

Sunday Tribune **COMMENT** JUNE 20 1982

## Inalienable birthright

**SIMULTANEOUS** referendums to test the wishes of the people of Kwa-Zulu and the people of Natal (white, coloured and Indian) could yet prove the most effective way of stopping the outrageous Government plan to rob nearly a million South Africans of their birthright and the country of large tracts of border territory.

Both the birthright of the people and the ownership of the land are matters of fundamental national importance. Negotiations that would place either in jeopardy should never have been contemplated, without having established the wishes, firstly of those directly affected and, secondly, of the nation as a whole.

"We are bringing together those who belong together," declares an arrogant Minister of Co-operation and Development, when attempting to justify two years of secret talks with the Swaziland Government. The basis for this statement is apparently that people in Ingwavuma and in Ka-Ngwane are Swazi speaking.

But that proves nothing. They are South African born. And their right to retain their citizenship should be inalienable.

They will know whether they "belong" to Swaziland. If they do they will say so. But for anyone else to presume to know where they belong without asking them is insufferable.



# 'No Swazi will ever rule over me or my tribe...'

SUNDAY TIMES JUNE 20, 1982

THE 76-year-old Zulu prince spat into the dusty road when asked about the possible incorporation of the Ingwavuma district of Northern Natal into Swaziland.

"We have been betrayed by the South African Government," said Prince Mangoto Mngomelzulu outside the village of Ingwavuma.

"Even though I am old, I'm still a proud Zulu. No Swazi will ever rule over me or my tribe.

"All I wanted was peace and happiness in my old age but now, because someone somewhere is going to sign a piece of paper, I'm going to die a violent death," he declared.

"The people signing papers have not taken past bitter fighting between tribes into account. They have not heard of the word revenge."

News of the possible incorporation of the KwaZulu Ingwavuma district into Swaziland, announced in Ulundi on Monday by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, has spread like a bush fire throughout the four tribes of about 66 000 blacks, plus the 24 whites who live in the area.

Many tribesmen are making plans to leave the region.

Others say they can't leave their homes and farms, but at the same time claim they will never allow a Swazi government to rule them.

There is confusion everywhere.

I spoke to residents about the future of the region. None supported incorporation.

I found Prince Mangoto talking to followers at a bus stop outside Ingwavuma village.

He's a man who commands respect.

## Betrayed

There were constant shouts of approval at his words.

He spat into the dust:

"We have been betrayed by the South African Government.

"This land belongs to the Zulu nation and we are all proud to be Zulus. No signing of any paper can take that away from us."

He outlined his reasons for mentioning violence.

"The trouble started during the early 1970s, I think it was 1972," he said.

A certain man, Ntunga, was elected chief by one of the four tribes in Ingwavuma.

Prince Mangoto said after two years the chief fell out of favour with certain tribesmen and the South African Government.



MR HUBERT BARTLE-MOORE

By KEN SLADE

"Bitter faction fights erupted. Many people were killed, cattle stolen and huts burnt.

"Out of my family alone 20 people died.

"During 1974 Chief Ntunga was deposed by the South African Government and, with an army of followers, fled to Swaziland."

Prince Mangoto said the former Chief Ntunga was

still in Swaziland.

"If Ingwavuma is presented to Swaziland then there will be no border post to stop Ntunga and his men moving into the area and taking revenge against us."

It would be impossible for the South African Government to protect his tribe.

A KwaZulu Government agriculture inspector for the Ingwavuma area, Mr Joseph Malinga, said he had spoken to many people about the possible incorporation during his tours into the bush areas.

"Everyone is deeply concerned about personal safety. During the faction fights no one was neutral," he said.

Mr Malinga said many people were not waiting for the outcome of possible further negotiations.

"They are packing their belongings and leaving their farms. They said they would never live in Swaziland and were leaving to find a place where they could again live with Zulus," he said.

One of the few whites in the area is Mr Hubert Bartle-Moore, 67, whose father established a trading store in the tiny village of Ingwavuma in 1910.

The village, a trading store, a butchery, a garage, bank, a magistrate's court and a few homes, falls under the direct administration of Natal and is in fact an island of provincial authority surrounded by the vast KwaZulu territory.

"But even being part of Natal is not helping us in this case," said a disgruntled Mr Bartle-Moore.

"It appears that until a few days ago not even members of the Natal Provincial Council knew that our village would be incorporated into Swaziland."

Mr Bartle-Moore said he was dead against the proposed incorporation.

"By a stroke of a pen they want me to become a Swazi citizen," he said.

"Forget it. The Government will have to buy me out and I'll move. I'm a South African citizen and intend remaining one."

He said that through his

stores he daily dealt with hundreds of blacks in the region.

"Not one of them has told me they favour incorporation," he said.

Mr Bartle-Moore said that although the Ingwavuma area had great potential, the Swaziland Government had no money to develop it.

"Any incorporation will therefore be a giant step backwards."

He also voiced fears about possible violence.

Mr Bartle-Moore said that if the former Chief Ntunga returned to the area there was a great chance of further fighting.

