

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

VISIT OF MEMBERS OF THE KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO
MAPUTA (THE TEMBE TRIBAL AREA) TO REPORT TO THE PEOPLE ON
PRETORIA'S INTENTION TO EXCISE INGWAVUMA DISTRICT AND HAND IT
OVER WITH ITS PEOPLE TO SWAZILAND.

SPEECH BY The Hon. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi MLA
Chief Minister
President of Inkatha
and
Chairman of the South African Black Alliance.

TEMBE TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS: MANGUZI: INGWAVUM A DISTRICT:

27 MAY 1982.

I have visited this area before on what have been auspicious occasions. I am sad to be here on a matter which has filled my heart with so much sadness, as the government's intention to sell out the people of the Tembe Tribe to Swaziland has done. I am sad because as someone who pursues a non-violent strategy for the resolution of South Africa's problems, I now begin to despair about succeeding to avoid some bloodshed, as a result of this treacherous conduct on the part of the Pretoria Regime.

It is for several years now, that there have been rumours about this matter, and there have been alleged land claims which have caused denials and counter-denials. We have at least now reached a watershed as far as this matter is concerned. For years now a lot of suspicion has been sown amongst us, as a result of this matter. There have been claims by Swaziland that it is in fact the Chief of this Tribe, and some of our colleagues in this district who have petitioned the Swazi Monarch in the hope that this area should be incorporated into Swaziland. No one has provided us with any rationale for this thinking. No Swazi King has ever exercised authority over the people of MAPUTA for as far back as we can see in our history. It has never happened throughout history. To argue that just because Chief Ngwanase's mother was a Swazi Princess, therefore this area should be incorporated into Swaziland is like saying that because the present King of the Zulus is married to a daughter of the King of Swaziland ...2/

of Swaziland , KwaZulu should therefore cede Zulu territory to the Swazis. This just does not make any sense whatsoever.

I have asked that the Chief should speak first because he has been accused of petitioning the Swazi Monarch by some of the spokesmen for the Swazi government. He has also been sent recently by His Majesty the King of the Zulus to lead a delegation that was sent by the Zulu King to the Swazi King to enquire as to whether the Swazi King knew anything about the indormation that was passed on to us by the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr. Koornhof on the 3rd of May.

This matter, which has been shrouded in so much secrecy is now for so long out in the open. I have come here with my colleagues in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to inform the people of the Tembe Tribe, that what we have heard as rumours for so long is after all true that Swaziland wants to incorporate MAPUTA as part of the Kingdom of Swaziland in order to enable Swaziland to get an outlet to the sea. What the basis of this is, I cannot tell.

At the end of last month about the 29th of April, the Hon. the Commissioner-General Mr. P.N. Hansmeyer told me that Dr. Koornhof the Minister of Cooperation and Development wished to confer with me on Monday the 3rd of May. When we made inquiries as to what would be discussed at such a meeting, it was not disclosed to us. The Minister merely said that he could not disclose the subject matter of these discussions over an open telephone line. I was almost tempted not to go to Cape Town, but I later on decided to go. I was accompanied by the Hon. the Speaker Dr. the Rt. Revd. A.H. Zulu, the Minister of Education and Culture, Dr. the Hon. O.D. Dhlomo, the Minister of Interior Dr. the Hon. F.T. Mdlalose, and my personal Secretary who comes from this area, Mr. E.S.E. Ngubane. We did not know up to the time we got into the Minister's office in the Parliament Building why I was asked by the Minister to meet him in Cape Town.

On arrival the Minister whisked me to a nearby office where he told me alone that he wished to talk to me about Ingwavuma
as the Minister ... 3/

as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. R.F. Botha had recently had talks on the matter with the King of Swaziland. The Minister asked me whether the two of us should have preliminary discussions on the issue so that we can only join members of my delegation and those of his delegation later after we had reached certain agreements. I told the Minister that I preferred to have a joint discussion with everyone present in his office. We then went back to his office where we rejoined our respective delegations.

After the preliminaries of greeting us and thanking us for coming to Cape Town at short notice, the Minister proceeded to tell us the purpose of the meeting. He stated that when I raised the issue of Swazi claims on KwaZulu territory in March at a meeting we had with him, he had assured me that nothing would ever be done behind my back. It was for this reason that he now wanted to talk with me, now that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha had already had discussions on the issue with the King of Swaziland on his claims on land in the Ingwavuma district.

