have long suspected that this party has no right of existence, because it has no policy and no principle and can only hope to gain some support by spreading false rumours and bringing honourable people under suspicion.

"If anybody is entitled to throw out challenges it is the Swazi people. They challenge the Democratic Party to open up their books and papers and see where the money comes from to pay their luxury cars, their offices and other property.

"The Swazi people are entitled to know who is behind this party which seeks to create dissension in this scurrilous manner."

1.11.63 N.N.L.C. TO BOYCOTT ELECTION

About one thousand people who attended the meeting of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress in the Msunduza Hall on Saturday and Sunday passed a resolution to boycott the constitution. The hall was packed and many people stood outside listening to the speakers. Dr Zwane, President of the party, was not present. It was announced that he was at the meeting in Hlatikulu. All those persons who are facing charges on public violence arousing out of the June strike, and were released on bail on Friday, were introduced to the gathering. They sang Freedomsongs which they composed while in jail.

The speakers urged the gathering not to vote on the day of the elections. The party is holding a meeting at Manzini tomorrow afternoon.

29.11.63 DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S CABLE TO SANDYS

The Democratic Party sent a cable to Mr Sandys on Saturday expressing its alarm that the Swazi National Council and the European Advisory Council were petitioning the House of Commons "To get concessions which entrench Black and White privilege."

The cable goes on, "Any changes favouring privileges are a stab in the back of democratic non-racialists here and an unforgivable betrayal of the privileged majority."

"If any concessions favouring Swazi and European Council are contemplated we respectfully urge you to receive urgently representations from Democratic Party before Privy Council issued Order in Council."

Mr O. Mabuza, Secretary General of the Progressive Party, also calbed London protesting against the Ngwenyama's petition. Mr Mabuza's Party is the youngest of the Swaziland Progressive Parties.

6.12.63 NQUKU PARTY MEMORANDUM TO DUNCAN SANDYS

Mr J.J. Nquku's Swaziland Progressive Party has suggested to the Colonial Secretary, Mr Duncan Sandys, that if a referendum is held on the constitution it should be under strict supervision of external authorities in no way connected with the Territory, preferably the United Nations or representatives of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Giving its reason for this suggestion, the party says in a memorandum to Mr Sandys that the Africans live under tribal leaders and are intimidated and that in these circumstances there can never be a free referendum as such.

At the moment the tribal authorities are canvassing the people and are using every tribal power they possess to force the people to support the national policies which the people resent as detrimental to their future existence. There can be no freedom of expression under the present tribal law.

Referring to the King's petition to the British Parliament, the memorandum to Mr Sandys says that it is an endeavour to preserve the status quo of the tribal authority and a method of delaying the development of the Swazi towards democracy, the foundation for all civilised states.

"The Swaziland Progressive Party contends that there can be no freedom of speech and action under the tribal system of voting by a show of hands. The Swazi National Council leaders consider that the tribal method of ruling, with the Swazi Africans fearing the consequences, will ensure the continuation of their dictatorial supremacy and power to silence any reasonable opposition to their policies."

The memorandum says that the party does not approve of the White Paper constitution but, under protest, is prepared to take part in the election as a temporary measure, "provided that the protecting power ensures that the Swazi tribal leaders do not destroy the Swazi nation by amalgamation with the pro-Republic section of the European community and so by superiority of numbers in the new Legco suppress the progress of the nation towards democracy or, alternatively, that they do not destroy the Swazi Nation by accepting incorporation in a Republican Bantustan.

"Finally the Swaziland Progressive Party feels, that restorin the sovereign rights of the Swazi people, and granting true independence will be the answer to present and past grievances of the Swazi nation."

6.12.63 DR NXUMALO : MR NQUKU

Dr A.M. Nxumalo, president of the Swaziland Democratic Party, and J.J. Nquku, president of the Swaziland Progressive Party, announced this week that in anything affecting the welfare of the country and the people individually or collectively, both parties would take a united action or stand, with the proviso, however, that each party would retain its sovereignty and the right to act independently.

The two parties decided to draw up a memorandum to be submitted to the British Government pointing out those dangers which may involve or commit Swaziland and her people unnecessarily.

Dr Nxumalo and Mr Nquku "Invite all citizens and organisations who have the welfare of their people at heart to join them in a massive stand against the enemies of the future of this country and its people, irrespective of race or colour."

13.12.63 DR NXUMALO AND MR NQUKU IN KENYA

Two of Swaziland's political leaders left Mbabane for Jan Smuts Airport last week, to fly to Nairobi for Kenya's independence celebrations.

They are Dr Allen Nxumalo, President of the Swaziland Democratic Party, and Mr J.J. Nquku, president of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Kenya became independent yesterday. Mr Jomo Kenyatta, who was born about 1890, is the country's first Prime Minister.

After the celebrations and before returning to Swaziland, Mr Nquku will proceed on a tour of African States and Europe.

10.1.64 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS TO TAKE PART IN LEGCO ELECTION

The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress has decided to take part in the Legislative Council elections, which is due to take place in May or June. In a statement issued on Sunday, the N.N.L.C. says that it will fight the election "with a view to demanding a change of the constitution within the first six months of the life of the legislative Council, to be followed immediately by responsible government and independence. In the meantime the NNLC demands the immediate establishment of a democratic form of government, namely villages, towns and district council."

The N.N.L.C. appeals again to the Swazi National Council "to abandon its Bantustan approach to politics". The statement goes on : "In his speech of April 1960 the Ngwenyama said : "If we could only extricate Africa from the idea of one man, one vote, I am sure we could have achieved our objectives!" In the opinion of the N.N.L.C., African Nationalism, by which we understand freedom for the African Territories to govern themselves, does not mean expulsion of Whites.

"The N.N.L.C.urges the Swazi National Council to adopt the policy of one man, one vote. The SNC stands opposed to all African peoples' aspirations throughout the continent of Africa. The N.N.L.C., as champion of all oppressed masses of Swaziland, must ally itself to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"The N.N.L.C. denounces some attempts made by some novice politicians, some of them signatories to the 50 - 50 proposals to associate the N.N.L.C. with Dr Verwoerd with his Bantustan plans."

The N.N.L.C. says that it stands for the rights of all the people of Swaziland.

Therefore the party says it appeals to citizens of Swaziland to register as voters to help other citizens to register to take part in the general election.

17.1.64 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL : SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY WANTS CHIEFS IN THE 8 NATIONAL SEATS

Asked what the policy of the Swaziland Democratic Party was in regard to the position of the chiefs and the Legislative Council, Mr Simon Nxumalo, executive Secretary of the party, said in an interview this week that his party wanted chiefs in the Legislative Council. The right tribal seats should be filled by chiefs or their councillors, and he hoped that they would be.

"We want the present Swazi National Council people replaced by chiefs. The rightful place of the chiefs is on the Swazi National Council. The present members of the Swazi National Council have usurped the powers of the chiefs. The present crowd must get out of their place taken by the chiefs. The eight seats on the Legco must be taken by chiefs and their Councillors."

Mr Nxumalo said that the Swazi National Council has measured up national affairs. It had tried to force the 50 - 50 representation in Legco against the wishes of the people of Swaziland. It had made friendship with people who, it seemed, would like to see Swaziland become a part of the Republic of South Africa. It was hobnobbing with and getting advice from a Broederbond lawyer who would obviously like to see his country's policy of apartheid spread outside South Africa.

"These are the people who are dividing the Swazi Nation. They are being criticised throughout the country. The Swazi National Council decision to hold a referendum on the Ngwenyama's petition to the British Government is also puzzling the people and leading to criticism of the Swazi National Council.

"We have addressed many meetings throughout the country at the request of chiefs and others, because they want to hear a different point of view from that of the Swazi National Council. People at these meetings have expressed regret that the Swazi National Council has thought fit to hold a referendum, not only because it is not in the Swazi tradition to vote on an issue involving the King, but also because it is a dangerous precedent.

"Many people have said at our meetings and in private conversation that it would be bad for the Ngwenyama to be place in a controversial position, as he would be by the referendum. The referendum in any case will not be backed by the majority of the people."

Mr Nxumalo said that his party was busy selecting candidates for the Lagislative Council election. It had held a meeting at Mapungwane, in the Stegi district, on Sunday. It was in Swazi Nation Land, and they were there by invitation. The organisers of the meeting were Mr Ernest Mamba, Mr Justice Gule and the local members of the party in that area.

There were 210 people and the meeting was enthusiastic. The speakers were Dr Nxumalo, president of the party, Mr Sipho Dlamini, vice-president, Mr Enock Msibi, chairman of the Piggs Peak branch, Mr M. Masilela and himself. "It was one of a series of meetings in all parts of the Territory held at the request of the people and some chiefs, who are becoming more and more interested in what we have to say."

Asked whether he thought many people would boycott the election, Mr Nxumalo said, "our assessment is that 75 per cent of the people will vote."

7.2.64 NQUKU'S PARTY AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

"The Swaziland Progressive Party and its relations with the Swazi Nation" is the heading to a press statement issued by the chairman of the SPP, Mr J.J. Nquku, this week. It says that in 1948 Mr Nquku, seeking the unity of the nation, made it possible for members of the Swaziland Association (it changed its name later) to meet the King and His Executive at Lozitha Royal Kraal.

This resulted in cementing the desired unity, as the Swaziland Progressive Association was welcomed as part and parcel of the Swazi National Association, and would retain its sovereignty to act independently.

This position is the same up to the present, except for the difference of opinion between the Swazi National Council and the Swaziland Progressive Party.

At the London constitutional talks, the Swaziland Progressive Party had this to say about its relationship with the Swazi King and the nation : "The Swaziland Progressive Party is completely loyal to the Ngwenyama and would like to see him as the constitutional head of the Swaziland State, advised by a cabinet duly responsible to a democratically elected legislature. The Swaziland Progressive Party envisages the retention of tradition according to Swazi law and custom, so long as such is not injurious and incompatible with the welfare and well being of the Swazi Nation."

"Concerning the signing of the agreement by the Ngwenyama The Swaziland Progressive Party said : "We demand a treaty with the Constitutional monarch and not an absolute one. That treaty should be with the King bound by democratic processes of a legislature. An agreement should first be confirmed by a democratic legislature and will not be considered valid by the Swaziland Progressive Party until confirmed. The Ngwenyama is answerable to his people. This understanding would result in his becoming an instrument of dominant sections of the entrenched minority views within the population."

Regarding the Legislative Council, the Swaziland Progressive Party in its own constitutional proposals suggested a two - House Legislative System, firstly, a democratically elected legislative Council, and secondly a House of Chiefs with limited revisionary powers. "The latter would be composed of the King as head of the nation, the Indlovukazi, the principal chiefs and commoners so elected. In this the voice of the Nation would be heard and be effective, or at least this would be a kind of veto given to the nation."

The Swaziland Progressive Party seeks unity of the nation and stands firm for the rights of the people of Swaziland, especially for the rights of the down-trodden African, who is the man in the street bearing the heavy burden of carrying the country on his shoulders.

The Europeans are assured of their security as Swazilanders. They have a perfect right in the country so long as they regard Swaziland as their home and pay due allegiance to the Swaziland State.

14.2.64 SAMKETI AND THE SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Letter from Mr A.K. Hlope, Information Officer SNC

In an article in Izwi laMaswazi of January 25, Mr K.T. Samketi indicates that he does not agree with the Swazi National Council in all spheres of its activities. It is clear also that Mr Samketi does not attend meetings of the SNC, and it seems likely that he has not carefully read the published proposals for a Swaziland constitution prepared by the Joint Committee of the Government, elected members of the European Advisory Council and representatives of the SNC, which was submitted to the full council for approval.

Mr Samketi claims that in respect of the Kingship, land and minerals, Swazi Law and custom "this committee agreed to things that kill the African." He forgets that the proposals of the joint committee so entrenched these matters that their control was vested in the Ngwenyama - in Council.

These four matters cover everything which belong to the Swazi people, and their entrenchment was reiterated in the recent Petition to the British Parliament. Mr Samketi is confused in his thinking and his claim that the Committee made proposals "That will kill the African" is ridiculous.

Mr Samketi goes even further and suggest that the Swazis who who agreed to these proposals should leave the Council. According to Swazi custom, he is a member of the National Council but he does not attend meetings, and so in practice he does not belong to the Council. How can he therefore make such a statement?

If Mr Samketi had read the Constitutional proposals carefully, he would have seen from paragraph 90 the position of the King, and from paragraph 95 that no Bill which had not received the assent of the Ngwenyama could be come law.

The 50 - 50 proposals to which Mr Samketi attaches so much importance, took nothing from the Swazi but conferred on him equality of status and opportunity in the Legislative Council. Whatever Mr Samketi may say about the Joint Constitutional Proposals, they were at least submitted to the nation for approval. And that is something which he cannot claim for the Draft Constitution prepared for his political organisation by Professor Cowen and submitted to the Secretary of State for approval. This went so far as to propose subdivision of Swaziland.

Were Mr Samketi and his Colleagues afraid to submit such proposals for approval of the nation?

10.4.64 NEW POLITICAL GROUP FORMED SWAZILAND INDEPENDENT FRONT

A new political group has been formed in Swaziland, the Swaziland Independent Front, with a central steering committee consisting of Mr Frank Corbett, a member of the European Advisory Council, Colonel C.J. van Heerden, former Director of Land Utilization in Swaziland and Dr R.J.J. Lockhat of Manzini, with Mr Peter Braun of Mbabane, as Secretary. Area Representatives are : Stegi : Mr Trevor Dyson, and Mr Colin Rich ; Mliba : Mr Theo Woods, a former president of the Swaziland Agricultural Union, and Mr Frank Bjorseth; Malkerns : Mr Archie Schlapobersky and Z. Braun ; Mbabene : Mr Donald Nurcombe and Mrs Braun.

This committee was chosen at a meeting at Manzini on Thursday of last week. It was convened by private invitation and was attended by representatives from many parts of the territory. They decided to nominate and support candidates in the Legislative Council election.

The Committee is confident that the policy of the front will receive the support of the Swazi Nation, since the Nqwenyama's petition to the House of Commons recognised that national evolution should be catered for in the constitution.

It should also provide a political home for the vast majority of Europeans and Euro-africans who are opposed to the development of Swaziland as part of an eventual Bantustan - a policy urged by Dr Verwoerd.

10.4.64 UNITED SWAZILAND ASSOCIATION WANTS INDEPENDENCE SOON

The U.S.A. gained 45 new members after a well attended meeting in the Piggs Peak courthouse recently. They listened to Mr Willie Meyer, chairman of the association explain its policy.

Mr Bob Stephens, a member of the European Advisory Council and of the general committee of the association, presided.

Mr Willie van Rensburg, a member of the European Advisory Council and secretary of the association, said that it was the first of a series of meetings to be held by the association, so that all persons on the European roll could be better informed and could air their views.

Mr Meyer read all the clauses of the association's policy statement and expounded on each one. All members were requested to put forward names from among all Europeans in the territory from which candidates for the Legislative Council elections could be chosen.

24.4.64 ZWANE OBJECTS TO COUNCIL IN POLITICS

Dr A.P. Zwane, leader of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, has said that the National Council's decision to fight the Legislative Council elections in June will do the monarchy the greatest harm. The monarchy should be a symbol of unity, he said, an independent part of our constitution.