## Casino

"The border has kept the two main factions apart since 1974," he said, "but if incorporation takes place then there will be nothing to stop another clash."

The only person I could find who was in favour of the incorporation was a white commercial traveller who was in the town of Mkuze, a few kilometres from the Ingwavuma district.

"Sure I hope it gets incorporated," he said "because the Swazi Government may then build a casino just within the border and I would not have to travel so far to gamble."

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# Don't betray Zulus plea

By KEVIN DAVIE

THE consequences of giving away South African territory to Swaziland will be disastrous, says conservationist Mr Ian Player.

"The British did the same sort of thing to the Afrikaner and inflicted a deep wound which will take another 100 years to heal.

"I cannot understand why the Government, an Afrikaner government, now wants to do the same to the Zulus and South African Swazis.

"If they hand over those areas to a foreign state, I know it'll have the most serious and disastrous consequences," he said.

"I plead and urge the Government, where I have many friends, not to push this through," said the man who has devoted more than ten years to conservation in some of the areas now earmarked as Swazi territory.

## Stunned

Mr Player said he could not understand why SA territory was "being given away when you've got people dying on South West African borders and we don't own a single square centimetre of that land."

He was speaking at a Rotary function in Johannesburg where he was awarded the Paul Harris Fellowship Award, the highest award the international body offers.

Although honoured many times overseas for his contribution to conservation, including being named "Conservationist of the Year", this is the first time Mr Player has received an award from his own countrymen.

He said he had been "stunned" by Dr Piet Koornhof's announcement, particularly by the intention to "force it through without going to a referendum".

"The people of KwaZulu and KaNgwane have stated in the most categorical terms that they want to be part of South Africa.

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"I think that is the greatest compliment they could have paid us."

He stressed that just as there is a balance of nature, there is a balance of politics, warning that if political balance is upset, "it'll have dire consequences for this country".

On conservation work done in the Ingwavuma area, Mr Player said that this was "unequalled in Africa".

"Thousands of rands have been spent and the finest plans produced.

"The area is of the highest importance to conservation. It has the Ndumu Game Reserve, the last elephant in Zululand, and a unique estuarine system at Kosi Bay."

The Paul Harris Award is named after the founder of Rotary, who formed the body in America in 1906.

Mr Player has close connections with Rotary, having spoken to their members all over SA and in America.



# Is this really the jewel in Sobhuza's crown?

SUNDAY TIMES JUNE 20, 1982

TO MOST Swazis the border deal with South Africa is the final jewel in King Sobhuza's crown — the realisation of a long-held dream.

This is hardly surprising in a country of fierce traditionalists who place a high value on their heritage and to whom the return of ancient hunting grounds is no small matter.

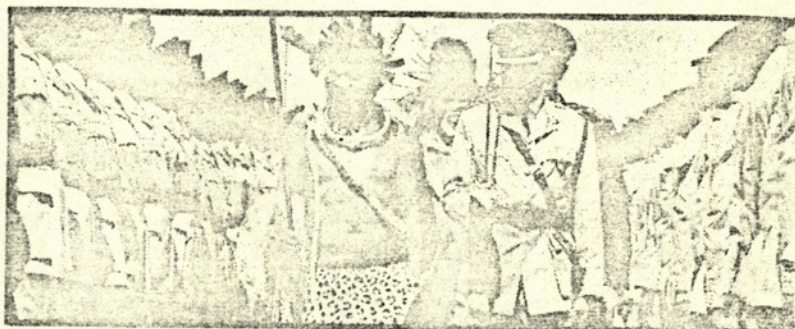
"A triumph for the King," said the banner headline in the Times of Swaziland, so summing up the reaction of the average Swazi.

Some went even further. "The most significant political occurrence of the 20th century," exulted an official spokesman, perhaps a little carried away by the moment.

## Reservations

Coming as it does less than a year after 82-year-old Sobhuza's glittering diamond jubilee celebrations, the clinching of the incorporation deal was heralded as a *coup de grace* by the same enthusiastic spokesman.

It was seen as vindication of Sobhuza's policy of patient negotiations with Pretoria.



King Sobhuza... for him, the realisation of a long-held dream

By MAXWELL FYFE in Mbabane

The manner in which the negotiations have been carried out provides a revealing glimpse of where power lies in Swaziland.

Swaziland's case was put by an inner circle of advisers hand-picked by the King for their pro-incorporation leanings. Apparently they included just one government minister.

Other ministers have been mere bystanders and it is doubtful whether they knew any more than the man in the street about the progress of the talks.

The reason is that some are known to have serious reservations about the implications of a Greater Swaziland, particularly the prospect of having to accept just under a million new citizens.

While the rest of Southern Africa has been preoccupied with the outrage of the Zulus over the loss of Ingwavuma and the plight of the local people both there and in KaNgwane who will lose their South African citizenship, Swazis have been left to wonder just what their country is getting out of the deal, apart from land.

## Suspicious

There is a feeling among some harder heads that the emotional issue of land and ancient tribal hunting grounds should be tempered

by a realistic look at the whole package.

A "silent minority", in government and business, is more than a little apprehensive.