The Minister had the following people with him:

1. Dr. the Hon. E. de V. Morrison, Deputy Minister for Cooperation
2. The Hon. Mr. J.J.G. Wentzel, Deputy Minister For Development
3. The Hon. Mr. P.N. Hansmeyer, Commissioner-General
4. Mr. van der Walt MP member of the Consolidation Committee
5. Mr. Raath - Director-General - Department of Cooperation and Development and Messrs Pienaar and van Wyk.

The Minister had maps on the table on which virtually the whole district of Ingwavuma was cut off making it part of Swaziland territory. We were all completely flabbergasted.

DR. KOORNHOF: He welcomed the delegation from KwaZulu under the leadership of the Honourable Chief Minister. He then made the following points:

1. He wanted to discuss a very important issue. He thanked the delegation from KwaZulu for having come at so short a notice 4/

notice. When the issue was put he was sure it would be clear why such a short notice was made, and why it was kept so secret.

2. At the last occasion of a meeting such as this was the Honourable Chief Minister had indicated that there was a rumour about negotiations going on between R.S.A. and Swaziland on Ingwavuma. He had indicated then that the Honourable Mr. R.F. Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs was handling the matter and that Dr. Koornhof himself knew nothing about it. He did undertake, however, that he would keep the Honourable Chief Minister informed if anything cropped up.

A week ago Mr. R.F. Botha discussed the matter concerning Swaziland border adjustments with His Majesty King Sobhuza II. It seemed possible that some of the proposals between Swaziland and R.S.A. could lead to some finality that would be beneficial for peace in Southern Africa. Because of this he felt it was important to discuss the matter with the Honourable Chief Minister and his delegation immediately. He felt if both KwaZulu and R.S.A. delegation could understand one another it could be in the interest of all.

The Swazi King and his Government had repeatedly stated that in the Ingwavuma area certain chiefs and local people pleaded to be incorporated into Swaziland together with the South eastern area of the Transvaal. The Republican Government realised that to have any area or piece of land earmarked for KwaZulu being incorporated into Swaziland was a very sensitive issue so far as KwaZulu and the Honourable Chief Minister were concerned. It had been then proposed that such discussion be on the basis of adequate compensation on the basis of complete equitability. Mr. van der Walt would elaborate on this.

Dr. Koornhof fully realised that a final decision might not be reached that same afternoon. What might follow might be a

discussion 5/

discussion with the KwaZulu Cabinet or with the Legislative Assembly. Offer of land was being made. Suggestions that were to be put forward were known to and had in fact been decided upon by the Prime Minister for putting across to the Honourable Chief Minister. Negotiations however, could take place on such a basis.

MR. VAN DER WALT:

1. The Commission which he headed (on Consolidation) had been asked by Cabinet of R.S.A. to indicate what sort of compensation could be given to KwaZulu if Ingwavuma were allocated to Swaziland. It was to be borne in mind that there were certain portions which in terms of the 1975 Consolidation proposals had not yet been handed over to KwaZulu, whereas some had already been handed over. Therefore the whole question of consolidation had to be reviewed. Looking at the 1975 proposals it was felt that certain portions which were to be excised could be spared and left unexcised. These were:

- (a) Reserve No.12 consisting of 20 000 hectare - on western side of Hluhluwe in Hlabisa district. (marked 10).
- (b) Reserve No. 3 consisting of 22 000 hectare next to game reserve around St. Lucia Bay (marked 12)
- (c) Reserve No. 13 - Dingaanstad area - 6 000 hectare.
- (d) Reserve No. 5 - marked 14 - 4 000 hectare including Cwaka Agricultural College area.
- (e) Reserve No. 17 (marked 15) - 35 000 hectare.
- (f) Reserve No. 16 bieng portion of Reserve No. 17 in the Nkwalini Area - \pm 13 000 hectare.

This meant that a total of about 100 000 hectare which was to have been excised from KwaZulu would no longer be excised, and this would be part of the deal to give Ingwavuma over to Swaziland.

2. In addition ...6/

2. In addition to land outlined in 1 above the following areas would be included:

(a) Two Nature Reserves, viz. Hluhluwe and Mfolozi Game Reserves plus the corridor in between. This amounted to 130 000 hectare.

(b) Reserve no. 7 - ie. the remaining portion of Ubombo area. This included the irrigation scheme area. It consisted of about 100 000 hectare of which 20 000 hectare were arable.

In summary 96 000 hectare would be lost but 332 000 would be gained. A nett gain of 236 000 hectare.

DR. KOORNHOF: The areas proposed were very profitable, arable and irrigable especially around Josini Dam.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: "Do you mean you want to excise the whole of Ngwavuma and give it to Swaziland?"