"They have made Nqwenyama part of the tribalist party", he said "and as a nationalist party we are opposed to tribalism, racialism and imperialism." He said the intention of the Swazi National Council was to make the people vote on loyalty, not on policy.

"The King", said Dr Zwane, "will end up in trouble." He compared the present situation here with that which prevailed in England at the time of Magna Carta, when King John was forced to come to terms with his subjects. He objected to the manner in which candidates for the Traditionalist will be nominated by a show of hands. In this manner those who did not vote for the approved candidates would be open to undue pressure.

24.4.64 DR NXUMALO REJECTS SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES

The following statement was issued by Dr Allen Nxumalo, the leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party, yesterday :

Firstly, I wish to make it clear that, I am keenly interested in thwarting Verwoerd's machination in Swaziland. I am naturally concerned about the future of my fellow freedom fighters who are today languishing in Verwoerd's gaols. However, due to the following facts, I am forthwith dissociating myself from the suspicious activities of the present Swaziland Anti-apartheid Committee, which now seems communist-inspired.

1. The sponsors of the meeting I attended where the Anti-apartheid Committee was discussed gave me to understand that all political parties and all refugees had been invited to attend this meeting ; and that owing to various reasons these different bodies had been unable to attend. I have since discovered that only a few invitations were extended and special efforts were made to have the Swaziland Democratic Party and the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress attending.

2. The consensus of opinion at this particular meeting was that an Anti-apartheid Front would be formed only at a subsequent meeting in which all political parties would be represented.

3. Mr Seperepere was never elected chairman of the Swaziland Refugee Committee. To my knowledge he is only chairman of the Congress Alliance.

4. At the meeting no suggestion was made that the Swaziland Anti-Verwoerd Front would in any way affiliate to or co-operate with the Anti-apartheid Committee in London.

1.5.64 ZWANE ATTACKS TRIBALISM

A large crowd of people who filled the Msunduza hall to celebrate Africa Freedom Day heard Dr A.P. Zwane, leader of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, make a strong attack on tribalism as the worst enemy of African Freedom. "Every member of the NNLC should denounce and fight tribalism, because it is the cause of trouble and delayed independence in other parts of Africa," said Dr Zwane in his speech.

He said, "Here at home, if you can analyse your origin objectively, you are not pure Swazis, so what is this claim which is made by the National Council that they want to go into Legco as Swazis?"

Dr Zwane said that the people should believe in Pan Africanism, which would triumph and unite the whole of Africa. Tribalism was what kept Swazis backward, and they should do away with it.

In his speech he also mentioned the freedom fighter leaders of Africa, including Patric Lumumba. Other speakers included Mr M. Maseko, Mr G. Katamzi, Mbabane branch chairman, Mr Groening and Mr P. Dlamini.

After speeches a candle procession composed of thirty five men and women and school children was formed. The lights were switched off, and the audience stood, as those in procession carried candles to the stage.

When I asked the significance of the candles, I was told that they were the symbols of the African leaders who had led their countries to independence.

15.5.64 NOMINATION DAY TUESDAY : N.N.L.C.

ANNOUNCES CANDIDATES

Nomination day in Swazialnd's first election of a Legislative Council will be on Tuesday, May 19. On that day between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., the names of the candidates for the European roll elections will be received by the Returning Officer at the Secretariat, Mbabane, and of national roll candidates by returning offices at the appropriate district headquarters of the four Constituencies. Of the various political parties and groups only the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress has announced its candidates. Among them are Dr Ambrose Zwane, leader of the party, Mr Macdonald Maseko, vice president, Mr Billy Morgan of Manzini, and Princess Pholile. More names and the party's manifesto are on page four.

Nominations for the European roll and the unreserved seats on the national roll must be accompanied by the names and signatures of a proposer, a seconder and eight supporters, nominations for the European reserved seats on the national roll must be accompanied by the names and signatures of the proposer, a seconder and 23 supporters.

Nomination forms and support forms may be obtained from Returning Officers. A cash deposit of R20 must accompany each nomination.

Returning Officers will check that the prospective candidate and his supporters are registered voters, and if satisfied will accept the nomination. A candidate on the national roll will then be asked to draw by lot for a symbol which will be associated with his name for the elections.

The candidate will be invited to be photographed with a drawing of his symbol. Reproductions of the photographs with the candidate's name will be exhibited at all relevant polling stations. European candidates will not be photographed.

On the close of nomination, ballot papers containing the names of candidates will be prepared for printing. National roll ballot papers will show the symbol of each candidate as well as his name.

Polling for the European roll seats will be on June 16 and for the national roll seats on June 23,24 and 25. National roll polling will be over three days to give voters in the large and heavily populated polling divisions sufficient opportunity to cast their votes.

A handbook outlining the procedure to be followed at the polls has been published for the guidance of presiding and polling officers. Copies of the book have been sent also to representatives of the various groups which will take part in the elections. Additional copies are on sale to the public for 25 cents at district headquarters or from the chief electoral officer.

A writ of election has been issued to the Ngwenyama. It requires him to deliver to the Chief Electoral Officer on June 26, a certificate stating the names of eight members of legislative council elected by Swazi National methods.

22.5.64 INDEPENDENT FRONT CANDIDATES

The Swaziland Independent Front states that it will support the following four candidates, who are standing for election to the Legco on the European roll : Col. C.J. van Heerden, Mr Frank Corbett, Dr R.J.J. Lockhat and Mr G.T.B. Bertram. These candidates are like thinking persons who agree with the policy statement of the Front.

In so far as the national rool is concerned, the Front believe that at this election the Swazi people will vote on tribal lines, and the Front does not wish to become involved in the issues between the tribalists and the political parties. The Front will therefore not participate as an organisation in the National Roll Elections.

"When time comes for a change, we shall strive for a constitution which provides initially for the special representation of the Swazi Nation and Europeans, and will adjust itself automatically to the natural trends resulting ultimately in a universal franchise. The traditionalists must not be deprived of their power and evolués must not be driven into the clutches of extremists. If the evolution is peaceful and orderly, the Europeans will at the same time gain confidence as to their future under an African majority and the way is paved for a truly multi-racial state.

"We desire and will strive for close economic co-operation and good neighbourliness with the Republic of South Africa, but we are opposed to any political pressure designed to include Swaziland in any Bantustan scheme.

"Great Britain : We shall strive within the British Commonwealth of Nations and under the protection of Great Britain."

29.5.64 CANDIDATES AND POLICY OF THE U.S.A.

The United Swaziland Association is putting up four candidates to fight for the European Seats in the Legislative Council. Their candidates are Mr Enoch Winn, Mr J.D. Weir, Mr W.P. Meyer and Mr B.P. Stewart.

The U.S.A., in brief, stands for the total independence of Swaziland under the Swazi King duly established by Swazi law and customs, on the principles advocated by King Sobhuza II of Swaziland.

The association's policy aims say that the people of Swaziland are capable of self-government and worthy of independence and will ensure, promote and defend a constitution for Swaziland approved by the will of the people. The association will advocate a policy of encouraging the investment of foreign capital for economic development. The association is dedicated to promoting the mutual respect of each group for the others' culture and tradition, and to advocating the principle of equality of opportunity for all, regardless of colour.

The Association supports and promotes an urgent educational programme for the Swazi people to enable them more fully to enjoy the benefits of equal opportunity. The association recognises English and siSwati as the official languages of the country.

29.5.64 N.N.L.C. MEMORANDUM TO THE KING

A memorandum drawn up by the National Liberatory Congress says that the King's known association with men such as Carl Todd and the United Swaziland Association is sufficient to cause dissatisfaction, worry and suspicion which already prevail, as these parties have overt spiritual ties with the Republic of South Africa, a country with which we radically differ.

The memorandum, which was originally intended for the King at Lobamba last Sunday, was signed by Mr Dumisa Dlamini.

The King is called upon to dissociate himself from Toddism and United Swaziland Association whose interest are a variance with the nation, "to annul the Imbokodvo party which violates the morale and makes the king "liable to forfeiting the eight seats provided for in the present constitution."

The Memorandum lastly calls on the king to allow all citizens to participate in the discussions which occur at Lobamba, "In view of the deprivation and denial of the primary right to the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress at Lobamba's two recent successive meetings."

The memorandum says that "The King's participation in party politics shakes Royalty to its foundations and threatens the entire nation with strife, disunity and unheard of pandemonium, since the defeat of the party which he, a born king, leads will logically spell the downfall of the Royalty."

It also says that the Swazi National Council "is an institution which by definition cannot transform into a political party .. without upsetting the national equilibrium."

The manifesto says that the King is subjecting himself to "Political skirmishes and mudslinging," which he could easily avoid by remaining a constitutional monarch.

The memorandum submits that "The banning of politicians from the Lobamba Royal Kraal ... militates against Swazi tradition and unfortunately reinforces the current feeling that the concept of "Swazi Nation", is of late being employed by the Swazi National Council to include all but political parties which are not sponsored by the King."

28.6.64 UNITED SWAZILAND ASSOCIATION TAKES ALL FOUR SEATS IN EUROPEAN ROLL

The four United Swaziland Association candidates were elected to Swaziland's first Legislative Council in the European Roll election on Tuesday. There were ten nominations for the four seats.

Following is the result :

B.P. Stewart	(1,129)	Usa
J.D. Weir	(992)	Usa
E.G. Winn	(989)	Usa
W.P. Meyer	(983)	Usa
G.T.B. Bertram	(607)	S.I.F.
C.J. van Heerden	(582)	S.I.F.
F.A. Corbett	(516)	S.I.F.
R.J.J. Lockhart	(440)	S.I.F.
S.W.J. Gaiger	(409)	Ind.
T.C. Booth	(260)	Ind.

A total of 1,763 people voted, giving a percentage poll of about 85%. There were 36 spoilt papers. Swaziland was treated as one constituency for the European roll elections. No date has yet been fixed for the first meeting of the Council, but the usual practice is for the first meeting to take place about a month after the elections.

4.9.64 SWAZI NATIONAL COUNCIL WANTS CRASH PLAN FOR EDUCATION

Mr Polycarp Dlamini, Swazi Council's Secretary and the member of the Swaziland Executive Council associated with education, and other members of the SNC, told the team of four educational experts of the Unesco educational planning mission now in the territory at a meeting on Tuesday that they were grateful to the United Kingdom for grants-in-aid, especially under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, but the needs of the people were so great and they were so pressed for time that other sources must be tapped for funds. They needed other grants, loans, scholarships and fellowships.

"These appeals will be directed to our friends in the West, which include the United Nations, as well as to the public of Swaziland, especially those who earn in the country.

"The present set up, where the Swazi is relegated to the menial position of labourer and wage earner, is a very unfortunate state of affairs, because these masses of people regard everybody in a better position than they are as an oppressor, an exploiter and a sucker of their wealth and blood. Those who earn in the country must prove that this allegation is untrue.

"On the Government side, people feel that the have been neglected, and they detest and deplore the practice whereby any key positions in any department of sphere are occupied by foreigners - mainly expatriate officers and Africans from South Africa and elsewhere.

"We are being prepared for independence. Who is going to take over if there are no Swazis understudying these posts?

Earlier in their statement to the Unesco team the SNC thanked them for the work their organisation was doing. They had arrived at an appropriate and most opportune moment, when the Swazis were being charged with the task of nation building, the cornerstone of which, as in all countries, was education.

"The time factor is pressing. Swaziland has up to now to rely on a colonial power to shape its future and formulate its education policy. This has resulted in discrepancies, such as different education policies for the various communities in the territory and training for white-collar jobs at the expense of other trades and professions.

"Swaziland is potentially a very rich country but its riches are untapped. Independence proper means self-sufficiency, economically and otherwise. That is why we would like to have men trained sufficiently to be able to extract these primary products from the soil."

On public administrative training, the SNC said, "Today there is not one Swazi in the civil service in charge of a department or as a deputy to the director of any government department. The number of Swazi government officers is dismal You therefore need crash programmes in all the various fields of learning to enable the Swazi to take a full share in running the affairs of their country."

23.10.64 SWAZILAND DEMOCRATIC PARTY CALLS FOR LAND REFORM

The recent conference of the Swaziland Democratic Party passed a resolution calling on the Government to introduce "Immediate and Drastic" land reforms for the improvements of Agriculture on Swazi National Land, as it is essential for the people of the country to be able to feed themselves and not have to import their staple food.

Another resolution says that the party honours and respects the international practice of protecting political refugees. It adds that Africans cannot be regarded as refugees in their own motherland, Africa. The party asks the Government to set up price control and a rent board. It also asks for a housing loan scheme to expedite slum clearance and to prevent future slums.

The conference welcomed the establishment by the Government of a social welfare department, particularly as it will help African widows and orphans, who have been neglected in the past. It also says that juvenile deliquency is increasing and the new department will help to curb it.

Other resolutions "condemn the expulsion and victimisation of the Swazi people by the chiefs, "re-iterate the party's determination to oppose the incorporation of Swaziland directly or indirectly into the Republic, condemn business monopolies in Swaziland, condemn the "exploitation of the Swazi people by the Imbokodvo through the LIFA FUND."

The party states that it supports freely organised trade unions, disapproves of the "clubbing of certain political organisations with industrialists to frustrate trade union advancement in this country." The conference affirmed its belief in the "constitutional monarchy, not necessarily on the western pattern."

8.1.65 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY SPLIT :

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

A reply has been received from Mr B.M. Simelane of the Swaziland Progressive Party Unity, and Mr Austin W. Nxumalo, organising Secretary of the Swaziland Progressive Party (Mr Obed Mabuza section) to a statement published in the Times of Swaziland on 25 December 1964 from Mr A.W.M.Nxumalo, Secretary General of Mr Nquku's section of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Mr A.W.M. Nxumalo said in his statement that Mr Mabuza should call a conference to prove his leadership. Mr Nquku had the confidence of the people.

In the statement now issued by Mr Simelane and Mr Austin Nxumalo they say they are not prepared at this stage to smear one another with mud as they "have a great task ahead of fighting imperialism and colonialism."

They reminded Mr A.W.M. Nxumalo of the statement on the meetings on 27th July, and 5th August and 28th August, "where it was unanimously resolved that the two parties should unite as one strong organisation."

"We also remind our friend that he has not denied that the meetings were conducted for the purpose of uniting within the parties concerned, as minutes are available on all the deliberations at these meetings of unity organised by Mr Mabuza for the benefit of the members at large in the whole territory of Swaziland."

Mr Simelane and Mr Austin W. Nxumalo say they accept Mr A.W.M. Nxumalo's challenge to call a conference. They hope to do so soon.

8.1.65 DR ZWANE CABLES THE COLONIAL OFFICE

Dr Ambrose Zwane, president of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, sent another cable to London on Thursday of last week, this time to the Colonial Office. It was prompted by the cable sent to the British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Wilson, by Dr George Msibi, General Secretary of the Imbokodvo National Movement, on Tuesday 22, December, Dr Msibi's cable in return was prompted by one sent to Mr Wilson by Dr Zwane the previous week.

Dr Zwane's earlier cable asked Mr Wilson to consider seriously convening a fully representative constitutional conference on Swaziland immediately. It demanded one man, one vote and the end of British and South African "Imperialism."

Dr Msibi's cable said that the Imbokodvo reaffirmed the fundamental principle of freedom of speech but strongly deplored "people like Dr Zwane, who represent nobody but themselves, to influence the fate of Swaziland by making direct approaches "to the British Prime Minister."