They do not argue with Swaziland's right to the land, but are a bit more suspicious of Pretoria's motives.

They also feel that once the initial euphoria subsides it will slowly dawn on Swaziland that the incorporation deal is not all that it is touted to be.

Part of the problem, they point out, is that few details have been made public.

The optimistic view held by many Swazis is based on speculation.

Most Swazis, for example, seem to assume that KaNgwane comes complete with the towns of Ermelo,

Witbank, Nelspruit and Barberton.

An illusion perhaps reinforced by a speech earlier this year in which the king's roving ambassador, Dr Sisi-hayi Nxumalo, reportedly said Swaziland was demanding the four towns.

The speech naturally received great publicity, prompting Dr Nxumalo to issue a hasty denial.

Nothing, it seems, is further from Pretoria's mind than giving up the towns, but the feeling that they are part of the package has persisted here.

The route to the sea has been another key issue, and while there is no doubting the value of having such a link, critics of incorporation say its importance has been exaggerated.

The honour of explaining the historic developments to the people will go to the Lion of Swaziland, King Sobhuza himself.

Considering the importance which the King reportedly attaches to the return of the land, it is not surprising that criticism of incorporation has been muted.

Nevertheless, The Times this week reported the mixed feelings of the business community to the developments.

## Unmoved

One company director summed up the feelings of many when, referring to Ingwavuma, he said:

"I don't know how much economic development has been achieved there but I think it is far less than we have achieved here."

"With 750 000 new people, the nature of the whole country could change overnight."

"Unless there is a sizeable dowry, it is certainly going to lower the standard of living in this country."

Voicing his suspicions, another businessman was even more blunt.

"Show me something of value that the Afrikaners have ever given away," he said.

Many question Swaziland's ability to absorb the huge number of new job-seekers and fear the country's already serious employment problem will get completely out of hand.

But what of the political implications?

Whatever Swaziland has agreed to, it will obviously face some flak from the rest of black Africa, which tends to view any deal with Pretoria as a pact with the devil.

And the hysterical threats of a "bloodbath" by Gatsha Buthelezi and others leave the Swazis unmoved.

# And after the king goes?

By BRUCE LOUDON

IN just a month's time, on July 22, King Sobhuza will be 83.

And that, if critics are to be believed, is reason enough to question the wisdom of the agreement announced by Dr Piet Koornhof to cede parts of South African territory to the Kingdom of Swaziland.

For Sobhuza, who has wielded virtually absolute power for the past 60 years, has long since passed the three score years and 10 allotted most men. He is in the twilight of his life, the twilight of his reign.

"After Sobhuza, what?" must inevitably have a major bearing on assessments of the outlook following South Africa's decision to hand over land to Swaziland.

## Struggle

The white-bearded and frail Ngwenyama, or "living symbol" of the nation's values, has earmarked no successor.

He has droves of wives and is reported to have more than 600 children, of whom no fewer than 67 are sons considered to be in line for the royal succession in the House of Dlamini.

Analysts whittle this down to four or five real possibilities, but even that prospect holds out the likelihood that were the king to die tomorrow, there would be a power struggle between the various rival princes.

And both within the ruling house, and among those outside it, there are those who question quite seriously whether the monarchy in its present form will survive Sobhuza's demise.

Or whether it will promote the aims of those who favour a return to the Westminster-style democracy bequeathed to the kingdom at independence, but which the king was soon to overturn in favour of a return to absolutism.

For there is opposition to Sobhuza. It is small, to be sure, but it does exist. And it is radical — almost certainly finding a greater identity of views with the Frelimo leaders of Mozambique than with South Africa.

And herein lies the nub of the doubts that have arisen in relation to the ceding of South African land to Swaziland: given the reality of rivalry for the succession that exists within the House of Dlamini, and the reality of the opposition to the present system of government that exists among some politicians, can any agreement between the two countries ensure future friendship?

Can anything ordained by Sobhuza survive his departure from the scene?

And can South Africa, by doing the deal it has done, stem the tide of radicalism that has already enveloped Mozambique and Zimbabwe?

Those opposed to the Swazi deal are emphatic in their view that it is short-

sighted to have entered into the agreement at this stage.

Proponents of the deal, equally, believe that the House of Dlamini will survive intact; that Sobhuza's successor will be as much beholden to South Africa as he is, and as much beholden to Pretoria.

Certainly, if there is consensus in relation to Swaziland it is that Sobhuza has been a good and benevolent ruler. His country may be small, overpopulated and economically compromised, but he has governed it deftly, and managed to hoe a useful path between the reality of South Africa's proximity and encroaching radicalism.

## Gamble

But Swaziland today suffers the same socio-economic forces that have eroded and eventually eliminated monarchies elsewhere: urbanisation, industrialisation, market economies, modern education and the associated rise of new classes and radical ideologies.

In this context the octogenarian king's demise could turn out to be the catalyst for major change.

But at the very least the SA-Swazi land deal is a gamble — a gamble on old Sobhuza, and the belief that his conservative, tribal rule will survive him, thereby ensuring friendship for South Africa in the longer term.