DR. KOORNHOF: Pointed at the areas involved.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: "But people there are not Swazis! Land there has never been Swaziland territory. This is the area where my personal Secretary Mr. E.S.E. Ngubane, for example, comes from. These people have never been Swazis".

DR. KOORNHOF: "In this area we have the Mathenjwas, Mngomezulus, Nyawos, and the Tembes". He emphasized that the Swazis had proposed to the R.S.A. and the latter had proposed nothing. The Swazi request had indicated that there were many Swazis in the area living under Swazi Chiefs.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: "What did that mean? Are there no Zulus there?"

DR. KOORNHOF7/

DR. KOORNHOF: Nothing had been finalised. The R.S.A. Government had decided to settle the issue only with co-operation from KwaZulu. They were now looking at the possibility of satisfying the Swazis by offering KwaZulu land of similar or better value. They (R.S.A.) would also not like to remove people except for economic reasons, just as KwaZulu Government also objected to people being removed. They were seeking KwaZulu assistance by offering more land than the area asked for. Views of KwaZulu Delegation were called for to help arrive at the solution. Given on the basis of discussion Ubombo Sugar area could also be given over to KwaZulu. The R.S.A. Government have problems with whites (as much as KwaZulu Government have problems with their citizens) particularly with respect to Hluhluwe and Mfolozi Game Reserves. Here KwaZulu could get good income from Tourism.

If the Honourable Chief Minister had some other proposals there could be looked at. If this were achieved better understanding could result in better relations between KwaZulu and Swaziland. This could in turn assist in many respects with regard to relations in Southern Africa.

DR. A.H. ZULU: He wanted to understand reasons for all this so that he could be enabled to explain to the people back home. He could not understand why if Swaziland had land problems she spoke on the basis of land that had never belonged to Swaziland. Swazis had no right over the land in question and no Swazi King had ever exercised authority over these people. The people concerned would object at once and would want to know why Swazis were not referred elsewhere if they wanted more land.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: He pointed out that he would not like to be involved in this discussion. He nevertheless thanked Dr. Zulu for his contribution and the Honourable Dr. Koornhof as well. It was important, he stated, that the S.A. Government and KwaZulu should have good relations ... 8/

relations. He could not understand however, why South Africa tried to satisfy the wishes of the Swazis at the expense of the Zulus.

As far as Zulus were concerned the point that KwaZulu would not be involved in Consolidation had been made abundantly clear 10 years ago about 1972. However, if the Afrikaners wanted to force issues at the point of the gun he had no alternative but to say "SO BE IT!" and he would not be responsible for the consequences.

The matter could not be discussed before it was put before the Legislative assembly. That same morning concern had been expressed at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus over the Piet Retief/Paulpietersburg Removals pressed for by the Republican Government.

The Honourable Minister and his Deputies could explain their proposal to the KwaZulu Legislative assembly Caucus, for example. It must be remembered, however, that King Dingane's remains are interred in the Nyawo area now wanted by the Swazis. One wondered if the Afrikaner out of revenge against King Dingane whom they detested and loathed following the death of Piet Retief were not in fact revenging against King Dingane and the Zulus in this manner. If that were the case the Honourable Chief Minister would have nothing to do with this matter.

He advised that for the sake of consistency the Republic should shed off the Orange Free State to Lesotho if they are considering shedding off part of KwaZulu to Swaziland. Talk of giving compensation was meaningless as the areas "offered" were in fact part of KwaZulu in any case. KwaZulu people were not children and could not be so easily deceived.

The Honourable Chief Minister felt he would have to reconsider his whole position if this issue were pressed on, particularly
as his 9/

as his stand has been so undermined that even in his Legislative Assembly some people seemed to be now having doubts on him. He would not want to be the head of the KwaZulu Government when such decisions are forced on his people by the South African Government.

DR. KOORNHOF: "Can we not discuss this peacefully?"

1. They did not want to force things through the barrel of the gun. They preferred resolution of problems by discussion and deliberation. He stated he understood the Honourable Chief Minister's position. He did not want him to be placed in a invidious position of being distrusted by his own people. He meant this. In his opinion if there was co-operation all problems, could be solved.
2. R.S.A. had at no time discussed with Swaziland in a fashion that they would offer any portion in settling the Border problems.
 - (a) The Swazis had taken the issue to the United Nations some time ago. They claimed that Swazi Chiefs and Swazi people lived in this area and wanted to pay allegiance to the Swazi Monarch.
 - (b) In terms of International Law an independent state should if possible have access to the sea. Swazis have asked for this.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: This was strange reasoning when one considered that in South Africa all beaches were precluded to Blacks. The whole coastal line was confined to Whites only. Are we now being deprived even that bit of coastline in KwaZulu to placate the Swazis.