Dr Zwane, in his cable to the Colonial Office last week, said that Dr Msibi resigned "the leadership of his National Convention Movement which he represented at the London talks, where he demanded one man one vote."

Dr Zwane's cable said that the Imbokodvo was the "Brain Child of Pretoria" and a group of Whites "who vote in the South African Republic and in Swaziland. The group is the so-called United Swaziland Association."

The cable says that this group is behind "Dr Msibi and the so-called Imbokodvo National Movement."

Dr Zwane said later that Dr Msibi had killed his own Party, the Mbandzeni National Convention, by resigning as President. "He will be undertaker of the Imbokodvo as well. I am certain of that," Dr Zwane said.

23.4.65 THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY JOINS THE IMBOKODVO : UNITY FOR INDEPENDENCE IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME

The Swaziland Democratic Party has joined the Ngwenyama's Imbokodvo National Movement. This was announced in a statement by Dr Allen Nxumalo, president of the SDP, on behalf of the party's National Executive Committee yesterday. Under the heading "Swaziland Democratic Party joins Imbokodvo", the statement reads :

"In pursuance of its motto, 'unite, independence, justice', and in view of the policy that the Swaziland Democratic Party has always held, the Executive Committee, with the full agreement of the party's members, has decided to join the Imbokodvo National Movement.

27.8.65 12 APPOINTED TO CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE

Her Majesty's Commissioner, Sir Francis Lloyd, has appointed 12 unofficial members of the Legislative Council to the local Committee which will review Swaziland's Constitution and make detailed recommendations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the form of a new one.

The Imbokodvo National Movement has eight members on the committee and the United Swaziland Association has four. The Committee met for the first time yesterday to deal with procedural matters.

The members, selected after consultation with the leaders of the Imbokodvo and USA, the only parties to win seats in last year's general election, are :

Imbokodvo National Movement

Prince Makhosini Dlamini
Prince Masitsela Dlamini
Mr J.M.B. Sukati
Dr G.L. Msibi
Mr C.F. Todd
Mr Mfanasibili G. Dlamini
Mr A.K. Hlophe
Mr Polycarp Dlamini

United Swaziland Association

Mr W.P. Meyer
Mr R.P. Stephens
Mr H.D.G. Fitzpatrick
Mr E. Winn

Joint Secretaries are Mr H.M. Roemmele and the Rev. A.B. Gamedze Sir Francis is chairman of the Committee and the official members are Chief Secretary Mr A.C.E. Long (vice-chairman), and the Attorney-General, Mr J.J. Dickie.

Mr Long said in a statement to the Legislative Council last week that political parties and groups not represented in the Legislature would of course be given proper opportunity to present their views to the Committee.

3.9.65 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY ASKS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

The Swaziland Progressive Party has sent a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary, Mr Anthony Greenwood, demanding the holding of a constitutional conference in which all recognised political parties and other groups would be represented.

The memorandum says that in the review of the constitution the Swazi, unexperience in constitution making, should be afforded sufficient time to consider and discuss proposals.

It suggests that the British Government should provide a constitutional expert "If the Swazi is to survive to face the matured, advanced Europeans or the Swazi will suffer the same fate as in the past at the hands of the shrewd European adventurers."

The memorandum says that the British Government, as a trustee of the Swazi Nation, should see that the development of the Swazi Nation takes the normal course of growth, and allow enough time for the circulation of the document embodying the proposals, so as to afford the entire population time to consider, discuss and formulate opinion without being rushed or steam-rollered, as was the case in dealing with the constitution in 1963.

The memorandum asks the British Government, before independence, to make all necessary safeguards for the protection of the Swazi from the designs of the imperialists and from the economic enslavement of the Swazi by the colonialists or from the tyranny of the tribal leaders."

The party, in its memorandum, describes the way in which the constitutional committee was set up as arbitrary and undemocratic. It says that "It is perturbed and alarmed that in such a matter fraught with such serious future implications and consequences, sealing once and for all the fate of Swaziland and destiny of the Swazi, an unconstitutional procedure was adopted in the setting up of the present Constitutional Committee, imposing upon the Swazi only the representatives of reactionary tribalists and the diehard conservative Europeans, eradicating completely the inclusion of the politicians who fully represent the welfare of even the ordinary Swazi in the street."

The memorandum says that it is unbelievable that such a constitutional Committee could be set up during the rule of the Labour Government "which boasts of guardianship for democracy."

12.11.65 N.N.L.C. MEMORANDUM TO MARNHAM

In a memorandum handed to Mr J.E. Marnham, under Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, during his visit to Swaziland, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress says that in Lesotho, Botswana and other parts of Africa all political parties have taken part in reviewing their first constitution and in drafting a pre-independence one, irrespective of whether they had representation in the Legislative Council, but the British Government "has strangely decided to exclude us from the Committee which is currently reviewing Swaziland's imposed constitution."

The memorandum states that the committee is not representative of the territory's political opinion.

It says that the franchise provision under the present constitution frustrated the whole spirit of forming a fully representative body in the legislative council, promoting racial harmony and ensuring democracy, because adult men and women were denied one man one vote ; and the European's which form a minority, had a double vote as they were both on the separate roll, and the Swazi National Council, too, had two votes - nomination and national roll votes.

"Delimination of constituency was highly undemocratic and precluded all fair play which exists under a one-member constituency arrangement", the memorandum says. "Non-racialism can flourish where all citizens enjoy equality, where socio-economic growth is not governed by either race or creed. The present political trend is at war with the Labour Government's declared policies, and is for the production of a neo-colonialist government for Swaziland."

The NNLC says that if an embarrassing situation similar to that now prevailing in Rhodesia is to be avoided, majority rule for Swaziland under one man one vote must be guaranteed.

"Every adult man and every woman should exercise his voting right if Swaziland is to enter an era of peace and prosperity. A full representative conference on Swaziland should be held in London early next year for the purpose of drafting a pre-independence constitution."

The memorandum says, "we are now ready to assume the responsibility to govern ourselves, to take our destiny into our own hands, for we, no less than the British, have a right to self-determination."

12.11.65 "POLITICAL BLACKMAIL" SAYS MAKHOSINI

Under the heading "A renewed smearing campaign against Imbokodvo National Movement", Prince Makhosini Dlamini's statement reads : "Heavily defeated in the last elections and hopelessly disappointed at having lost the cause of unseating elected members of Imbokodvo National Movement, and furthermore having satisfied themselves that the Imbokodvo leader was accredited official recognition in Accra, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress has renewed its old negative political blackmail and smear-campaign against Imbokodvo National Movement.

"To achieve their aim the NNLC has seen fit to publish Mr Todd's Private letter to the King, pleading on behalf of the Europeans in Swaziland. This letter is now used for propaganda purposes and is meant to be the policy of Imbokodvo National Movement. Refused the right to attend the Organisation of African Unity Conference meetings, the leader of the NNLC spent his time distributing Mr Todd's letter outside the conference hall, trying to undermine me and canvassing for support without success.

"In doing this, NNLC has deliberately left out the King's reply to Mr Todd's letter, for fear that their aims will be defeated completely if the King's reply were published.

"It must be clear that Mr Todd was expressing his views and those of his European colleagues, and those are by no means the views of the Nationalist Movement. Mr Todd's letter is addressed to Mr P.L. Dlamini, the then secretary to the Swazi Nation. My secretary and I were away for three months and as this was a political matter and not an Administrative matter, the letter was filed and could not be sent to the King without my consent.

"On my return in April 1965, my attention was drawn to this letter, and the necessity to clarify Imbokodvo's policy on the future constitution of Swaziland became evident. Accordingly a meeting of all elected members of the Legislative Council and important citizens of Swaziland was held at Masundwini on Tuesday 18 May 1965 at which the King, as our mouthpiece, delivered the major policy speech in reply to Mr Todd's letter and to those who, like him, held different views. For the information of the public a report of the speech is attached."

The letter which Mr Todd is alleged to have written is dated 26 January 1965, and much water has flowed under the bridges since then. The position has changed entirely. From what has leaked out from the discussion of the Constitutional Committee the one man, one vote system is a certainty. It seems also certain at this stage that there will be no reserved seats.

The published letter is said to have been written after a meeting between Mr Todd, Mr Polycarp Dlamini and others on possible constitutional developments.

One paragraph reads : "I told the two European colleagues who were present at this private discussion that I would go a long way to support the constitutional proposals which had your backing and with safeguards for the Europeans agreed with you personally, as the European Community has confidence in your undertaking on behalf of the nation which they would not readily accept if they were merely written into a constitution that would be dishonoured by the political demagogues."

The writer said that he had always argued with his European colleagues that the Europeans should be full members playing an active part in Imbokodvo and that he was not happy "with a loose understanding of a United Swaziland Association as a separate European political party."

The writer, foreseeing the abandonment of the European roll and discussing the possibility of a reserved seat system, said it was desirable to seek more alternative protection for the European minority, which "you have so staunchly sought to protect in the past."

In the event of a reserved seat system, the writer said it was vital to the European to have the support in an election of an understanding with Imbokodvo to use the Swazi numerical superiority to ensure that the right European candidates were voted into Parliament.

He then made suggestions which, in his opinion, would continue to inspire the confidence of the Europeans in their future well being in the territory, and he said that such confidence was important to the economic development of the territory and the ultimate promotion of the interests of the Swazi people.

He sought confirmation that there would be no attack on the European ownership of their farms and that the principles of th Bill of rights which were agreed upon by the Swazi National Council and the Europeans in the original Constitutional negotiations, would be supported.

The NNLC, in their comment attached to the reproduction of the letter, says that "some settlers' intentions in participating in the shaping of the country's destiny are both sinister and diabolical, that they want to use some selfish and narrow-minded sons of the soil, masquerading under the Imbokodvo to entrench their minority position."

The NNLC says that "The Imbokodvo does not represent the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed Swazi, but those of the European and the privileged, omnivorous sons of the soil."

3.12.65 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS

REPLIES TO MAKHOSINI

Letter from A.R. Khosa Acting Secretary General N.N.L.C.

Prince Makhosini Dlamini, who is supposed to be the mouthpiece of Imbokodvo, should have known that the NNLC lost the general election because imperialism continually seeks to protect interests. He should have known that the African heads of state and governments resolves at their Accra Summit Conference against recognising his movement and that staying comfortably in Accra during the conference was not itself "official recognition."

When the leader of the Imbokodvo says, "... the King as our mouthpiece, delivered the major policy speech in reply to Mr Todd's letter and to those who, like him, held different views" (Times of Swaziland 12 November) he informs the public that the King is a spokesman of the Imbokodvo National Movement. This we did not know.

Since this "Private" letter, which shows what goes on between Imbokodvo and Mr Todd and others was replied to (when a major policy statement was made in May) in public, Prince Makhosini should not panic when we merely extend the public nature of this private letter.

And if it is contended that Mr Todd's private letter was replied to in public because it deals with political issues, then we are continuing along the same vein. For politics cannot be successfully discussed in secrecy always.

The statement that "The leader of the NNLC spent his time distributing Mr Todd's letter outside conference hall",,is completely fictitious. Prince Makhosini conveniently fails to tell the public that circulation of the letter in Accra mystified him. For circulation, which did not take all the NNLC leaders's time, was done elsewhere. The choice of "outside conference Hall" is therefore arbitrary.

Nothing is farther from the truth than saying that the NNLC leader was refused the right to attend the Organisation of African Unity Conference meetings. The world knows that the NNLC, recognised by the OAU, was invited by the OAU, whereas the Imbokodvo was invited by Ghana, which is a member-state of the OAU.

By using the King as his slogan, rod and staff, Prince Makhosini is trying to hoodwink the electorate so that they may accept and swallow his sugar-coated pill. Swaziland is, it should be remembered, in politics which are more complicated and articulated than that of 1881.

NOTE : This letter has been shortened - Editor.

13.12.65 N.N.L.C.'S REPLY TO DR VERWOERD'S OFFER

Mr Madingizwe Maseko, Vice-President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, says in a statement that the Verwoerd Government is doing everything to bring the Ngwenyama in its power and his advisers in the Swazi National Council under his domination. "He has gone even further and has offered to take Swaziland under his protection."

Mr Maseko says that Dr Verwoerd would like to bring Swaziland "under his way of life, giving power and money to those chiefs and agents who support him, and imposing a system of oppression and raciàlism on the African people.

"Does Dr Verwoerd really think that he will be allowed to incorporate or protect Swazialnd? Does he think that we can allow ourselves to be taken into racialist slavery? Does he think that Britain in defiance of world opinion, would hand Swaziland over to Nationalists? No, he does not think so.

"His real purpose is to back up the traditionalist and reactionary elements in our own nation, in order to hamper our own people that Britain will be reluctant to hand over our rights of full nationhood.

"Why does Dr Verwoerd fear a democratic Swaziland? Because a free Swaziland in which all races live together on a basis of real equality is the greatest threat to his system and belief of race mastery. Nothing would be more undermining to Dr Verwoerd than to have a Swaziland on his boundaries in which Whites are equal to Blacks. Whites who are not swamped, beaten up, discriminated against in any way. In other words where Whites and Blacks live happily and equally together. This would destroy his last justification for the last White laager in Africa."

Mr Maseko says that the people of Swaziland will create a country in which there will be no discrimination against the Black and equally no discrimination against the White. All people will have the vote, will be able to sit in Parliament and hold high offices of government because of their merit and not their colour.

Mr Maseko says that there are thousands of Europeans in South Africa who do not support Verwoerd's Government and to whom the idea of apartheid is repulsive.

"To these South Africans we say there is a place for you in Swaziland. Come to Swaziland with your knowledge, your techniques, and help us to develop this country and there is room for you. In particular there is room, and will be room, for teachers and educators.

"Plans have been made for the establishment of an institute for education and adult education in Swaziland, and a number of foundations abroad will assist us in the formation of this institute.

"Through this institute we plan to carry out a crash plan for the education of every Swaziland child in the immediate future, and for the establishment of night schools throughout Swaziland as the first step in a campaign for improving the literacy of our people."

24.12.65 ZWANE REPLIES TO IMBOKODVO

Letter from Dr A.P. Zwane, c/o London Office, NNLC.

I am sorry to see in your issue of 10 December that the Imbokodvo General Secretary should have been fit to publish gratuitous and quite invidious criticism on the quality of the hospitality and ancillary services provided by the African Affairs Centre (a Government body incidentally) to myself and fellow freedom fighters from other parts of Africa.

I can testify that the accommodation and transport provided in Accra was in every way adequate to our needs and the baseless assertion that I had to "thumb lifts" wherever I wanted to go is a quite groundless aspersion on the generosity of my hosts.

I am well aware that the representatives of the Imbokodvo were invited to Accra by the Government of Ghana, which was simply meeting a requirement, however distasteful, of official protocol. Why were they not invited by the organisation of African Unity, which arranged my own invitation and met my expenses? The OAU is an independent African body. As such, it is not bound by the requirement of protocol and is thus able to extend invitations according to merit rather than necessity.

I was present at all the general sessions of the conference whilst I did not, again for reasons of protocol, attend the closed sessions. Neither were my ears blasted by a strong and quite unanimous vote of criticism of my party's policies. This, of course was the Imbokodvo representative, who had to sit through the proceedings whilst the free voice of the entire African Continent condemned his party and its works.

