

When I arrived on the 1st June I spent about 4 hours at the airport because there seemed to be a problem regarding my clearance. That robbed me of the good 4 hours to make the initial contact with the Swazis on the day of my arrival. By the time I got to Mbabane it was well after 4pm and many had left their offices.

Before leaving the airport Mr. Matlole, the Deputy Head of the Swazi Security Police informed me through the phone that they will be organising meetings for me but I did not know when those meetings were to be. I was a bit concerned because I was to depart from SD on the 4th which was a Monday. I had therefore worked ^{out that} the meetings ^{would} take place on the morning of that Monday. In an attempt to organise the work programme on the 2nd which was Saturday, I contacted through the phone, the Commissioner of Police, Mr. T. Msibi and requested him to organise a meeting early Monday morning with whoever I was to meet with from the Swazi authorities because I would be leaving on the same Monday early afternoon. He promised to do this but indicated that the Minister of Interior was out of the country. He thought that there would be other Ministers to attend to us.

On the Monday morning of 4th June at 10.30, a meeting between the Swazi authorities and myself took place at the Swazi Prime Minister's residence. Present in the meeting on the Swazi side were:

Mr. Mnisi - Minister without Portfolio who chaired the meeting

Mr. Matse - Minister of Justice

Mr. F. Dube - Minister of Defence

Mr. T. Msibi - Commissioner of Police.

In opening the meeting Mr. Mnisi said that they had been informed by the Commissioner of Police that I had arrived in Swaziland to give a short progress report. He then called upon me to take the floor. In taking the floor I indicated to them that our HQ ^{was} aware that it had taken a bit of time to come back to them to report on progress regarding finding of the place where the comrades who were outside of the category of the registered refugees ~~who~~ were to go. I went on to explain that the complaction ^{was} brought about by changes introduced by the Swazi authorities on the original arrangements that the comrade were supposed to be driven through Lomaasha border gate to Mozambique. That their changing on this made the Mozambicans also to change their minds and that since then the ANC had been trying to find a place.

We further informed them that we were trying to reach agreements with Tanzania and that we were generally expecting an OK from the Tanzanians around the

12th June or perhaps before. Our HQ had felt that even before we got the OK it was necessary to meet with them and give this kind of a progress report. It was stressed to them that it had not been easy to find a place for these comrades and that we from the ANC position were not in a position to impose this kind of ^aproblem to countries. It was all to be done through negotiations and that even the OAU had come in ^{to}the issue in an attempt to solve the problem.

We then requested a full list of the detained comrades and stressed to them the necessity of this list for the purposes of the organisation knowing the exact number of people since reports were suggesting that there were about 80 people now and that the list was also necessary for the purposes of clearance at the place where the comrades were to be sent. To this point the Swazi authorities immediately agree to work on a list and give it to me on the day of my departure. They saw the logic of the request without difficulties.

We further went to indicate that HQ wanted further information related to this question e.g. as to what route did the Swazi authorities have in mind for the comrades; and what form of transport would be used from Swaziland to indicated destination. This kind of information was necessary for those who will be working on the preparations. I

In addition to the above points, we also asked the Swazis the whereabouts of cde. Glen (Velaphi Msane). We claimed that there were rumours that he had disappeared whilst the information prior was that he had been detained by the Swazi police.

We also in addition made a request that cde Duma should delay a little more to attend to some questions that no-one could attend to except him. On this we made the example of the funeral he was to organise since he had been told by the Ministry of the Interior that he should have the corpses of the two dead comrades.

Responding to the above, the Swazis raised the following problems:

They were surprised that we were asking about cde Glen and wanted to know why were we specifically asking about him. They wanted to find out where we got the information that he was missing. They implied that our making the request to know his whereabouts was suggestive of the fact that we have inside information of our comrades in detention. If that was not the case we then have the information that he has been arrested by the Boers in SA and that we wanted Swaziland to be responsible for his arrest in the sense that the Swazis handed him over to the Boers. They felt the question was very much consistent with what the Percy Qhobozas have been saying. We tried to indicate to them that the question was just a straightforward and simple question and that we were not

putting it as a hard fact that he was missing, but that instead we were requesting them, as this particular name had come to our ears, to tell us whether he was in or not.