MR. VAN DER WALT: Wanted to interpolate.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: He stated he did not want to hear anymore from Mr. Van der Walt. "I dont talk consolidation and am not prepared to", said the Honourable Chief Minister.

DR. KOORNHOF: Appealed to have this resolved amicably. At this juncture Mr. Van der Walt packed his papers and zipped his satchel and muttered a few words to Dr. Koornhof in Afrikaans. Dr. Koornhof however, instructed him to stay on and not leave.

THE HON. CHIEF MINISTER: "Let us be honest. There is nothing that can be discussed amicably on this issue".

DR. KOORNHOF: Indicated that he accepted the Chief Minister's idea of addressing the Caucus himself possibly with others.

DR. ZULU: He believed Dr. Koornhof had great respect for KwaZulu people and would not like him to talk to the people as he (Dr. Zulu) felt this issue was not really discussable.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: "In fact it is a dirty deal!"
We do not want to dirty our hands with it.

MR. WENTZEL: You mean it is too drastic?

DR. ZULU: There would be nothing that could be put before the Caucus as a basis for discussion.

DR. KOORNHOF: A point could be found as a basis for discussion, e.g. Sodwana Bay - a straight line could be drawn to the sea to show how Swaziland could attain access to sea. "Would this not be discussable?"

KwaZulu Delegation said "NO!"

DR. F.T. MDLALOSE: With due respect to Dr. Zulu's contention he felt it would serve a useful purpose to get Dr. Koornhof to see and hear for himself how the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly responds to his plea. After all some people might infer that only the Honourable Chief Minister was objecting when in fact the whole Assembly would object directly on their own if Dr. Koornhof were given that chance of putting the point himself.

DR. KOORNHOF ... 11/

DR. KOORNHOF: He would then see the Caucus himself. He again stated he would not like to see the Honourable Chief Minister being undermined.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: Will the R.S.A. Government also give to Swaziland areas and towns like Barberton, Carolina etc. which they also claimed as part of their territory according to Mr. Richard Dlamini their Foreign Minister.

DR. KOORNHOF: The problem was difficult but negotiation could still take place. He had not known that King Dingane's remains had been buried in the area in question. In view of that it might be that the particular area concerned might remain part of KwaZulu. Negotiations could then nevertheless be still pursued with the Swazis to find acceptable points. They were confronted by statements by Swazis to the effect that these Chiefs wanted to pay allegiance to the Swazi King.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHIEF MINISTER: These chiefs in question had made sworn statements denying this. The Zulu King who is son-in-law to the Swazi King states that the King of Swaziland has never even once mentioned this to him. Authority over these areas dated back to King Mpande's reign. In fact these people had asked for King Mpande's protection. When Chief Ngwanase had problems with the Portuguese, they sought the protection of the Zulu King.

There were Inkatha members in these areas right up to the Mocambique border. How could one explain this to them?

This would corrode the Honourable chief Minister's credibility. This did not ensure stability in South Africa. In fact it would destabilise South Africa.

DR. ZULU: The Honourable Chief Minister's enemies would turn round and laugh at him saying "It serves him right as he believes in negotiation". Dr. Zulu on second thoughts

accepted ... 12/

accepted that the coming of Dr. Koornhof to KwaZulu Assembly caucus would be helpful.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: Chiefs there had been promised Casino's etc. by the Swazis if they co-operated with the Swazis. It was known that Swazis were telling these Chiefs all sorts of things. At times a Chief is feted by way of bribing him. He repeated he would have to reconsider his position if this matter were forced onto the Zulu people. "In fact if we had guns we would resist with guns!", the Honourable Chief Minister said.

THE HONOURABLE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL: Stated that he was happy that the matter was on the table.

DR. KOORNHOF: If the matter could be resolved peacefully and amicably it would be a good thing. He asked if it were not possible to talk on a possibility of part of Ingwavuma being given to the Swazis and some compensation request put by KwaZulu Government so that he (Dr. Koornhof) could put such proposals to his Cabinet?

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: "Are you prepared to forfeit the goodwill of the Zulus only to get the goodwill of the Swazis even considering that Zulus are 6 million and Swazis only $\frac{1}{2}$ a million and Zulus live with you? They are in fact your fellow South Africans".

DR. KOORNHOF: He replied in the negative. He was trying to retain the goodwill of both the Swazis and the Zulus. He felt that Swaziland because of its past history could have access to corridors to establish peace in the whole of Southern Africa. "Could their goodwill not be secured without alienating that of the Zulus?" he asked.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHIEF MINISTER: "No! that is not possible. That would be riding on two horses."