I had expected the Imbokodvo to preserve discreet silence on the matter, but it appears to be so thick skinned as to be ready to draw everybody's attention to the low regard in which it is held throughout free Africa

The NNLC enjoys the full confidence and support of the OAU, which is why it was invited to the previous conferences in Cairo (1964) and Addis Ababa (1965). The Imbokodvo has never enjoyed this confidence nor this support, and after the fiasco it suffered in Accra it is clear that it never will.

The free people of Africa know the NNLC is in the vanguard of the struggle for the true independence of Swaziland, they know we will not betray them to Pretoria or any settler interest, and I am confident the Ngwane people will soon understand the same truth.

The Rhodesia crisis is a direct result of an alliance between the settlers and the chiefs, a crisis which may yet bring bloodshed and ruin to the whole of Southern Africa. Yet there is no crisis in Zambia, where a liberation movement headed by President Kaunda has secured order and progress for the whole people of Zambia.

The Imbokodvo has worked some smart tricks on the Ngwane people but there is always a day of reckoning, and I am convinced from my recent work in Accra, London, Cairo, Rome and other capitals, that the day of reckoning for the Imbokodvo is not far off.

31.12.65 IMBOKODVO APPEAL TO "SANER ELEMENTS"

The Imbokodvo National Movement, in a statement released on Wednesday by its General-Secretary, Dr George Nsibi, appealed to "those in the country who still think rationally and sanely, without emotional involvement, to consider the welfare of Swaziland first and foremost to 'divorce race from politics' and eschew the advice of those whose policies are patently based outside this country ; and to tell them as the King said that 'we have the team in Swaziland.' Let those who do not believe stand aside and watch us win the game on a non-racial basis. Here is the text of the Imbokodvo's statement, which is headed "Imbokodvo Appeals to Saner Elements."

One of the corner-stones of the Imbokodvo National Movement's policy is the establishment of a non-racial state in Swaziland. The Imbokodvo's unwavering adherence to this policy has led to very strong criticisms from both sides of the colour line.

The African radicals have accused Imbokodvo of selling out to the white settlers, of Verwoerdism, and of being out of step with the rest of Africa.

On the other hand the White radicals have branded Imbokodvo as political theorists, of ignoring the multi-racial ethnical character of Swaziland and of yielding to Pan-Africanist pressures from African States.

This was the political climate in Swaziland when Imbokodvo was founded more than eighteen months ago and when the entire country had been driven to political panic by these same elements, and when scores of thousands of foreign investment pounds had been lost by the country.

However Imbokodvo's tenacious adherence to the belief that Swaziland could be a shining example of non-racialism in a jaundiced and prejudiced world, that only trust and confidence in each other could break political and colour prejudices and bring about social stability and economic prosperity for all ; and Imbokodvo's deportment and men in the Legislature - these were the factors that brought economic stability, industrial expansion and political equanimity back to Swaziland.

And in accordance with its promises to the electorate the Imbokodvo has been able to shorten the life of the present constitution by one year, and to bring about the formation of a Constitutional Committee composed of the elected representatives of the people. These have been no mean achievements by and for the people of Swaziland. No sooner, however, had it become clear that the people of Swaziland were resolutely and unobtrusively inch by inch moving towards their objectives than the malevolent, destructive voices of the radicals were heard again.

11.2.66 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY CELEBRATES ITS 37TH BIRTHDAY

The Swaziland Progressive Party celebrated its 37th anniversary on 21 January. A statement by the secretary-general, Mr A.W.M. Nxumalo, says, "This was the first anniversary when the objectives of this revolutionary party seemed to have been achieved."

In the morning the executive held a service at the grave at Manzini of a former President, Mr Benjamin Nxumalo. Tributes were paid by Mr J.J. Nquku, President, Mr Stanley Nxumalo, Mrs (Dr) Allen Nxumalo, Mr H.M. Dlamini and Mr Miya.

In the afternoon, at Mbabane, a service was held at the grave of Mr F.F. Sepamla, a former secretary-general.

To mark the anniversary, two conferences were held, one for the north at Mbabane on 22 and 23 January, and one for the south at Hlatikulu on 29 and 30 January.

Mr Harvey Mabhunu Dlamini presided at the Mbabane conference, and the speakers were Mr Nquku, Mr A.W.M. Nxumalo, Mr C.L.K. Sangweni, Mr H.F. Nkosi, and Mrs J.B. Dladla.

Mr A.W.M. Nxumalo presided at Hlatikulu. The speakers were Mr Nquku, Mr M.G. Hlope, Mr H.F. Knosi, Mr Sangweni, Mr Frank Dlamini and Mrs S. Ndlangamandla.

That Swaziland be devided into eight constituencies, each returning three members to the House of Assembly.

That the Kind should appoint six members to a House of Assembly with 24 elected members, and six other to the Senate, with six members of this house elected by the House of Assembly

That the Swazi Nation's land should be invested in the King's trust for the Swazi Nation, and

That the King retains the right to make grants, leases or other dispositions in respect of minerals and mineral oils vested in him.

"The NNLC and the people of Swaziland are of the firm opinion that such proposals, if accepted by the British Government as a basis for granting self-government to Swaziland, will only serve the interests of the White settlers and their imperialist bosses.

"The reason why Imbokodvo and the United Swaziland Association fear the democratic principle of accepting the return of one member per constituency is because they would be faced with hopeless defeat, and we insist on adopting the practice that has been followed all over Africa in former British Colonies and in Britain itself : One member, one constituency on the basis of one man, one vote.

"We also maintain that as the Queen of England has no right to fill the House of Lords with her own nominees, the king of Swaziland has no right to fill the Houses of Parliament with nominees amounting to about a third in a joint session of the Houses."

The memorandum says that the "Swaziland people maintain that the struggle for emancipation is based on land. Land and minerals should be collectively owned, as in the past, by the people, with the government elected by the people themselves as trustee."

The NNLC states that it has asked the British Government to summon a duly representative constitutional conference in which the long-term interests of the African people of Swaziland should be duly recognised and safeguarded.

"In this respect we should like to appeal to the United Nations to exert pressure on the Government of the United Kingdom and stress the importance of convening such a conference in the interests of a peaceful transition to independence."

The memorandum quotes Mr Willie Meyer, MLC leader of the United Swaziland Association, as saying , "I want 50 - 50 parliamentary representation for Whites for the next five to ten years. I won't settle for less."

"This is the man who is an ally of an organisation that purports to be representing the Swazi people," the NNLC told the United Nations Anti-colonialism Committee.

1.7.66 NQUKU COMPLAINS TO COLONIAL SECRETARY

Under the heading "Complaint against publication of reply to the Swaziland Progressive Party memorandum on the constitutional proposals in the Times of Swaziland by the Imbokodvo," Mr J.J. Nquku, president of the SPP, sent the following letter to the British Colonial Secretary, Mr Fred Lee, on Monday :

"The SPP is mindful of the fact that on 25 May, 1966, it submitted directly to you a memorandum containing comments on the constitutional proposals, but to its greatest astonishment a reply appeared in the Times of Swaziland of 17 June, 1966, under the hand of Dr George Msibi of the Imbokodvo Party.

"The SPP as a public body takes strongest exception and comdemns forthrightly this raw deal of the British Government in handing over to another political party a confidential document and, worse, authorising that party to make a reply defending its sinister actions.

"The SPP regards this cold-blooded action as a shameful betrayal of trust and a clear breach of faith that a protecting government could go to such an extent of becoming partial and take sides, instead of remaining neutral, upholding impartially the principles of democracy and justice.

"The SPP condemns this action as unjust, unfair and irresponsible and is also aware of the fact that the Imbokodvo is not yet the government of this country, and we challenge the British Government to make an explanation of this unwarranted betrayal.

"The SPP from this action has drawn one conclusion that the British Government has contracted a deal with the Imbokodvo to eliminate all opposition, thus allowing the Imbokodvo a free hand in betraying the Swazi nation.

"The SPP voices its strongest condemnation of all the fantastic statements made by Dr G. Msibi, who having failed in the political field is now bent on distoring the political situation in Swaziland and by all means endeavouring to smear the other politicians, make them scapegoats or victims.

"Finally the SPP condemns the attitude of the present officials of the Swaziland Government, who make it plain that they favour the Imbokodvo. In the opinion of the SPP, a fair deal seems to have ended with the B.A. Marwick Administration, and today between the government and the political parties there is hardly a smooth connection and this spells trouble for the future of this country. However, in spite of this attitude towards the political parties and in spite of attempts to suppress all political freedom in this country, the SPP vouches to carry on the struggle to the bitter end."

5.8.66 SIR FRANCIS CRITICISED BY ZWANE

Dr Ambrose Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, in his address to the annual conference of the Congress at Manzini on Sunday, criticised the Queen's Commissioner Sir Francis Lloyd, for accommodating "the reactionary policies of the Imbokodvo Party". Dr Zwane said that Sir Francis took the extreme step of appointing to the Constitutional Committee only representatives of the White settler elements and representatives of the royalist traditionalists, to the entire exclusion of the nationalist movements.

The steps taken by the Queen's Commissioner are unique in the history of the colonial office. The pandering to the Swazi Traditionalist by British Imperialism reaches its climax when the Queen's Commissioner proceeds to the Swazi National Council to urge the Imbokodvo to organise very hard and overtake their enemies the NNLC (vide minutes SNC, 29th January 1965).

Dr Zwane said that the political system which the Constitutions Committee's report proposes was unacceptable to the NNLC "because of its bias against emergent political forces to which it tends to deny all independent representation, its anti-democratic characteristics and its structural weakness. These could be sources of instability laying Ngwane open to South African interference."

The NNLC is also opposed to three member constituencies, which Dr Zwane described as being a direct denial of the democratic principle.

"This invention is remarkable pandering on the part of the British Government to Swazi royalist traditionalist. All the more remarkable when we consider that the present Lesotho and Botswana constitutions are so good in this respect."

Dr Zwane said that the King would not be a true constitutional monarch because of his wide discretionary powers. Another criticism made by Dr Zwane against the Constitutional proposal was the "enormous potential power of the Senate." He said that at a joint sitting of the two houses of Parliament a large majority of the Senate could vote down a closer majority in the Assembly. Fortunately the report may not have any easy passage into law. The Colonial Office can hardly countenance its structural weakness at least.

"As far as the Constitutional question is concerned we have reached an impasse and this impasse can only be resolved by the convening of a fully representative conference, and this we demand to take place immediately."

Earlier in his address Dr Zwane referred to "the rather notorious subject of multiracialism." He said that following the capture of a portion of the Black leadership of Southern Afric by a section of the White ruling class the masses of the people were in extreme danger of being deceived into losing sight of the objectives of their struggle.

"This captured black leadership claims to be fighting for freedom, when in truth it is fighting for the tutelage of the African peoples.

It is tooth and nail against Africans gaining active control of their own country. It is fighting for the maintenance of the status quo.

"The captured black leadership was no longer within the ranks of the liberation movement. Those so-called leaders were seeing to it that whatever new social order was established in Swaziland the essentials of white domination were retained, even though its frills and trappings might be ripped off.

"This attitude has been labelled "multiracialism" by their white masters. They have even boldly suggested that being a multiracialist is a virtue. Multiracialism is a pathology underlying the attitude of mind of the Swazi National Council. It is the slave mentality of our fellow Africans who refuse to think for themselves."

Dr Zwane said that the NNLC had made it clear that it had embraced Pan Africanism for its doctrine. "Multi-racialism and Pan Africanism were like two parallel lines, they would never meet. Pan Africanism recognised the existence of only one race, anthropologically referred to as homosapiens. It follows therefore that multiplicity of races, with all its political implications is manifestly a monstrous thing. If multiplicity of races is rejected, also rejected is the theory of superiority of one race over another."

19.8.66 CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS : REQUEST BY NNLC

A resolution urging the British Government to convene a representative Constitutional Conference to settle the constitutional issue was passed by the Ngwane National Liberatory Congres at its recent annual conference at the Zakhele Community hall, Manzini. The resolution condemns the Constitutional Committee's report, which it states, has been rejected by the political opposition and such bodies as the Swaziland Student's Union and the Swaziland Mine-worker's Union because of its inadequacies and its reactionary nature.

Another resolution reaffirmed its belief in the right of the African people of Ngwane and elsewhere to self determination and to decide their own destiny. This resolution also "Deplores the continued presence of British troops in Swaziland and demands their immediate withdrawal."

The conference condemned the policies of the Western Powers, which calculated to make, through Britain, the African territories of Lesotho, Botswana and Ngwane politico - economic appendages of apartheid South Africa. The resolution noted "with astonishment the British Labour Government's inhuman handing over of the peoples of Lesotho, Botswana and Ngwane to authoritatian-traditionalist rule through constitutional chicanery."

A press statement from Mr Arthur Khoza, Acting Secretary-General of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, states that the conference was attended by close on 200 delegates and about 4,000 other members. He adds that it was boosted by the participation of delegates from the Lesotho Congress Party, and that goodwill messages from the Lesotho Congress Party, the Botswana Peoples Party, the Pan Africanist Congress in Azania (the name given by the PAC to the Republic of South Africa), Tanzania, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, and from other parts of the world.

The conference choose the following as its National Executive Committee : President, Dr A.P. Zwane ; Vice-President, Mr G.F. Dlamini ; Secretary-General, Mr C.D. Dlamini ; Assistant Secretary, Mr N.S. Malaza ; Treasurer, Mr A.M. Msibi; National Organising Secretary, Mr S. Mkhonza ; Assistant National Organising Secretary, Mr B. Gamede ; National Auditor, Mr K.T. Samketi; Secretary for Publicity and Acting Secretary-General, Mr A.R. Khoza; Secretary for Labour Affairs, Mr A.H. Mhlanga ; Secretary for Pan Africanist Affairs, Mr N.K. Dlamini ; Administrative Secretary, Mr S. Simelane.

2.9.66 KHOZA LEAVES THE N.N.L.C.

Mr Arthur Khoza, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress's Acting Secretary-General and Secretary for Publicity and Education, has resigned from the party. His decision, he says was motivated by the "failure of the leadership of the NNLC to co-operate, unite and display comradeship". At the recent annual conference, he explains, there was no effort on the part of his colleagues to curb manifestations of the split personality of the leadership : it seemed that all energies were directed towards accentuating what conflict there was before the conference.

"After more than two years' participation in the emancipation programme of the NNLC, both as external representative and Acting Secretary-General, I see the leadership of this organisation most regrettably unequal to the task before it", he says in a letter to the members of the National Working Committee and the National Executive Committee.

Mr Khoza accuses the leadership of flagrantly frustrating initiative, encouraging and nursing individualism and cliquism, all of which he says stem from the corrosive employee mentality of certain members of the leadership.

"I see the leadership wandering away from the mandate of the subject people of Swaziland, indeed from the main object of the Congress itself - achieving independence through unity, oneness and realistic, concrete action."

He says that he has always tried to work for unity both within and outside the NNLC, "Unity which alone can guarantee the organisation's victory and consequently Ngwane's salvation."