They then raised the question of Qhoboza and the statement made by the Labour Minister in Zambia in an ILO conference. They expressed that SD was very much concerned about these reports and what was more worrying was that the ANC did not seem to stand up to refute these reports. In their view these reports and rumours were detrimental to the relations between the SD government and the ANC. Their main worry on these two, was that Qhoboza claimed he had received this information from Zambia where the ANC HQ are and it also happened that the Labour Minister is from Zambia where ANC HQ are. The pertinent question therefore in their minds was - were these people collecting rumours that were floating around in ANC circles or was the ANC speaking through these people. It was partly why they viewed our questioning them about Glen in the most suspicious way.

They further informed us that since the problem started there had been a lot of arrests of our young men and a lot of escaping from prison of our young men and that there's still a lot of our young men in the bush in their country. They indicated that among those detained some had cases to face. They claimed that arrests were taking place continuously and reports from other people were that some of these ANC young men were already from SA going back to Mozambique. This meant that the problem was still complicated.^f

At this point the SD delegation claimed that in the meeting that was held between them and Zuma and Mabhida, they had not said the evacuation of the 80 should precede the meeting between ANC President and the SD Prime Minister. That instead they had said the meeting between the PM and the President of the ANC was a pre-condition of any event that was to take place. And that they had arrived at that conclusion when the Mabhida/Zuma delegation said that they had not come to discuss crucial issues but they had come to arrange the question of the funeral and the dates of the meeting of the Prime Minister and the ANC President. They were therefore surprised to learn that we were making arrangements for the evacuation of comrades before the meeting took place.

They further claimed that even on the question of burying the two comrades, they had been waiting for the Word from the ANC. They then came back to say emphatically that as far as they were concerned everything else or any action related to the evacuation would be determined first and foremost by the meeting between the Prime Minister and the President. That this position was the position they took in the first meeting and they still maintained it. And that they would like this meeting to take place as soon as possible because their prisons were full and they did not have enough money though they were trying to feed for a long

time this big number of people.

This position of the Swazis completely changed the complexion of the situation.. As I had taken part in the first meeting I was completely shocked and surprised. I argued with them that they had not said so in the previous meeting and started reminding them point by point what they had said but they insisted and claimed that there was a misunderstanding. I further indicated to them that on the question of the funeral they had conveyed a decision of the government to us that they were going to bury the comrades and elaborated on the reason why they were doing so and only said they were to give the bodies to us if they were to be buried outside SD.

On this they turned around to say what was the main element in that decision was for us to say we were taking the bodies or not. In an attempt to remind them again we recounted the arrangements we had undertaken with the Mozambican authorities re the clearing of the 80 through the border at Lomaasha and that as a follow up to those arrangements we were in constant and dynamic communication with the SD embassy in Maputo until the day we were supposed to fetch the comrades. That the SD ^{Government} ~~embassy~~ conveyed it through their office in Maputo that they had changed their minds about the way they were to bring the comrades; that they were now to fly them to Maputo. In response to this point they said they were not responding to the arrangements as such but that the Minister of Interior was making a statement of principle. The principle being that our people ~~were~~ would be taken out of SD by air and not by road.

At this point it was clear that we could not agree on the conclusions of the last meeting. They said there was a misunderstanding. They then insisted that the main thing was that a meeting between the Swazi PM and our President should take place before any other thing is done.

At this point there was no longer any basis to continue the meeting. The only conclusion was that I should therefore go back and convey the situation to our HQ with an element of urgency as they added. They however, added that the question of our looking for a place should continue so that when the meeting takes place we should be ready to effect the evacuations immediately.

At this juncture the meeting was closed.

After about 30/40 minutes having left the PM's residence, a car came dashing to where I was with a message that I was supposed to return again to the PM's residence to be given the last message to convey to HQ.

When I arrived at the meeting place the meeting was then reconvened. I was then informed by the Swazi authorities that Immediately after our meeting which had taken place earlier on in the day they immediately went to report

to the PM and that the PM had made certain observations on the issues discussed earlier in the day. He had come up with the following changes:

- a) that since we have gone so far with the arrangements for evacuation ~~th~~ he thought we should not stop the process. We should go ahead to implement the arrangements. He, as the PM, will take responsibility to report to the elders on the matter. He felt that the pending meeting should not stop the process.
- b) he also said that as I had indicated that I was also to meet the UN man he would be very much happy if I did so with an express purpose of discussing the possible assistance that could come from the UNHCR. He said that help would be most welcomed more especially that at this point in time his country was facing serious financial problems which was as a result of cyclone Demoina which had devastated the country.
- c) that for the passage through Mozambique of our comrades who would be evacuated he would like to get a message of agreement from the Mozambican Foreign Ministry. This was because the Mozambicans had earlier on made the point that they would not like our people to come by road but were prepared to refuel an aircraft passing through with the comrades to whatever destination. He was also saying so because he did not want a situation wherein the Mozambicans would feel that the Swazis were imposing things on them.
- d) that some of our comrades who were in prison had committed serious crimes and that therefore we should know that to those who have committed crimes the law of the country would have to take its course.
- e) that the meeting between him and the President was still expected to take place as soon as is possible and that that meeting he viewed it as very important and necessary in the face of the situation.