DR. KOORNHOF ... 13/

DR. KOORNHOF: If an amicable solution could be reached the Zulu people could benefit. Would it be possible for Zulus and Swazis to discuss the matter with representatives of the Government.

DR. ZULU: There was also a personal problem as Swazis despised Zulus and treated the Honourable Chief Minister as rubbish. This made sympathy with the Swazis impossible. He doubted if there could be any support from the Zulus. The Republican Government might have to decide themselves without involving the Zulus.

DR. KOORNHOF: He enquired whether the situation would alter if the Swazis discussed the matter themselves with the Zulus.

DR. ZULU: He stated that the matter had gone too far. Even if their case could have been considered earlier on, it was now more difficult.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: This was made worse by the fact that they had on their own first approached KwaZulu Cabinet. Later they made repugnant statements to the effect that they would not talk to KwaZulu Government which was a mere homeland Government A mere "Bantustan".

DR. MORRISON: "Is it not a matter of protocol?"

Answer "NO!"

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: It would be terrible if the R.S.A. backed their attitude towards KwaZulu.

DR. MORRISON: Was it likely that the Caucus could take a different view?

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: "Not likely". He was appreciative of how ... 14/

of how Dr. Koornhof suffered in the hands of his own people.
But then even the Honourable Chief Minister also suffered likewise.

MR. RAATH: Honourable Minister should meet KwaZulu Caucus.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: People involved should themselves
talk to the Honourable Minister.

He then requested Mr. E.S. Ngubane to express his own feelings
as a man coming from Ngwavuma.

MR. E.S.E. NGUBANE: Swazis have always despised people outside
Swaziland. They have boasted of a better education. They have
always been coming in and out of the area. They used to
report at the S.A.P. station before but they no longer did of
late. Local people are upset by the behaviour of the Swazis.

DR. KOORNHOF:

1. Would the Honourable Chief Minister undertake to say nothing
before the Legislative assembly and allow him to speak for
himself before the caucus?

2. Otherwise how else could this delicate issue be treated?

There were always trouble makers like a certain journalist he named
and others. This was very embarrassing. His Department was often put to
scorn by people like this journalist and certain members of
the P.F.P. like Mr. McIntosh whom he proposes to meet for a
private briefing one day.

This journalist "A bas ..." was trying to create a wedge between
everybody. He was too negative.

Mr. McIntosh asked questions persistently and that had led to the
Honourable Chief Minister's credibility being questioned and
the Honourable Minister for Co-operation and Development being abused.
Bad blood was being created unnecessarily. A carefully worded
statement had to be made after this meeting - one by Dr. Koornhof
and another by the Honourable Chief Minister.

It was15/

It was later agreed that each would make a short precise statement indicating the matter was to be placed before KwaZulu King and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as the Chief Minister has suggested.

He also asked if he could bring foreign Minister Mr. R.F. Botha if Cabinet agreed. This suggestion to bring the Minister of Foreign Affairs was accepted.

DR. KOORNHOF: Still insisted that he did not believe we could fail to resolve the issue.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: Stated that among many problems that were certainly going to arise were:
The refugee problems and joblessness!
As people from Ingwavuma who did not want to be Swazis would flood into KwaZulu.

DR. KOORNHOF: Stated that R.S.A. had gone into these problems very seriously. Many people could be given an assurance when they came under Swazis e.g. Teacher, Civil Servants, Labourers, Pensioners, etc. Mutual Contracts ratified in different Parliaments could be made.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: Pointed out that they would still be regarded as foreigners once their area was incorporated into Swaziland. Swazis were notorious for discriminating even against their own fellow Swazis who were born outside Swaziland. It was worse with non-Swazis. According to a statement by their Prime Minister they were faced with their own high school leaver population (5 000) who were without jobs. This number is from a small population of $\frac{1}{2}$ a million.

DR. KOORNHOF: appealed:

1. Issue should be played at low key level even within the KwaZulu Assembly.
2. A solution had to be found so that numerous benefits could be reaped.

DR. O.D. DHLOMO ... 16/

DR. O.D. DHLOMO: Enquired about the "benefits" which the Minister keeps on talking about.

The Minister stated that as a Christian man he found no fault in Swaziland claims.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: Our elderly compatriot with us is now in his Seventies and is a devout Christian. Maybe we should consider his advice seriously. What would it benefit us to placate 500 000 Swazis and displease the 6 million Zulus that you live with?