"I have incessantly tried to pursue the policy of the NNLC as it appears in our basic documents ; but I have not found it easy in face of negative-minded colleagues. For personality struggle, unwarranted power struggle, subtle conversion of national interests into personal interests, rumour mongering, indiscipline and anti-Whitism have been viciously and shamelessly perpetrated under the cloak of Pan Africanism. He says he feels convinced that there is no intention to resolve or remedy the chaotic leadership situation and that a split appears to be the only alternative attempt at solving the problem. But at this critical moment of the country's march to independenc who, seriously dedicated to the realisation of national unity, would dare launch a new party without creating greater confusion than that which has been witnessed since 1960?

"Such a step cannot be taken without sowing gross bitterness in the hearts of the electorate, which might oversimplify the entire business to a position-seeking stunt by the intelligentsia."

Mr Khoza says he has faith in the rank and file membership of the NNLC, but has found it impossible to tolerate indefinitely certain detrimental tendencies within the ranks of the leadership.

23.9.66 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY PROTESTS AT DUMISA'S STATEMENT

Letter from J.J. Nquku

The following is the text of a letter sent by the Swaziland Progressive Party with a request that a copy be sent to Britain's Colonial Secretary :

"The Swaziland Progressive Party takes the strongest exception to the so-called prison press statement by Mr Dumisa Dlamini which appeared in the Times of Swaziland of September 9, 1966. In our experience of public affairs, it is a peculiar case that a prisoner serving a sentence in jail is allowed by a government of a country to make a statement to the press. It is even more peculiar or strange that such a statement as this from a man of Simon Nxumalo's type who, having shamefully failed in politics, is now the agent of the Imbokodvo.

"In this matter of grave concern to all of us, we sadly point out that we regard this unwarranted statement as pure cheap propaganda to boost the Imbokodvo, and the government, for allowing Mr Nxumalo to take this statement from a prisoner, is accused of lending a hand in this plot aimed at assassinating the political parties in order to allow the Imbokodvo a free hand, without any opposition coming from any quarter.

"In this critical and dark hour in the political history of Swaziland and the Swazi Nation, we condemn forthrightly all those men and women who desert the masses just for the sake of receiving a reward of a buttered piece of bread from the oppressors and the exploitors. Whether they be white or black, we condemn all of them as opportunists, careerists, revisionists cowards and trators.

"Dissatisfaction and disunity were sowed by the enemies of African liberation and now is the opportune time for all the revolutionaries to regroup or unite, to save the nation from the catastrophe of enslavement. It is our belief that in all eventuality, justice will prevail and that the forces against injustice will win victory and that the future of Swaziland lies in the determined struggle of the masses, especially of the youth and with this hope the SPP, on behalf of the down trodden Swazi masses, will carry on the struggle to the bitter end and until the inviolable human rights of the Swazi masses are restored. The political parties sprang up like mushrooms and disappeared like the dew in the morning, and today the last one is fast disintegrating, but the SPP won't.

"Finally, the SPP seeks the same facilities as granted to Mr Nxumalo to interview Mr Dlamini, to get from him and from his mouth the truth regarding hi published statement. It is hoped that after the interview the SPP will be allowed to publish the result of the interview on the front page in the Times of Swaziland as proof that this newspaper is independent and not pro-Imbokodvo."

"Please we ask you to forward a copy of this protest to the Secretary of State in London."

EDITOR'S FOOTNOTE :

In fairness to the government we must state that it does not decide what goes into the Times of Swaziland and so cannot promise Mr Nquku space on the front page. That the responsibility is ours alone. Secondly, we have no evidence that the government knew that Mr Nxumalo was to submit to us Mr Dlamini's reassessment of the political situation in the territory : As far as we know, the publication of the statement came as a surprise to the government. Thirdly, as to the truth of the statement, we can only say that it was signed by Mr Dlamini and Mr Nxumalo. Fourthly, we ask Mr Nquku why he considers the present hour "dark and critical in the political history of Swaziland and the Swazi nation?" After all, independence, freedom if you like, is near. What is there that the SPP would do for the Swazi people that the Imbokodvo or any other party that gets into power would not do for "the downtrodden Swazi masses." - Editor.

30.9.66 MAKHOSINI : PEOPLE LOSING PATIENCE OVER INDEPENDENCE QUESTION

Prince Makhosini, Leader of the Imbokodvo National Movement, gave the British Government a gentle but firm prod in the direction of independence for Swaziland when he told a multi-racial gathering of about 800 that people were beginning to lose patience over the independence question.

Speaking at a welcome-home reception at the Swazi National School at Matsapa, the Prince who has just returned from a visit to Europe, told the gathering - which included Sir Francis Lloyd, the Queen's Commissioner and Lady Lloyd:

"We can see our sister territories becoming independent. What about Swaziland? with the greatest respect, I think I am expressing the heart of the Swazi people when I say that our patience is being tried."

He brought the house down in a storm of laughter and applause when he said : "I shudder to think that we might be tempted to declare UDI like Ian Smith. The Swazi is not as pugnacious as that, so we won't. But the British Government should on their part try to give us a reply in good time."

Prince Makhosini said that he was still awaiting the publication by the British Government of a White Paper on the constitution. "If and when any information is received it will be our duty to disseminate it," he added.

11.11.66 DR ZWANE SEES SIR FRANCIS

Dr Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress met the Queen's Commissioner, Sir Francis Lloyd, at Government House in Mbabane on Friday after leading 150 supporters of his party on a march through the capital. Dr Zwane was accompanied to Government House by nine members of the NNLC's national Working Committee. While their leader saw the Queen's Commissioner, the marchers, many of whom were women, waited in a quiet group on the road below the Government Hospital. They sang songs, and several held placards denouncing the new constitution for Swaziland. The deputation handed two memorandums to Sir Francis, one which was addressed to him and one to Mr Fred Lee, Britain's Colonial Secretary.

The memorandum to Sir Francis says that the NNLC is convinced that he has taken a biased view of the political scene in Swaziland and has gone out of his way to entrench tribalism and indirect rule at a time when the country is ready for democracy.

The Swazis students who were studying in Ghana were denied transit visas on their return to Swaziland. They had to return through some underground route."

In its memorandum to Mr Lee the NNLC rejects the internal self-government constitution. It says that it is aimed "purely at entrenching the interests of industrialists, White settlers and some of their stooges among the chiefs of Swaziland led by Prince Makhosini." It adds that the rights of the average Africans are being sold down to drain.

The NNLC says that the introduction of three member constituencies is calculated to force a one Party state upon the people of Ngwane. The party wants the King "depoliticized" and "placed above politics", and it deplores the retention of the Swazi National Council "and that it deplores the retention of the Swazi National Council "and that mysterious curiosity the Swazi Nation, which your Constitutional proposals do not even try to define."

The NNLC demands that the King be a true Constitutional Monarch, and not a despot with vast discretionary powers to pack both the Assembly and the Senate.

25.11.66 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY REPLY

Letter from A.W.M. Nxumalo, Secretary-General

In the issue of the Times of Swaziland of November 18, Mr W.M. Magongo challenged the SPP.

The public must know that Mr Magongo is a member of the Imbokodvo and representative of the Shiselweni District and that he is part and parcel of the British Administration in this country. Therefore, as a British stooge or puppet, he is right in defending his masters. We consider his talk as senseless.

Mr Magongo and his clique must know that the SPP will not be silenced by threats or intimidation, that the leadership of the SPP will endure the storm and will not sacrifice its principles.

The public knows that the Imbokodvo majority is leading the country from the 20th to the 17 century.

The SPP will, on behalf of the down-trodden Swazis, continue the struggle to the bitter end.

2.12.66 DUMISA QUITS THE N.N.L.C.

Mr Dumisa Dlamini, former Secretary-General of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, has resigned from the Party of which Dr Ambrose Zwane is President. In a statement to the Times of Swaziland Mr Dlamini calls for unity and the things that go with it - peace, stability and prosperity. "Swaziland", he says, "has a Uniting symbol in the name of King Sobhuza II. Our duty as young educated Swazis is to see that the government formed under this uniting symbol, the King, is a good one. Long before I left Swaziland, disunity troubled me, and my visits in Africa confirmed my fears. If we are to learn from those who have gone before us, we must unite."

Disunity has produced the Congo, the Nigeria of today, and so on, the coups all resulting in the killing of the people who were, in the majority of cases, being used by foreign agents for their own benefits which had nothing to do with local problems. These unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours found themselves singing slogans they did not even understand, all to the detriment of their people and countries. All this is brought about by the technique of boosting the ego of each one of the political leaders and military chiefs of staff, and urging them on until they reach a point of no return, and once that point has been reached, reason, together with the interest and future of the country, take fourth place. In short, chaos and disaster follow.

"Should we allow that to happen in Swaziland? Commonsense, let alone wisdom, does not permit men to build their homes or invest their monies in a battle-field - that horrible place. So the greatest enemy of a particular nation is a man who, because he happens to be called a leader, imagines he is the cleverest of all men, turns his country into a horrible sight of blood, squalor, dirty and depressing poverty, and death. Although these most undesirable events appear remote in peace time, it takes the wink of an eye should leaders fail to climb down to humble wisdom and realism before a point of no return has been reached.

"Sincere patriots may ask, 'how can we achieve unity'. There is only one logical way of achieving unity and all that goes with it - peace, stability and prosperity. In those countries in Africa where each natural ruler or chief has been confined in his small tribal area with its own dialect, folklore and legend and his power further reduced to nil by colonial rule, the people had to rally around a new leader who would, and did, so organise the national movement as to break each tribal border and thus bring about unity.

"Such were the conditions which made African leaders like President Nkwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Kenyatta of Kenya (the burning Spear), President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and many African leaders. But in those countries like Morocco, Ethiopia and others where the country had one uniting symbol, King or Emperor, the people had to rally around such a Uniting Symbol to achieve Unity. In Swaziland we have such a symbol in the name of His Majesty King Sobhuza II.

Our duty as young educated Swazis is to see that the government that is formed under this uniting symbol, the King, is a good one. This we can achieve only by constructive criticism and suggestions.

"Thanks to the formation of the Imbokodvo National Movement and thanks to the changed outlook on many political issues like

one man one vote ;

making non-racialism the main pillar of its policy while rejecting the obnoxious concept of apartheid ;

disengaging from its unholy alliance with the United Swaziland Association ;

accepting young nationalists into its top leadership ; and

declaring its solidarity with the struggle in Africa against imperialism and colonialism, whether it be of Western or Eastern origin.

These factors and the fact that our King be recognised as King and not Paramount Chief are the main objectives for which I have been fighting parallel to and outside the Imbokodvo National Movement, so do not ask me why I opposed the National Council and the Imbokodvo yesterday.

"As for independence, the British Government have now agreed and are only waiting to see that our feet are really on the ground after the forthcoming elections. The rest are details which we can work out among ourselves as Africans and settle as peacefully as possible."

"While on the question of unity and the Imbokodvo National Movement, I must say that the leadership of Prince Makhosini, a mature and unambitious man where personal gain is concerned but only ambitious to see Swaziland achieve her glorious goal of independence and prosperity, has provided the Imbokodvo National Movement and the people of Swaziland with a brighter hope for the future.

"For experience has taught us that we have to watch with great suspicion those so-called leaders who have already shown signs of having closed their eyes and ears to everything, save their warm seats as small Presidents or Chairmen of some organisation or body in whose formation they shared very little and suffered nothing at all. Only a blind person would fail to see that such people are there for nothing but their own personal gains. We would therefore be more than fools to continue dividing the nation in support of such people, and we would rightly be cursed by generation after generation.

"To those people for whom I have sincerely worked since my return from College six years ago, I would like to say that I did it because it was indeed necessary at the time. And this I did with great sacrifice because I did it at the expense of my studies which I left uncompleted and, worse still, without getting leave from my father, the King, who has been responsible for my education and to whom I am greatly indebted. As most of you are parents, you will understand what that means.

"All this I did not because I was disobedient or a trouble-maker, as some people have wanted to make us believe, but because I was perhaps over enthusiastic to see this country go faster towards independence.

"It is interesting to note that it is the very people with whom I was supposed to work who have said all sorts of sordid things about me. Nevertheless, now that independence is at the corner all that is now a story of the past, I personally hold no grudge against anybody. All that we need do now is to bury the past and unite under one force, the Imbokodvo National Movement and the King.

"We need no magnifying glass to see that wages and conditions of employment have slightly improved in Swaziland and that they are still going to improve because the employers have given assurance that they will increase the wages of the workers year after year as their industries improve productivity ; thanks to the King's warning that cheap labour is undesirable in this country.

"Any other aspect that is still left is going to be covered by the proper and balanced legislation calculated to protect and cover both employer and employee when independence comes. This is true of many other things that remain undone for the betterment of this our beautiful country.

"But because legislation is no answer to problems of any country if there are no necessary funds or money to assist you practice what you preach. I shall now treat the question of Swaziland's geographic and economic position. In terms of reality we must accept the fact that Swaziland's geographic position is a pathetic one, a fact quite reasonably appreciate by the organisation for African Unity (OAU) as well as by the United Nations Organisation (UNO).

"Starting from here, we can then safely proceed to say that we have no obligation whatsoever to put into operation any resolution of boycott or any form of hostility against either South Africa or Mozambique. This is so obvious that I need not go into any detail save that now that we are going closer to independence every responsible leader in Swaziland must talk from the realistic point of view and not as if we are in a vacuum somewhere next to the moon.

"For it is, after all, because of this our geographic entanglement that our economic position is today not just interwoven with that of South Africa but one, not that the British Government could not have done better in the past 63 years of their complete control of our affairs ; nevertheless, we are here today and we must accept the fact and act accordingly lest we commit rational suicide. Those who are politically frustrated are free to commit suicide individually, but not to involve the whole nation in that catastrophe. For both our mint and Gold Reserve are in South Africa, so that we are actually using a currency over which we have absolutely no control, not even a say.

"To get out of this rut or at least bring about a favourable balance of economic forces we must work hard, and no amount of bluffing ourselves or one another can bring about relief or relaxation. On the contrary, bluffing ourselves or one another will only put us deeper into the mud.

"Subsequently, I humbly request anyone who disagrees with me on this point to tell the people of Swaziland the truth, and the only truth is that he is leading them into a desert with neither water to drink nor food to eat, and he must say so early enough before the people kill him on realising this fact For even those who may be misled now, those who will say "my mind is made up, do not confuse me with facts," sooner or later they must wake up from that dream."

9.12.66 ZWANE ON DUMISA'S RESIGNATION

Dr Ambrose Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress issued a statement this week in reply to the statement by Mr Dumisa Dlamini, former Secretary General of the NNLC, on resigning from the Party.

Dr Zwane says that Mr Dlamini was fully aware that the National Executive Committee of the NNLC held an emergency meeting at the time of Mr Dlamini's release (from jail) to enable him to state his stand in political life "after such a long time, part of it spent abroad purely on French leave from the party.

"The Party has only read of Mr Dlamini's tour of several picturesque geographical capitals. He has had no courage to report tohis party when in actual fact wherever he went he alleged he was representing his party. His first act was to report to the Swazi National Council on the mission on which he was abroad. Are we to assume that at the time he was abroad he was already a missionary of the Imbokodvo?"

Dr Zwane says that national unity is desirable, but it must be based on principles. For a leader who previously signed thousands of membership cards and literally runs away from his flock is an act of gross cowardice and selfishness. We of the NNLC stand for national unity based on the following principles :

All Africans should accept Pan-Africanism as the basis for the struggle of the African people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

that tribalism shall not be used as a basis for planning of African independence of any territory

that we all bind ourselves to get rid of White domination. The Imbokodvo is tribalistic, whereas the Organisation of African Unity is Pan-Africanistic.