The points as ^{Raised} ~~conveyed~~ by the PM again changed the complexion of the situation. The position reverted back to the original. To me it was clear that perhaps he did not agree with that obvious somersault. Other members of the Swazi ~~d~~legation did not seem to have a problem with the change of the situation except for one, Mr. Matse (Justice Minister) who seemed a bit troubled with the change. However, he did not speak at this point.

At this point the 2nd session was closed.

MEETING WITH THE UNHCR ON THE 4th JUNE 1984

After the meeting with the Swazis, I went straight to the UNHCR and had a meeting with its Chief Rep, Mr. E.B. Owusu. The meeting was short but we were able to strike a clear understanding on the main issue. I informed him that I had met with the Swazi authorities and that the main issue which was discussed was the evacuation of 85 of our comrades detained in Swaziland. I did not give the details of my discussions with the Swazis but informed him that my HQ had instructed me to meet him with an aim of discussing the possible assistance from this office in the transportation of our comrades from Swaziland to Tanzania. I also made it known to him that I had informed the Swazis that I would be meeting him on this issue and that the Swazis were happy that I was to meet him and they were also expecting him to help since Swaziland had financial difficulties.

In response Mr. Owusu assured me that he was ready to assist this group of comrades much as it was not falling within the registered refugee category. He assured me that he had raised the issue with his HQ and had been given the green light. He said that his office would be ready to assist in any form of transportation be it the buying of tickets or chartering of an aircraft. We then agreed that as soon as we get the clearance or OK from ^{TANZANIA} ~~the Swazi PM~~ I will communicate with him to begin the process of arranging the purchasing of tickets or any form of arrangements to evacuate the comrades. I should however, not omit the concern he expressed on behalf of the UNHCR office and on his own behalf on the detention of our comrades. He also reported about what he had been doing regarding the evacuation of the comrades who fell under the category of registered refugees. He said that he fought for them to come out and make their necessary arrangements and he succeeded. He reported that out of the 15 he managed to take out, one comrade was already missing. He suspected he had gone underground, but he was confident that he would handle this with the Swazis.

He also informed me that in a number of occasions some Swazi authorities have referred to him as an ANC man. He seemed to be very much aware of what goes on in that area - that is to say the attitudes etc. to our organisation at the level at which he is involved. He also expressed the desire to have more contact with the movement for purposes of dealing with the comrades who may fall under the category of refugees in the future. He said this because he was aware that there was no-one to remain in Swaziland, after Duma's departure, to liaise with him. And yet he was clear that the inflow of South Africans into that country will continue.

Report on my meeting with comrade Duma in Bay - 2.6.84

1. When I met with comrade Duma he reported that on the 1.6.84 the Swazi authorities from the Ministry of Interior had informed him that we were allowed to take our dead bodies from the mortuary and carry out ~~with~~ the funeral on our own. This was after a long time that there had been nothing said about our dead comrades. Since the information was given to him late on Friday he then prepared to deal with the situation on Monday morning. But he was begining to work on making contacts with the families.

2. Comrade Duma further informed me that the comrades who were underground were extremely starving. He had thought I had come with the money. He was disappointed to learn that I had no money with me. He also gave a progress report regarding the departure of comrades who fall under the category of registered refugees. He was also busy trying to collect things from the houses the comrades used to occupy. He then requested that when I meet the Swazis that they should extend his time so that he would be able to round up a number of things relating to the comrades etc. etc.

3. After meeting Owusu on the 4th June, I had an appointment to meet Duma on my way out of the country. When I met him at about 4 pm he informed me that when he attempted to ^{attend} ~~attnd~~ to the funeral question in the morning, he was told that the funeral of the two comrades ~~had~~ taken place in the early morning. He was battling to get an explanation of why was it done so because he had been told on the Friday that he was to get the bodies, and that the ANC would conduct the funeral. He was also trying to get the numbers of their graves. This was again shocking and indicative of the nature of some Swazis we are dealing with. On this we are still waiting further reports from comrade Duma.