DR. O.D. DHLOMO: He was surprised that Swazis membership of U.N. and O.A.U. was rated so highly. Malawi's standing with U.N. and O.A.U. was in fact stronger.

DR. KOORNHOF: Discusses the matter.

DR. O.D. DHLOMO: If the Swazi King wanted to unite Swazis why did he have to claim Zulu areas and Zulu people? In fact if they took on Ingwavuma they were taking on great instability by way of people who would have been taken up by Swaziland against their will. A problem was being created. Stability was surely going to be lost. Could South Africa not think of financial loans?

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER: Felt that the issue as agreed should not be argued at this stage.

DR. ZULU: Swazis may claim to have a case with U.N.O. and O.A.U. when they talk to South Africa. In fact they were claiming land occupied by Blacks. This would make it interesting whether the O.A.U. would condone land being taken away from Blacks to give to Swazis. This was not white land.

DR. KOORNHOF: He thanked everybody for the discussions and appealed for calmness.

On our return we gave a full report on this matter to His Majesty the King ...17/

the King of the Zulus, and the KwaZulu Legislative assembly.
This was on Tuesday the 4th of May.

As I have stated above the Chief of the Tembe was sent to lead a delegation which was sent to approach the Swazi King on the basis of the information, we were given in Cape Town by the Hon. Minister of Cooperation and Development. It was not on the basis of rumours or Newspaper reports. To be honest I was amazed to learn that the Chief stated that he had been sent with other members of the delegation on the strength of Newspaper reports and rumours. Other members of the delegation were the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Prince L.G. Dlamini, the Senior Prince of Nxangiphilile Prince Israel Mcwayizeni ka Solomon, the King's Senior uncle. Mr. Nzuza a member of the Legislative Assembly representing the Nongoma electoral division and Mr. Nelson Shamase, the King's Councillor a member of the Usuthu Tribal Authority and the KwaZulu Liason Protocol officer between His Majesty the King and the KwaZulu Cabinet. Also accompanying the delegation was Mr. Tayson Dlamini. I would like to pause here so that members of the King's delegation to Swaziland can share their experience in Swaziland with you. I will continue with my speech after they have reported to you.

We failed to get the rationale for Swazis wanting to add MAPUTA to Swaziland from Dr. Koornhof his two Deputies and other officials. Apart from what I have stated in my report of the 3rd May, no concrete reason was given to us either based on history, Constitutional law, International law or Common sense. You have now also heard what the Swazi King himself said to the delegation which our King sent to him on the 13th of this month. For my part, it is not clear why the King of Swaziland should use such strong language to claim territory that has never belonged to Swaziland either during his reign or during the reign of all his predecessors. We have great respect for His Majesty the

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King of Swaziland as the elder Statesman of the Continent of Africa after the demise of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, and H.E. President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. We have always looked up to him for wisdom and protection even here where we are stripped off our human rights by the white racist Regime of South Africa. We never entertained the wildest dreams that we might need protection from being dispossessed of land that belongs to the Kingdom of KwaZulu by His Majesty, the Swazi King. We blacks of South Africa have been dispossessed of our land and this continues to happen even now because we are an unarmed people. I hope that Swaziland which is now armed as an independent State is not using its clout as such to dispossess black South Africans of their land because she has now got claws which she thinks she can use to claw us as an independent State, with a defence force. I find it difficult to believe that this is so. And yet in the light of all the information before us from the meeting with the South African Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr. Koornhof on the 3rd May to the information which has been passed on to us by the King's delegation after their meeting with the Swazi King on the 13th May, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that this is so. But if this was the reason for Swaziland's newly-acquired belligerency, that is the fact of being armed, it would be a very unfortunate reason for doing what they are doing to us and to the people of KaNgwane. They should know from the fact that the struggle for liberation in South Africa, since they were dispossessed of their land by the white men through the barrel of the gun that it will never be abandoned by us, until we get back what God gave to us as our own. If we are not intimidated by South Africa to abandon our aims even while the white racist minority Regime is as armed to the teeth as they are, how can Swaziland hope that we can be 19

can be intimidated by them into submission, because of the fact of their being armed? It is clear that there can never be peace in South Africa so long as blacks remain a dispossessed people. Surely Swaziland can't be yearning to share the political instability which South Africa enjoys! Can Swaziland really want to forfeit the goodwill of their South African brothers and sisters merely because of a few hectares of land which were never ever part of the Kingdom of Swaziland at anytime in history? Is this a sufficient price for buying the friendship of the white minority elite which keeps we blacks in South Africa in oppression? Does Swaziland hope that the Organisation For African Unity and some of our brothers in exile who have entree at the OAU will really applaud these imperialistic ambitions of Swaziland at the expense of we oppressed blacks as their black brothers and sisters?