"A perfect instance is Mr Arthur Khoza and Dumisa Dlamini, who are now busy reviving the now moribund Swaziland Democratic Party with the Sebenta Society lending encouragement in the background.

"In the Rand Daily Mail of February 9, 1966, appears the following statement : "He insists we must be fifty-fifty with the Swazis. Bearded Willie Meyer, political leader of the Swaziland's 8,000 white minority is sticking to his guns. He insists that the Whites must lead Swazis to Independence. Behind it all people are still surprised by the sudden hardening of the Imbokodvo towards the Swaziland United Association. Inbokodvo members are said to have been brain washed on recent visits to North Africa. And British influence in this attitude cannot be discorded. Observers say that a British backed party which failed in 1964 elections has had many members transfering their ideas to the Imbokodvo camp.

"There is a great deal of truth in this statement. It is becoming clear that Prince Makhosini and his right hand men are increasingly becoming the leaders of the former Swaziland Democratic Party, namely Dr Nxumalo and Simon Nxumalo."

"Dumisa has been advised by the forces of neo-colonialism, British and U.S. imperialism, to join the campaign of both Prince Makhosini and Simon Nxumalo. That is why Dumisa's political headquarters at present are none other than Dr Nxumalo's house, where several political meetings are held.

"Equally important is the simultaneous resignation of Dumisa from NNLC and Simon Nxumalo from the Sebenta Society.

"Observers note that the Ngwenyama, King Sobhuza, is aware of this huge plot hatched out by imperialism, and they forecast a split in the royal family itself which may in a long run have far reaching consequences on the healthy development of the institution of the monarchy."

"With the posting of Dumisa to the Imbokodvo by the British and U.S. imperialism, one forecasts the moving of the sincere elements in the Imbokodvo away from the Imbokodvo to the NNLC."

"Several Princes were not amused at Lobamba when the fatted calf was killed for Dumisa by the King-in-Council. Many who are inspired with wonder are anxious to join the Congress and turn the respect of the King. Equally remarkable is the statement made by Dumisa at Lobamba when asked why he resigned the NNLC. He replied that he did not want or wish to be led by church-going politicians."

20.1.67 SWAZILAND UNITED FRONT

Letter from Mr B.M. Simelane

We wish to make it known that when the Joint Council of Swaziland Political Parties was formed in June, 1964, Mr J.J. Nquku was elected chairman of the Joint Council up to the end of December, 1964, when he decided to continue to serve in the Council ; he was expelled in March, 1965, after which O.M. Mabuza was unanimously elected by the Joint Council as chairman of the Executive Council. He is still chairman.

The name Joint Council was changed to Swaziland United Front in 1966. The Swaziland United Front is the one and same Joint Council of Swaziland Political Parties Organisations, functioning as the only organisation operating on behalf of all political organisations in Swaziland.

3.2.67 UNITED FRONT REPLY TO NNLC

The Swaziland United Front (Umvikeli wabantu) says in a statement that it is embarrassing to have to reply to statements by Mr N.S. Malaza, Secretary-General of the NNLC which were published in the Times of Swaziland on January 20, "But", says a statement from Mr A.W. Nxumalo, Secretary of the Front "for the good of the public, which must be informed of the true position, it is imperative that we do so."

Mr Nxumalo says that Mr Malaza mentions that Mr O.M. Mabuza chairman of the nine executive members of the Front had a meeting with the NNLC Working Committee on December 22, 1966 (to discuss unity) and that the two bodies were to work out details by Christmas weekend and report to a joint meeting of both national executive committees.

This is an obvious sign of how inaccurate Mr Malaza's records are. "The meeting on December 22 was held in accordance with official arrangements made by both organisations. So the arrival of the delegation from Mr Mabuza's SPP and Umvikeli wabantu National Movement was no surprise to the NNLC executive committee members. Perhaps Mr Malaza considered it beneath his dignity to mention this point, and that is why he says the delegation was a disturbance to their meeting."

The statement says that Mr Malaza admits that the subject discussed at the meeting was national unity among the NNLC and the United Front Umvikeli wabantu.

Mr Malaza's records are again faulty in that he omits to state that the items enumerated on the publication of the unity meeting held on that date were on his desk.

3.2.67 NQUKU'S ADDRESS AT SPP CONFERENCE

Mr J.J. Nquku, President of the SPP, said in his presidential address at the party's recent conference that the party had history behind it and was recognised throughout the world. The recognition was a feather in the cap of the SPP, the only people's organisation in the country which was stable with a solid foundation. The leaders of the party had placed Swaziland on the map of the world.

Mr Nquku said that the SPP was recognised by the OAU in Addis Ababa, the Tri-Continental Conference of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation in Cairo, the United Nations in New York, the World Assembly of Youth and the Pan African Solidarity Organisation of the three former High Commission Territories.

The party had external offices abroad. Representatives had at times been invited abroad. He himself went abroad and was followed by Mr Mgcobeya Nxumalo, Secretary General, and Mr H.F. Nkosi.

All the present political parties in Swaziland were offshoots of the SPP. Their creation was due to the machinations of the imperialists and the colonialists in their policy of divide and rule, and also due to selfishness or jealousy and the scramble for leadership and power.

Parties sprang up like mushrooms and died naturally like dew in the morning. Most of their leaders had turned out to be Tshombes of Swaziland and had deserted their masses and joined the enemy camp. The SPP carried on the struggle. It was the first in the political field in the country and would be the last to disappear.

The Swazis were still fighting a stiff battle for the restoration of their rights. The Swaziland Progressives were fighting relentlessly for the emancipation of the nation from all oppression. Dealing with what the party had done in 1966, Mr Nquku said it has put up a stiff fight against the undemocratic constitution imposed on the Swazi people by the British.

The party also fought "slavery conditions" obtaining on European-owned farms, and as a result the Government appointed Commissions to inquire into complaints contained in the various SPP memoranda.

"It fought and protested very strongly against what looked like tyranny practised in the Native areas in the country, as well as what seemed to be the curtailing of the democratic right of Assembly of Association and movement in such areas, even in the extent of defending the right of party members who were made victims because of their beliefs or convictions."

The party had protested against the heavy payment for the education of Swazi children. This was difficult for Swazi parents. The party had also protested against high charges at hospitals and clinics, which prevented many from receiving medical care.

High taxation had been imposed and taxes in every respect increased to a heavy burden on the Swazi wage earner living below the breadline.

Mr Nquku said that urban Africans lived in segregated areas under bad conditions, while all attention was concentrated on the welfare of the urban Europeans who received better facilities.

Mr Nquku said that the Swaziland Government, like the European Governments of other countries in Southern Africa, aimed at isolating the Africans from the outside world. "All this is done under the pretext of attempting to prevent the infiltration of communism which does not exist of late. As further encroachment on the rights of the people - books, periodicals, so-called Red books, have been banned.

In needed to be noted that in spite of political diffirences of racial groups the country progressed and the year ended with assured prosperity.

Throughout the year the SPP worked within the lines of its non-racial policy and with wisdom of its leaders the year ended with stabilised peace, which gave hope and renewed confidence in the future and the people.

"Last and not the least, at the historic meeting at Manzini on October 10, the president and five members of the Executive met Mr John Stonehouse, Britain's Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies at the time, and presented to him a memorandum which, in all fairness, proved to him that the party was a living organisation under seasoned leadership."

10.2.67 GROENING QUITS THE NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS

Mr Frank Groening states that he has resigned from the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress. In a letter to the Times of Swaziland, he critices Dr Zwane's tactics as chameleonic.

He says that Dr Zwane "Recently attributed bad things to his colleagues". For example, Mr Groening says, Dr Zwane claims that "Mr Dumisa Dlamini associated with certain Whites contrary to the policy of the NNLC."

Mr Groening says that the NNLC Executives know that these Whites (naming two), who had something to do with the NNLC, were introduced by Dr Zwane as his personal friends - in 1963.

One of these two Whites was sponsored by Dr Zwane to stand as a candidate in 1964. "When we wanted to know more about these two Whites, Dr Zwane protested. But as soon as Mr Dumisa Dlamini got on speaking terms with these two men, Dr Zwane soon disowned them, claiming that he could not associate with Communists.

"What makes this whole farce of Dr Zwane ridiculous is that the NNLC is supposed to be both Pan-Africanistic and non-racialistic. Both these ideals are non-discriminatory. But when it suits Dr Zwane, he will call non-racialism communism and Pan-Africanism sell-outism. But he claims to be one of the foremost Pan-Africanists in Swaziland. Mr Groening says that Dr Zwane cannot plan, cannot organise, cannot administer and is jealous. "Because he is jealous he has made all who have made him what he is unconfortable within the party. All those who could successfully plan, organise and administer have left the NNLC because the organisation became a hideout of ungrateful won't works. Dead slogans continue to be shouted, but nothing constructive is said or done."

Mr Groening says that Dr Zwane will not stomach criticism from his colleagues or tolerate advice - good characteristics of a dictator. "His party would not be pathetically disintegrating body if he had heeded persistent warnings by his erstwhile colleagues. When he was either advised or criticised he saw a living threat to his presidency.

"When you work with Dr Zwane it is extremely difficult to know whether you work with a nationalist, a charterist, a progressive or a conservative. For this time Dr Zwane wants the King to be a 'true' Constitutional monarch. At another he wants the King to go because he claims he is a traditionalist, an obstacle to Dr Zwane's progress. At one time Dr Zwane wants chiefs to have their House in Parliament but at another he wants them to go because they are, he claims, a saddle on the nation and therefore an obstacle to freedom. What manner of man is this Dr Zwane?

Mr Groening says that whenever Dr Zwane returns from abroad he calls for national unity, but he cannot unite his own National Executive.

"I advise Swaziland's electorate not to vote NNLC, for Dr Zwane's government would make the country hell. For my part, I forthwith quit the NNLC to work for sincere national unity."

10.2.67 ZWANE REPLIES TO MAKHOSINI

Dr A.P. Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, replied on Monday to the statement issued last week by Prince Makhosini, member of the Executive Council and leader of the Imbokodvo National Movement, on an article that appeared in the Rand Daily Mail, January 26, 1967. Prince Makhosini accused the Rand Daily Mail of carrying out a smear campaign against his party in an attempt to build up Dr Zwane's Party.

Dr Zwane's statement said that Prince Makhosini had complained that an article offered by him by way of explanation was refused by the Rand Daily Mail on the grounds that the original article in that newspaper had been submitted as a statement and bore the name of a leading member of the Imbokodvo. Prince Makhosini went on :"I then asked the Daily Mail to produce the name of the leading member of the Imbokodvo, as I am the leading member. The newspaper totally refused."

Dr Zwane said that Prince Makhosini's statement showed that there was confusion within the top leadership of the Imbokodvo. The NNLC had received disturbing reports of internal wrangling within the Imbokodvo, that there was a clash of personalities, all contending for seniority. The personalities involved included Mr Polycarp Dlamini, Executive member for Education, Prince Masitsela, M.L.C., and Mr Simon Nxumalo.

The rivalry inside the Imbokodvo is sharpened by the revolt of the rank and file of the chiefs and the people, as led by Swazi National Council officials. Dr Zwane said that the officials of the SNC complained that the Imbokodvo members of the Legislative Council were pompous and gave themselves airs. The SNC resented this. The Rev. Sibusiso Motsa, Secretary of the Swazi National Council had earned the enmity of the leading Imbokodvo members for exercising traditional fair play and allowing members of the Congress to state their views on the Constitution before the Swazi National Council.

Dr Zwane said that the main burden of Prince Makhosini's complaint against the Rand Daily Mail was that it published a statement saying that the Imbokodvo, the King's Party, had reserved 12 seats for the Whites, among them Mr Willie Meyer, Mr Carl Todd, Mr O'Hagan Ward, Mr Dan Fitzpatrick, Mr Bob Stephens and the Rev. Robert Forrester, all except Mr Todd being members of the United Swaziland Association.

"The statement in the Rand Daily Mail further alleges that Imbokodvo has reserved this list of names as the King's nominees, for fear that if they stood for election as Imbokodvo candidates they would be defeated by Pan-Africanist candidates of the NNLC."

Dr Zwane said that the United Swaziland Association was founded with the purpose of perpetuating White Supremacy over the African majority. It challenged Prince Makhosini to say publicly that the alliance of the Imbokodvo and the United Swaziland Association had been reversed.

14.4.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS MANIFESTO

Ngwane National Liberatory Congress warns the public in its election manifesto against the chameleonic tactics of certain political parties who, it claims, have changed their political ideals beyond recognition since 1964 election and urges the public not to take these "political amphibians" seriously. Congress says that its manifesto has changed only slightly since last election.

The NNLC rejects the new Constitution because "of its anti-democratic and structural weakness." The party also rejects the electoral system and challenges the British Government to quote any other British territory which has become independent on the basis of the three - member constituency.

The Manifesto states that "on winning the election we (the NNLC) shall immediately amend the Constitution by introducing 60 individual member constituences and a constitution based on universal adult suffrage."

Reviewing education, the manifesto states : "Immediately on taking office the NNLC will introduce compulsory education for all children of school age. We will set up a commission to investigate conditions of teachers. The NNLC concedes that teachers are not getting their share in the country.

"The pyramid of African education (in Swaziland) ... tapers sharply after Standard six. In other words, too few of our children ever receive any secondary education. Hence the country is faced with a shortage of personnel and the programme of africanisation in the civil service is hampered by the lack of suitably qualified persons.

"We intend building more secondary schools, and will see to it that a healthy education pyramid is established as soon as possible, corresponding to the economic and social needs of the country."

The manifesto states that no expatriate officer will be appointed to the public service while suitable local candidates are available. "We will embark on a policy of africanisation and the number one priority will be to advance Swazi men and women into positions of responsibility. This we consider in keeping with our self-government status."

In regard to marriage, the manifesto says that the party stands for complete equality of the sexes and does not hold with polygamy.

On industrialisation it says ; Industrialisation depends first upon the availability of materials required for processing as well as a skilled labour force. Electricity and steel make the modern industrialised state. The sugar industry will be encouraged to expand.

The statement demands R2 a day for workers. It also advocates a boycott of White-owned business during the stay-at-home.

30.6.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS PLAN PROTEST

The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress will hold a demonstration on Friday next, the day of the official opening of Parliament, according to a statement by the Party's General Secretary, Mr N.S. Malaza.

The statement says that the demonstration is to draw the attention of the public to the "unrepresentative and undemocratic character of the constitution. "It mentions that the party wants the three-member constituency constitution "reviewed by a fully representative conference before independence."

7.7.67 FRONT SAYS : TAKE NO NOTICE OF N.N.L.C. DEMONSTRATION

Letter from A.W. Nxumalo General Secretary Swaziland United Front and Umvikeli waBantu

The National Executive members of the Swaziland United Front and Umvikeli wabantu National Movement have resolved not to take part in the NNLC demonstration on July 7 because :

1. for the last seven years the nationalist movements have been struggling for a change of Government from the colonial ruler to the Swazis themselves, irrespective of what kind of imposition was made on them - but a protest will go to the British Government to review the recently imposed constitution before independence ;

2. unity is strength, in that we should not demonstrate against the monarch before he announces the policies to be followed, whether those policies are against the progressives or not ;

3. our symbol stands for all races in the country regardless of how the individual thinks about Swaziland's progress, taking into consideration the development of its resources for the benefit of all its inhabitants rich or poor, but just to go forward to independence and prosperity in all spheres of life and standard of living ;

4. members and intending members must take to notice of the group demonstration against advancement of the country into self-rule as desired by all nationalist movements in any country.

14.7.67 THE NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS'S SLOGANS

The leaders of the opposition political parties had been invited to the opening of Parliament, and Mr J.J. Nquku, President of the Swazialnd Progressive Party, and Mr Obed Mabuza, President of the United Front and Umvikeli wabantu Front Movement, were among the guests.

Dr A.P. Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress however, stood across the road with a number of his followers carrying the Congress flag and placards with slogans on them. They had marched singing from Msunduza Township.

Among the slogans were : To hell with the three-member constituencies ; We demand one man one vote ; Now is the time for government of the people by the people ; Narrow-minded aristocracy keep out of Government ; We demand constitutional talks in London now ; We demand free elections before independence ; Imbokodvo is the instrument of the Broederbond.

Mr Nimrod Malaza, NNLC Secretary General, in a press release, claims that there were about 500 demonstrators, but others estimate that they were not more than about 120. Mr Malaza says that the demonstrators were led by a police van which supervised our orderly arrangement.

"The Party," he adds, "reserves its comments on the speech from the throne. The only welcome note was the demand for independence, which we all welcome. The rest could be classified briefly as cabbages and Kings ; which Shakespeare could best describe as 'abracadabra8."

21.7.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS TO APPROACH IMBOKODVO

Dr A.P. Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress told a meeting at Gollel on Sunday that the NNLC was approaching the Imbokodvo Government about the Constitution.

"Congress" he said, "Is doing everything in its power to have the Constitution reviewed by a fully representative conference in London, probably by the end of this year."

He described the three-member constituencies Constitution as a wicked document.

The NNLC welcomes the call for independence by the King at the opening of Parliament but, Dr Zwane said, the speech from the throne was, to say the least, non-commital on the rather thorny problem of the landlesness of the Swazi.

They should see that the constitution was reviewed so that by the time of independence "we shall be having a truly nationalist government and not a government of princes and their brothers-in-law."

4.8.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS HOLDS CONFERENCE

The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress intends holding a demonstration in Manzini tomorrow, the Secretary-General, Mr Nimrod Malaza announced this week. The demonstration will be held during the lunch hour.

The sixth annual conference of the NNLC will begin in the Manzini Location Hall after the demonstration and will end on Monday.

4.8.67 SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND PARLIAMENT

Letter from A.W.M. Nxumalo, Secretary of SPP

In the issue of the Times of Swaziland of 14 July, reporting the opening of Parliament, it was stated "The leaders of the opposition political parties had been invited to the opening of Parliament, and Mr J.J. Nquku, President of the SPP and Mr Obed Mabuza of the United Front and Umvikeli waBantu National Movement were among the guests."

It is obvious that to those ignorant of the true political stand of the SPP, this would be misconstrued to mean that Mr Nquku by his attendance acquiesced or approved everything connected with the Swaziland Parliament.

In the past the SPP has made known its criticism of parliament as it is today. It must be clearly understood that the SPP attended these ceremonies of 24 - 25 April and 7 July, with pride and great satisfaction, in that all that it struggled for was achieved and that at long last after a protracted battle for Swazi Sovereignty, the Swazi King was acknowledged by all the sections of the community as King and Head of State, for that matter acknowledged even by those who denounced the Black majority government.

All this is a drama that eventually crowned the achievement of the SPP, which from the very beginning has kept to its consistent policy of freedom and independence for all the inhabitants of Swaziland, irrespective of race and colour.

11.8.67 MANZINI MARCH BY NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS DELEGATES

Dr Ambrose Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, led about 60 party delegates from all parts of the territory through Manzini in demonstration against the three-member constituency last Saturday.

The demonstrators carried slogans denouncing the Imbokodvo National Movement.

In his Presidential address at the sixth annual conferemce of the Congress that evening, Dr Zwane said he would demand a constitutional Conference in London by the end of the year when he met the Imbokodvo this month.

He would also ask for fresh elections based on 60 one-member constituencies. He accused the South African and British authorities of stampeding the many Swazis working in South Africa into voting for the Imbokodvo.

In two resolutions passed by the party during the three day conference that ended on Monday, the Congress called on the South African Government to release Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe from Robben Island. The Congress also called for the Rhodesian Government to lift the ban on ZANU and ZAPU and release Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

18.8.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS STEP TALKS DEMAND

Dr Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress this week stepped up his demands to Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini, for another Constitutional Conference before the end of the year. He led a three man delegation to the Government to challenge the present constitution in Swaziland.

Dr Zwane wants fresh talks in London before the end of the year. His demands include the introduction of a system of one man, one vote. His party, the NNLC has put the question, "If Britain approves of one man, three votes, why doesn't she introduce it in her country?"

Leading an NNLC delegation that met the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet in Mbabane this week, Dr Zwane urged :

i. A fully representative conference in London at which the NNLC would be represented by a fully sized delegation.

ii. Revision of the constitution to allow for 60 individual member constituencies.

iii. One man, one vote constitution instead of a "one man three votes" constitution.

iv. Election early next year on the basis, and full independence in September 1968.

Government representatives at the meeting in the Secretariat were the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Mfundza Sukati, Dr A.M. Nxumalo, Minister of Health, Mr Polycarp Dlamini Minister of Works, Power and Communications,Mr Mfanasibili Dlamini, Minister of Local Administration, Mr A.K. Hlope, Minister of Agriculture, Mr W. Ramsden, Attorney-General and Mr H. Roemmele, Secretary to the Cabinet.

The NNLC delegation, besides Dr Zwane, consisted of Mr Nimrod S. Malaza, Secretary-General and Mr Abbey Msibi, National Treasurer.

According to a Press Statement issued by the NNLC after the Monday morning meeting, Dr Zwane pointed out that the reason why there was no opposition in Parliament was that there was no representative and democratic constitution for the country. Unless such a constitution was introduced before independence, there could be trouble.

He said that the elections had shown that more than 20 per cent of the people voted for the NNLC. If there had been a representation and democratic constitution more than one fifth of the M.P.'s would be NNLC.

According to the statement, Prince Makhosini said that the constitutional committee had worked out something suitable for Swaziland. Any recommendation to change the constitution would have to be approved by Parliament.

On the subject of 60 constituencies Dr Zwane's statement said that the government representatives felt that that was too many for the country's revenue, bearing in mind M.P.'s allowances.

Dr Zwane said that the question of pay of M.P.'s was tied up with the economic policy of the government in power. He thought that Swaziland was economically visible enough to support a government opposition within Parliament.

Dr Zwane expressed hope in his statement that the government was taking the issues put forward seriously, and claimed that they had failed to explain what they felt was wrong with the system of one man, one vote.

On the question of alleged intimidation by chiefs, delaying permission for NNLC officials to hold meetings in their areas De Zwane's statement said the Prime Minister had told them that the government was not there to investigate those matters on behalf of NNLC. If there were any such cases, the best resort for the NNLC was the courts. Dr Zwane, while recognising the question of the courts, felt that this was not always the best remedy. He said, in a letter to the Prime Minister released to the Times of Swaziland with the Press statement signed by the secretary, that the three-member constituency was a device to force upon the people.

Of all the former British territories in Africa, Swaziland was the only one for which a three-member constituency constitution had been recommended. On the subject of the Monarchy, the letter stated that the NNLC had always regarded the King as above politics, as in the United Kingdom.

The letter also brought up the question of alleged intimidation by the chiefs during the election campaign. It claimed that chiefs had :

i. Given permission for NNLC meetings in their areas and then placed messengers at junctions warning people not to attend under threat of a fine of one beast a man ;

ii. Threatened to expel from their areas people distributing NNLC leaflets ;

iii. Had requested the police to order candidates from their areas ;

iv. Threatened to shoot anyone holding a meeting.

8.9.67 SMALLER CONSTITUENCIES : NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS VIEW

Letter from Mr N.S. Malaza, Secretary General, NNLC

In your issue of 18 August you quote a government statement which says that the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress delegation failed to explain how a small country like Swaziland would be effectively organised with 60 one-member constituencies. We had not brought with us relevant figures, but we told the Imbokodvo representatives that we could always furnish the necessary information in due course.

According to the report on the House of Assembly election, published by the chief Electoral Officer, the following statistics are furnished : Registered voters 106,121. By potential voters "is meant all people who, according to the latest census figures, are entitled to vote." It is clear therefore, that there are about 150,000 voters. If there were 60 constituencies, each would have about 2,500 voters, if there could be 30 constituencies, each would have 5,000 voters.

The Imbokodvo argues that as Ngwane is a small country, there is no reason why it should have small one-member constituencies. A constitution providing for 60 one-member constituencies would cater for the increased population of the future.

When the Prime Minister quotes Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, we should remember that before Zambia became independent, Dr Kaunda saw to it that the citizens of Zambia would be granted one man one vote.

We of the NNLC are prepared to co-operate with anyone who safeguards the rights of the electorate.

22.9.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS DISCUSSES PILOMO'S COLUMN

Letter from Mr N.S. Malaza, Secretary General, NNLC

Your columnist Pilomo raises a matter of importance in your issue of September 8. He states : "In Swaziland the traditional method of spreading information is from the King to the chiefs, then via the Bagijimi to the Mabandlas. Unfortunately for the NNLC, this line of communication with the people was not open to them and in fact to be honest, was blocked to them. It is hardly our task to elaborate on who blocked this line of communication and for what reason.

We of the NNLC have no need for the traditional machinery for spreading information to the people, provided that permission from the chiefs to hold meetings in their rural areas is secured at the time we want a meeting.

We of the NNLC argue that Britain as a colonial power has certain responsibilities. One is that she assures a country approaching independence certain freedoms. Amongst the four fundamental freedoms, for instance, is freedom of assembly.

We know that the chiefs, in refusing permission to the NNLC to hold meetings in the rural areas, were under instruction from Esibayeni.

I am surprised that Pilomo makes no mention of tribalism. The current argument of the Imbokodvo is that the people of Swaziland are firstly Swazis and secondly Africans. Pan Africanism no doubt shifts the emphasis. We would like to see the people of Swaziland realize that they are firstly Africans and secondly Swazis.

To give credit where it is due, I admire Pilomo's exposition of Pan Africanism in your paper. On the eve of the election the editor of the Times of Swaziland attacked us for embracing the philosophy of Pan-Africanism, stating that our leader, Dr A.P. Zwane, was inclined to get himself lost in the labyrinth of Pan-Africanism.

A statement such as that coming as it did was calculated to cost the NNLC some votes. The Times of Swaziland, as a responsible journal and the only newspaper in the country, should stop attacking Pan-Africanism as a political philosophy, as by so doing it is itself doing a disservice to the people of Swaziland.

Your columnist proceeds to state that Imbokodvo has accepted non-racialism and in fact even Pan-Africanism. That this is incorrect is exemplified by the fact that Imbokodvo, since coming into power, has adopted a "good boy" policy toward the minority regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Prince Makhosini's remarks about terrorism in Parliament were calculated to please these regimes.

The Organisation of African Unity recognises the main liberation movements of South Africa as Freedom Fighters.

29.9.67 IMBOKODVO UNDER PRESSURE

Dr A.P. Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress says in a statement that the Imbokodvo is under pressure from the United Nations and from the Organisation of African Unity to change to the one man one vote constitution and proceed to independence on that basis.

6.10.67 ANOMALIES IN SWAZILAND'S CONSTITUTION

Letter from K.T. Samketi, Tshaneni

There appeared in the Times of Swaziland recently, demands by Dr Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, on behalf of the NNLC regarding the Swaziland Constitution. It is true that if the foundation of a house is faulty, it soon tumbles down and hurts or kills its occupants.

This is a crucial period in the history of our country, and it must be shaped not on political lines.

I agree with Dr Zwane that we should have a 60 member Parliament. The population of the Isle of man is 48,000 with a 24 member Parliament.

Three member constituencies were made to form a one party state. For the same reason there were no nominated members from other political parties. Swaziland has a population of about eight times that of the Isle of Man, which elects 24 members on the one man one vote principle. But in Swaziland one man one, one woman, three votes.

In Swaziland African political parties are prevented from holding public meetings on industrial and Swazi areas. Freedom of speech is provided for in the Constitution, but this is not observed by some big employers and almost all the chiefs. Complaints have been made to the authorities, but nothing has happened.

The Imbokodvo is the author of the present constitution, and naturally Imbokodvo does not agree to a constitutional conference in London. Why the fear? Because the British Government would scrap many anomalies like three member constituencies. But it is the destiny of our country that is at stake and not that of Imbokodvo only.

It is the British Government's obligation not to give the Swazi a rope to hang himself. If these anomalies in the constitution are not discussed at a table in London by the various political parties, the Swazi will pay dearly to untie the tangle. The Swazis are a peace loving people, and this must not be disturbed by the granting of a wrong constitution.

13.10.67 NGWANE NATIONAL LIBERATORY CONGRESS

DEPUTATION SEES BRITISH MINISTER

Another bid for a general election before independence was made by the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress on Monday, when a deputation consisting of Dr Zwane, President Nimrod Malaza, Secretary General, Mr K.T. Samketi and A.M. Msibi saw Mr George Thomas, Britain's Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs in Mbabane.

The refugees, or freedom fighters as he prefers to call them, have always behaved in an exemplary fashion ; he says Mr Sukati has other views, which we presume are supported to the hilt by other members of the ruling party.

Dr Zwane also demands participation in the forthcoming London talks to settle the final details of independence. And deep in his heart, he still cherishes the thought of another election. They are forlorn hopes. As we see it, the British Government will take the view that Dr Zwane is the leader of a minority party whose candidates were walloped at the last elections ...

It is doubtful if he will be invited to go to London. His hopes for another general election on his terms are even more remote. One now gets a feeling that Dr Zwane and his national Executive should rethink their policy, if they are to achieve an active opposition, let alone eventual rule of Swaziland.

26.1.68 WE'LL STILL GO TO LONDON SAYS NNLC

Miss Thokozile Mdiniso, Ngwane National Liberatory Congress Secretary for Pan-African Affairs, said in a statement this week that her party was determined to proceed to London to take part in next month's final independence talks.

The statement came to the Times of Swaziland as an answer to last week's editorial article that suggested Dr A.P. Zwane, leader of the party, might have to rethink his policy. The article also said that his hopes of attending the conference were forlorn.

Miss Mdiniso said : "We are determined to see that Swaziland proceeds to independence on the basis of a democratic and representative constitution." She also denied that the NNLC was a minority party walloped in the last election. It is Swaziland that was walloped by Great Britain, in order to enforce her neo-colonialist rule.

"If the door is shut in the face of our demands, do not think the struggle will come to an end. The struggle continues unabated."

2.2.68 MAKHOSINI NAMES HIS LONDON TALKS TEAM

The team for the final independence talks with Britain in London, beginning on February 19, has at last been named. It consists of the Prime Minister and many of the government's leading cabinet lights.

The six-man delegation is : Prince Makhosini, Mr Leo Lovell, Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industry ; Dr Allen Nxumalo, Minister of Health ; Senator Polycarp Dlamini, Minister of Works, Power and Communications ; Mr A.K. Hlope, Minister of Agriculture ; and Senator Carl F. Todd.