The King of Lesotho has better claims on the Orange Free State, than the King of Swaziland has on MAPUTA, which was never Swazi territory. Is His Majesty the King of Swaziland going to speak to South Africa on behalf of His Majesty the King of Lesotho about Lesotho's rightful claims on land in the Orange Free State? This would be consistent if it were to be done and would make much more sense than Swaziland's claims on territory that was never theirs.

I find it extremely sad after we have built up such good relationships with Swaziland over several generations, ever since 1853/4 when the Zulus last fought wars with Swazis, that these good relationships are now going to be destroyed at the stroke of a pen because of misguided black imperialistic ambitions on Zulu land. It is unthinkable that any black Nation should want to dispossess the oppressed in South Africa.

I am amazed as to why would the sons of the Swazi King such as Princes, Thekwane, Malambule, Mbilini and others seek the protection of the Zulu King Mpande, if that territory on which they lived

was not ... 2/

was not Zulu territory after they fled Swaziland when they were under a threat of death.

I do not think it is late even now for His Majesty the Swazi King to abandon these claims. It would not be a good thing for the King's children and their children's children to reap the whirlwind of these misguided imperialistic ambitions on Zulu land. There can never be peace between KwaZulu people and the people of Swaziland if Zulu territory is ceded to Swaziland by the Racist Pretoria Regime for whatever price Swaziland wants it incorporated into Swaziland. We respect the King of Swaziland too much to believe that he will want to leave behind him a heritage of hatred and bloodshed between his children in Swaziland and his children in KwaZulu.

As I stated during my official speech when I opened the Tembe Tribal Authority offices right here, there is well documented history about the relationship between the Tembe Chiefs and the Zulu Kings. We are all aware of the friendship which existed between Chief Makhasana and King Mpande. Even as early as King Mpande's reign the people of Tembe enjoyed Zulu protection and although an autonomous tribe, they were nevertheless under the suzerainty of the Zulu kingdom. When Chief Makhasana died, his brother Nonkantsha attempted to usurp the Tembe throne. Chief Makhasana's Heir was Hluma and he died during his father's lifetime. When Nonkantsha tried to usurp the throne, Noziyingili did not flee to Swaziland for help. Instead he fled to King Mpande to seek protection and support. By a stroke of fortune King Mpande's army consisting of the following regiments - Isangqu, Izingulube, iMdlenevu, uNdabakawombe, iHlaba and Imikhulutshane, and the young Thulwana (to which Prince Cetshwayo belonged) happened to be carrying out one of the Zulu periodical raids into Swaziland. The Swazis had fled into their mountain caves with their cattle. So Nongqivu Msane, who led the Zulu army was instructed to lead the army in chasing Nonkantsha. Nonkantsha was killed and Chief Noziyingili was in this way

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was in this way enabled to assume his office as Head of the Tembe Tribe,. It was during this time that the Tembe Territory was severed into two and one portion handed over to the Portuguese without any reference to him. When the Portuguese raided the Royal Home of the Tembe Chief during the interregnum when Princess Zambili the daughter of King Sobhuza and Mother of Ngwanase was acting as Regent. When this happened, Queen Zambili fled with her son. She did not go to her people in Swaziland. She sought protection in Zulu territory and she went across to the British Border Post at the time, at Nongoma. The British had conquered the Zulu Nation by 1895, when the Tembe area, just like the rest of Zulu territory became absorbed into the British Empire. For several generations the Tembe Chiefs sent gifts as tributes to Zulu kings. They also carried out a flourishing trade with the Zulus. It was the Tembe people who brought copper and brass known as UMDAKA, into the Zulu Royal Court. It was from Umdaka that Royal ornaments such as Ingxotha, amasongo, uMnaka, and others were made. Even beads were introduced into KwaZulu via the Tembe people e.g. the red beads which King Shaka liked very much, Ingwele, and which he used as his body ornament. Also other beads the black beads Isisimbula and white beads, imasa etc. It was in fact King Shaka whose kingdom spread its wings over the Tembes. It seems quite extraordinary if the Swazi connection was so important why the Chiefs of the Tembe people did not seek protection and help from the Swazi Kings, if they were part of them.