A Government announcement stated that in addition, Mr H.H. Roemele, Secretary to the Cabinet, and Mr W.A. Ramsden Attorney General, will accompany the party. The Queen's Commissioner, Sir Francis Lloyd, will also attend the conference.

The talks are seen as the buttoning up of details concerning the hand-over of the instruments of independence on September 6. According to some government sources, a few problems may prove thorny in the talks, but there is a general air of confidence that such problems may be overcome.

Among the difficulties which may be encountered are those of land and minerals. Last week, Parliament overruled a Cabinet proposal in the debate on the White Paper for independence concerning the control of mineral rights. It is thought that Britain might view dimly the new arrangements to place membership of the advisory mineral Committee more or less directly in the hands of the Swazi National Council. A cabinet member told the Times of Swaziland: "There could be deadlock with Britain over this one." But he, too, was sure that the talks would basically prove smooth.

A statement issued by the Queen's Commissioner's office said that the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs had announced in his invitation to the talks that financial aid to Swaziland would not be discussed. "This could better be discussed at a separate meeting of representatives of Governments."

9.2.68 WE'LL BE TOUGH AT THE TALKS - MAKHOSINI

The problem of Control of Mineral Rights must be solved at the forthcoming London Talks, Prince Makhosini, The Prime Minister told me this week in an exclusive interview.

Prince Makhosini, who leads a six-man team to the constitutional talks beginning Monday, February 19, warned that he would take a tough line with Britain over the issue. He said that the two countries had long disputed the best method of control of the rights. Now was the time to settle the matter once and for all.

Prince Makhosini said that he would be taking as a basis for argument on mineral rights control, the White Paper that was amended recently during a debate on the Swaziland constitutional proposals in the House of Assembly.

During the debate, Cabinet compromise proposals were spurned by the members of both the House of Assembly and the Senate. Instead, an amendment was passed that put control of the minerals in the hands of a committee picked by the Ngwenyama acting on the advice of the Swazi National Council.

"The constitution seems plain," said Prince Makhosini, "and I don't anticipate any trouble. But the matters of land and minerals must be raised."

He said he felt that the question of land alienation, for which Swaziland is to claim compensation from Britain, should be the subject of further talks. "It is a very important matter, and I cannot say that it would be possible to conclude the talks on it in such a short time."

But as far as minerals were concerned, Prince Makhosini said that Britain's and Swaziland's view were quite opposed. Britain maintained that the minerals should be controlled by the Government ; the Swazi people wanted them controlled by the Swazi National Council.

"I feel that Great Britain should now give Swaziland what she needs. It is only right to grant us what we want."

23.2.68 UNITED FRONT CHAIRMAN FLIES OUT

The Chairman of the Swaziland United Front, Mr O.M. Mabuza, left for London by air on Tuesday night to attend the independence talks.

Mr Austin Nxumalo, Secretary of Party, said although Mr Mabuza had not been invited to the talks he would watch the proceedings from the gallery.

Mr Mabuza is expected to stop at Addis Ababa on his return journey to visit Mr D. Otelli, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unit.

23.2.68 DR ZWANE GETS CARRIED AWAY

Dr Ambrose Zwane, who promised his NNLC supporters "the British will know I am there", before setting off uninvited to the London Constitutional Conference, hit the headlines this week before the talks had even begun.

On a chilly February morning Dr Zwane and his lieutenant, Mr K.T. Samketi, laid down on the cold stone steps to Marlborough House, scene of the conference. Dr Zwane and Mr Samketi refused to budge when officials approached them ... and were eventually carried away by four policemen before the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr George Thomson, arrived for the opening round of bargaining.

Later he told reporters who were puzzled by his demonstration "I am furious that only chiefs and White settlers have been invited to the conference."

For months since his party was defeated in the general elections, Dr Zwane has pushed his case for representation at any round of talks between Swaziland and Britain. "The elections were accompanied by intimidation and an alliance has been formed with South African political and commercial interest," he continued ; "they are the Trojan Horse in Swaziland and it is only a matter of time before Swaziland becomes another Bantustan."

23.2.68 MAKHOSINI, THOMSON SIGN REPORT TODAY

At 4 p.m., Prince Makhosini, Swaziland's Prime Minister, and the British Commonwealth Secretary, Mr George Thomson, will sign the report of the Swaziland Independence conference here and Swaziland will have entered the final lap towards independence on September, 6.

The outcome of this week's talks will be vital as far as Swaziland's future is concerned. Not so much because dramatic changes to the existing constitution are being hammered out, for the present constitution providing for self-government contains the broad framework of her independence constitution.

The essential factor is that delegates must be able to agree upon a secure basis for future relations between Swaziland and Britain. One reason is that Swaziland still relies upon British financial aid to balance her budget, and upon British capital to develop her resources (and prevent South African financial interests from dominating).

Another reason, however, is that if carping differences arise with Britain, the way is laid open for strong criticism of the Swazi Government from within Swaziland.

The members of the Swaziland delegation I have spoken to, though maintaining a tight-lipped silence about the way the talks have been progressing, have it clear that they are anxious to wipe the slate clean with Britain and leave for home on good terms.

1.3.68 MAKHOSINI AND THOMSON REPORT

WIDE AREAS OF AGREEMENT

In his closing speech at the end of the talks, Prince Makhosini, the Swaziland Prime Minister, said that the delegation had greatly appreciated the reception accorded it by the United Kingdom delegation, and was gratified by the success which had marked the negotiation on the independence constitution itself.

"As you are aware," said Prince Makhosini, "the Governments of Swaziland and Great Britain have always enjoyed happy and cordial relations in the past, and we can see no reason for independence changing this enviable state of affairs.

"It has, unfortunately, not proved possible for our two delegations to reach agreement now on one issue, which historically and for the future is of the greatest importance to the Swazi nation. I will not elaborate on that issue now, which has been covered in the course of our deliberations and discussions with your delegation.

"All I would say is that my Government has to resume negotiations on this issue in the future, with a view to an agreed settlement being reached, satisfactory to the Swazi Nation."

The Prime Minister added that on September 6, it would be his country's turn to act as host to visitors, and that the members of the delegation would look forward to seeing some of those present on that historic day.

Mr George Thomson, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, commenting on the land alienation issue, remarked that he thought there was room for two opinions about what had been done in good faith 60 years ago. He said that he knew the Swaziland Prime Minister had been disappointed by the British reply to the Swazi plea for compensation for land.

"I am well aware of the strength and tenacity of Swazi feeling on this subject," he added ; "it may be that decisions taken 60 years ago, unjust as they appear to you today may, in fact, have proved in many respects to be to the long term benefit of the people of Swaziland, inasmuch as you are inheriting a country better equipped in every sense to compete with the problems of the present age than might otherwise have been the case.

"So I would simply ask you not forever to dwell on past history but to concentrate rather on the problems of the present. You have told us - and we accept this - that you have a land problem. You say that if it is not tackled it is likely to prove explosive. Lord Shepherd (the Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, who was conference chairman) has already said on behalf of the British Government that a practical way of tackling the land problem might be to include suitable land settlement projects in your development plan."

"As far as the question of control of mineral rights is concerned," Mr Thomson said : "I think I can fairly say that while we remain unconvinced that your point of view is the point of view suited to the times in which we live, we have yielded with what I hope you feel is good grace to the firmly-held views of your people.

"We, for our part, can console ourselves with the reflection that the removal of this problem from the field of controversy is in itself a step forward, and one which should enable an effective machinery to be set up for furthering the economic progress of the Swazi Nation."

1.3.68 MAKHOSINI AND THE TIME-BOMB

Swaziland's Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini, and his delegation flew back from London Talks on the constitution, and straight into a controversy over remarks attributed to him at a London Press conference.

A Johannesburg newspaper which carried a story under hte headline "Swaziland Party returns angered", drew a strong reaction from the Prime Minister, who issued a Press statement the next day clarifying his remarks. Prince Makhosini had been reported as saying that a timebomb had been planted and was going to explode as it did in Kenya.

The Prime Minister said :"It is essential in the interests of the Swaziland Government, of all people living in Swaziland and of potential investors here, that I should immediately clarify any erroneous impression of the Government's attitude on the land problem which may have been created by my partly being misquoted in an article headed "Swaziland Party Returns Angered ..."

"In that article I was misquoted as saying "It is going to explode as it did in Kenya," the reference being to the time-bomb which I was correctly quoted as saying as having been planted and will be handed over to us with independence on 6 September.

"I did, in fact, refer to Kenya at the Press conference, but it was in the context of the British Government's precedent of giving the Kenya Government financial aid to help it solve a rather similar land problem to that in Swaziland."

The Prime Minister clarified the use of his expression timebomb ; "The British Government by their past policy of land alienation deprived the Swazi nation of the major occupation of its own land. The shortage of land for occupation by the Swazi will increasingly cause economic, social and racial problems which the Swaziland Government will have to face after independence. These problems which stem from the land question will, if not solve, amount to a major political problem and may disrupt peace and harmony among the races.

"I likened this situation to one as if the British Government had planted a time-bomb in Swaziland and were giving Swaziland independence before the time-bomb explodes."

Prince Makhosini ended strongly : "We trust in one way or another the British Government will help us to defuse this time-bomb, and in any case the Swaziland Government certainly does not intend to sit idly by and watch it explode.

26.4.68 NOMINATION CLAUSE A BIG BLUFF SAYS ZWANE

Dr Ambrose Zwane, leader of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress broke a two-month silence this week when he commented on the constitution agreed at the London talks in February.

Dr Zwane, whose party gained one-fifth of the votes in the general elections last year, said in a statement to the Times of Swaziland that his party was seeking a fresh election before independence on September 6.

The NNLC listed three particular points in the independence constitution which they condemned. These were:

i. The entrenchment in the constitution of the three-member constituencies (which the NNLC has always opposed) ;

ii. The constitution makes no provision for an election before independence ;

iii. The alteration to the constitution which allows for the nomination to parliament of a defeated election candidate. This move is described by the NNLC as a "big bluff" aimed at giving the impression that the party would be given proportional representation.

Commenting on the mineral rights issue the party leader says that the "strong urge" to keep the present Government from controlling the minerals was a sign that the government did not enjoy the full confidence of the majority of the people of Swaziland.

"A democratic and representative government elected under a constitution such as we have suggested (60 single member constituencies) would enjoy the full confidence of the people and should have a full say on the control of minerals.'

3.5.68 ZWANE'S HOPES TAKE A BLOW

The Government has dealt a blow to the hopes of Dr Ambrose Zwane, leader of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, that he might be nominated as a member of Parliament.

A statement issued by the Government this week emphasised that no new member can be nominated, except to replace an existing member in a vacancy caused by resignation or otherwise.

It is now thought unlikely that the King, who acts solely in his discretion in this matter, will nominate Dr Zwane, whose party is unrepresented in Parliament. In last year's general election, the NNLC failed to gain a seat, but polled a fifth of the votes.

The Government statement said it was concerned that some people seemed to have misunderstood what was agreed at the London constitutional conference over the nomination of members to the House of Assembly.

"Paragraph two of the report of the Swaziland Independence Conference published in the United Kingdom in March this year ... includes the phrase 'The effect of these two amendments will be to make it possible for unsuccessful candidates at elections to be nominated as members of the House of Assembly.'

"That new provision," the government statement says, "does of course only relate to the independence constitution and not the existing constitution.

"Furthermore, as the overall potential number of nominated members remains the same as the existing constitution, it will be clear that no new member can be nominated except to replace an existing member."

The Government also emphasised that the King is the sole constitutional nominating authority.

The statement hoped this would dispel an incorrect impression that people may have had that the nominating authority is, or will be, the Prime Minister of the party in power, who takes no part in the nomination procedure.

17.5.68 N.N.L.C. VIEW ON NOMINATION

Letter from N.S. Malaza Secretary General, NNLC

We note that in your issue of May, 3 headed "Zwane's Hopes Take a Blow" you say that the blow has been dealt to the hopes of Dr Zwane, leader of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, that he might be nominated as a member of Parliament.

We have noted with great concern how in other issues you have gone out of the way to single out our leader as being anxious to be nominated as an individual.

We should like to point out to you that our leader, Dr Zwane, is a leader of the nationalist movement in Ngwane, a man whose devotion to the liberation of the toiling masses of Ngwane has won him and the Party he leads, the recognition of Africa and the OAU. In his action he is always guided by the National Working Committee of the NNLC, which is the inner council of our party and the National Executive Committee of our Party.

These two bodies have the last say on all matters of policy or principle. I could categorically inform you that if Dr Zwane were nominated to the Parliament to the exclusion of his colleagues in these committees, he would categorically refuse to go into Parliament. Dr Zwane is a man who in all his actions is guided by principles rather than opportunitism.

When interviewed by a BBC reporter in London on whether he and his party would accept nomination now that the independence constitution would make provision for the opposition party, Dr Zwane stated categorically that as leader of the party, he preferred that the constitution should first be democratized before there were talks of nomination. He pointed out, however, that his views were not necessarily those of the National Executive Committee, which he was still yet to consult on this issue.

If there is a tendency in certain quarters to whittle away even this very modest concession to the opposition, we of the NNLC, as the chief custodian of the rights of the masses of our people, are prepared to question the legality of such action through the normal channels placed at our disposal by the constitution.

24.5.68 PRIME MINISTER OUTLINES 'GOOD NEIGHBOUR' POLICY

More than a thousand people at Manzini on Saturday afternoon came to listen to the Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini, who was nearing the end of a tour of the district. He was welcomed to the town by the chairman of the Manzini Town Management Board, Mr Bill Lewis.

The Prime Minister again urged Swazis to prepare themselves for the coming of independence, and to work hard. He said Manzini was lucky to have five secondary schools. The boys and girls who passed through them should find places in commerce and industry, and employers should train them for higher positions. If labour troubles were to be avoided, the Swazi would have to be trained. At present they were inexperienced.

The Swazi had the potential but were not given the opportunity to train, Prince Makhosini said. Unrest had occurred in other African countries because the local people had not been trained in good time. If the Swazi people were trained in good time, the stability of the country would be assured, he said.

Prince Makhosini said that although Swaziland was a non-racial democracy, financial discrimination still existed. Employers should make it their first task to remove financial discrimination. Their policy should be equal pay for equal work. This should lead to mutual trust between employers and employees, and Swaziland would become the prosperous country they all wished it to become.

He said Manzini was an important industrial centre, and those involved in commerce and industry should be aware of their responsibilities to lead others. But were they doing that? he asked. They should never forget the need to see that the national cake was justly distributed. The investor expected to get a fair profit and the worker expected a just wage for his labour.

Dealing with Swaziland's policy to the outside world, the Prime Minister said the Government wanted friendly relations with all countries. Some people felt that Swaziland should adopt a hostile attitude to South Africa and Mozambique. This was downright unrealistic. Swaziland's policy towards those countries was one of good-neighbourliness. Economically, Swaziland could not live without South Africa or Mozambique.

Prince Makhosini emphasised that Swaziland needed more capital. He said he believed the country had a suitable investment climate, the people of the country should strive to do something for themselves. People should be aware that Swaziland looked to capital coming from outside her borders for investment, and once an industry is established here it should be nursed by all concerned - employers and employees - for the benefit of the whole country.

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