We are aware of the unhappy history of Swaziland where our people in Swaziland were dispossessed through concession politics. According to the Oxford History of South Africa (edited by Professor Monica Wilson and Professor Leonard Thompson) (Vol II p. 275):

Swazi foreign policy in the reign of Mswati (1840-68) and his successor Ludvonga (1868-74) was based on the premise that the Zulu, who had tried to destroy the Kingdom in the time of Shaka and Dingane, and continued

to raid ... 22/

to raid it thereafter, were the most serious menace. White people were treated as potential allies against the Zulu. Mswati asked Theophilus Shepstone to use his influence with Mpande to stop Zulu raids and entered into cordial relations with his Afrikaner neighbours in the Transvaal. He persuaded some Transvaal farmers to settle along the Pongola Reiver as a buffer between his people and the Zulus; he allowed the Swazi borders to be defined by Transvaal boundary commissions even though that meant a series of contractions; and he even admitted a vague Transvaal overlordship.

It is well documented history that the Transvaal Republic wanted an outlet to the sea. After the annexation of KwaZulu in 1887, this portion was left out including KOSI Bay which was thought to be a possible harbour. We do not learn either from our oral tradition or from records that this area was then under the Swazis or Swaziland. There were no documents kept by the Zulu Kings which enumerated areas or boundaries of areas under their suzerainty. The Boer Republic of the Transvaal then wanted this outlet to the sea and they had their eyes on KOSI Bay. This scheme involved taking over of the Swazi kingdom in order to create a passage of land to the Sea. The independence of Swaziland had been guaranteed by Britain and the Republic in 1884. But the designs of the Boers to carry out a scheme which involved seizure of Swazi land in the process of creating a passage to KOSI Bay did not mean that this area and KOSI Bay became Swazi possessions merely because of these abortive plans of the Boers. There was a suggestion at this time that a Customs Union be signed between the Boer Republic of the Transvaal and the British Colonial Authorities. According to 'The Oxford History of South Africa' pp. 311 to 312:

In March 1890, High Commissioner Loch accompanied Cecil Rhodes, met Kruger at Blignaut's Port and offered

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him a strip for a railway to Kosi Bay, provided that the Transvaal would enter into a customs Union with the South African colonies as well as abandon its claims to the North. Kruger's executive rejected this offer. Loch then appointed Jan Hofmeyr as his representative to negotiate with Kruger, as Hofmeyr was by that time committed to Rhodes's Northern plan and deeply anxious that the Transvaal should enter into a South African Customs Union. The outcome was a Convention signed in July 1890 which eventually led to the incorporation of Swaziland in the South African Republic in 1895 The Transvaal assumed control of Swaziland without meeting any physical opposition. (Their control was only for a short time though). But the Transvaal would have nothing to do with a custom's Union and failed to get its seaport. The British government closed the gap in 1895 when it annexed Tongaland and the Chiefdoms of Zambane and Mbegisa.

On page 266 it is stated-

By that time (1897) Zululand and Tongaland had been incorporated in Natal, which had been granted Responsible Government.

It becomes obscure to me why the Swaziland government should assume that they are the inheritors of Boer ambitions to make KOSI Bay their port, when this area was even at that time not at all part of Swazi territory. The fact that the Boers wanted to have a strip to Kosi which cut into Swazi territory does not mean that Kosi bay is in a territory over which no Swazi King ever exercised authority thereby also became Swazi territory. In what way are the Swazis Heirs to the Boers in their ambitions to take over Kosi Bay via Swaziland? This is beyond our comprehension. I challenge anyone to prove to us that any Swazi King ever exercised authority over the Tembe people. Do Swazis merely think ... 24/

think that because the Boers wanted to do this by force of arms, that they now also want to do so by force of arms? Is it possible in this day and age in Africa that there should be such ambitions by blacks on what is black territory?

It would be interesting to know if President Machel, the Frontline States and the OAU can really condone such imperialistic designs by Swaziland over what is black land.. This is a classical case in my view of trying to rob Peter to pay Paul. We are here to report this matter officially to the people of the Tembe Tribe and to hear their reaction to all these ambitious plans of the Swazis now that the matter is now out in the open. I would welcome views by spokesmen from this tribe particularly the elders of the Tribe. We had to adjourn our sitting to come here to talk to you as the matter is serious enough to warrant this. That is why we are here.

I am astounded to read in the Newspapers that Dr. Koornhof now states that these were merely exploratory talks and that when we discussed things with him there was nothing on the table. I wonder whether Dr. Koornhof maintains this position even after the Swazi King has confirmed these claims. The King's message to the Zulu King belie Dr. Koornhof's statement that there is nothing on the table. This was also not our impression of Dr. Koornhof's talk with us on the 3rd of May, in Cape Town.

REFERENCE:

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA (Edited by Professor Monica Wilson and Professor Leonard Thompson) Vol. III (1870-1966).