

# Parliament of Eswatini, 1966 (ESWATINI)

# MUNUC 34



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#### CHAIR LETTER

Welcome Delegates!

My name is Luke Diggins, and I will be your chair for The Parliament of Eswatini, 1966 at MUNUC 34. Eduardo and I are really excited to meet all of you and watch you build an independent Eswatini. This committee is a hybrid committee which means that for the first two sessions of committee, you all will work together to draft a constitution for an independent Eswatini. Then, Eduardo and the Backroom will create crises to challenge you in new ways. As chair, I'll be leading debate in the Frontroom and listening to your speeches in both the constitution-building sessions and the crisis sessions. Whether you've been to a number of MUN conferences or are making MUNUC your first, I'm sure you'll all be able to have a lot of fun and learn a lot in committee.

When I'm not planning this committee with Eduardo, I am a fourth-year Economics and Political Science major. I first joined MUNUC in my second year, so this will be my third year staffing the conference. In the past, I was an AC in the Cabinet of Japan, 1960 and in the British House of Commons and really enjoyed my experience both years. I also play violin in the University Symphony Orchestra and am the Treasurer of the University of Chicago Fed Challenge Team. I also enjoy running, drinking (a probably unhealthy amount of) tea and coffee, and explaining to my roommates why the Celtics will win the Finals this year.

I hope you are all able to learn more about a country and region not often studied in American history curricula and about the trials that come with the decolonization process and the formation of a new, independent country. Please remember to always be respectful and sensitive to both your fellow delegates and to the historical subjects we encounter. I know that if we do so, you will all improve your Model UN skills and we'll all have a lot of fun at conference.

If you have any questions, please feel free to reach out!

Best,

Luke Diggins

Chair, Parliament of Eswatini, 1966

ldiggins@uchicago.edu

# **CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER**

Dear Delegates:

Welcome to MUNUC! I'm Eduardo, and I have the great honor and privilege of serving as your crisis director for MUNUC 34. I am a fourth year student majoring in Biology, Biological Chemistry, and Chemistry at the University of Chicago because I think that science is pretty cool sometimes. I was a Chair for the African Union at MUNUC 33 and then an Assistant Chair at the previous two conferences for the Cabinet of Armenia and the International Civil Aviation Organization.

A few things about me: I am from Puerto Rico, I am a licensed EMR that works with the school's emergency medical services, I am a writer for the journals published by the student-run Triple Helix, I am a peer health advocate for mental health, and I work at the UChicago medical center. Outside of my rigorous STEM lifestyle, I am also a crisis director for UChicago's collegiate MUN conference ChoMUN.

I enjoy participating in Model UN because it can serve as a vehicle for deepening people's understanding of the world at large as well as a place for delegates to develop skills that can be widely applied. I believe that this committee in particular will be representative of this as it relates to a country that not many people in the United States know about. By engaging your critical thinking and collaborative skills, you will work in this special hybrid format to draft a constitution for the newly-independent Eswatini and then work to address the many issues that arise from governing an independent, primarily rural nation in southern Africa. I look forward to meeting you all at the conference.

Best regards,

Eduardo G Gonzalez

Crisis Director, Parliament of Eswatini, 1966

eggonzalez@uchicago.edu

# **COMMITTEE STRUCTURE & MECHANICS**

The Parliament of Eswatini will be a hybrid committee, meaning that it will draw elements from traditional General Assembly (GA) and crisis committees. It will consist of two distinct phases. In the first phase, which will last for two committee sessions, delegates shall have the responsibility of drafting up a constitution for the newly-independent nation. Debate will start with a speaker's list that will run once and can continue if a delegate motions for it. From there, debate will flow through a series of moderated and unmoderated caucuses motioned by the delegates. Through debate, the delegates will be tasked to work together to draft several constitutions that do not necessarily need to adhere to the writing structure of a resolution.

Delegates are expected to discuss and compromise with other delegates, form coalitions with delegates outside their own party, and eventually vote to adopt a constitution and a direction forward for a newly independent Eswatini. Some elements of the constitution that will have to be considered are: the structure of the government, the rights guaranteed to the nation's people, the powers of the monarch, the country's relationship with its previous ruler (the United Kingdom), and its relationship with other growing and/or newly-independent countries on the African continent. The constitutions must be submitted by the beginning of the third committee session so that they may be presented in a Q&A session and voted upon promptly. The order in which they are voted on is up to the delegates to propose, but the first constitution to pass will be the one that is adopted.

During the two GA sessions, delegates will be given the opportunity to write one note per session to the Backroom staffers in order to start building resources beyond those listed in their character bios that they may utilize in the second part of the committee. Immediately following the ratification of the constitution, the committee will shift into its second phase: a continuous crisis during which delegates will be presented with crisis breaks that prompt the delegates to address different situations and problems that face the newly-created nation of Eswatini. They will address those issues by writing directives, which are shorter documents that detail actions the Parliament is taking to address the crisis at hand. The crises that delegates will face will be dependent on the content they generated in the constitution that passes in the first half of the conference. Additionally, notes

will no longer be limited by session, instead occurring multiple times per session such that delegates will be able to fully immerse themselves in their Backroom arcs. This will be the structure until the end of the conference. Through this committee structure, delegates will be challenged to engage meaningfully with the topics presented and to work creatively to collaborate with their peers in the Frontroom while also advancing their own goals in the Backroom.

# **TOPIC: PARLIAMENT OF ESWATINI**

#### History of the Problem bique Piggs Peak Mhlume **Hhohho** Mbabane | Lobamba Siteki Lubombo Mankayane Manzini Big Bend Hlatikul<mark>u</mark> Nhlangano Highveld **Shiselweni** Lavumisa Middleveld

Lowveld

Lubombo-Plateau

#### Introduction

South Africa

Though at the time that committee takes place Eswatini was still named Swaziland, for the purposes of this committee, Eswatini will be the name used in order to honor the country's continuous efforts to disassociate from its colonial past. Eswatini translates to "the place of the Swazi" in the Swazi people's native tongue. The Swazi are the ethnic group that make up the vast majority of Eswatini's population and the country's founders. The Swazi are considered part of the larger Nguni subgroup of the Bantu peoples. In this section, the prominent historical events and trends that shaped Eswatini up until 1966 are covered in order to provide the necessary background for delegates to tackle the problems that faced the country at that time.

#### Settlement and Early History

The Bantu classification of peoples is primarily linguistic to describe the subgroup of people that speak more than 500 distinct languages within the Niger-Congo language family. Some

Eswatini

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bantu Peoples." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Bantu-peoples

anthropologists point to the modern-day Cameroon-Nigeria border as a possible common origin point for this diverse group of peoples. From this origin point, the Bantu peoples spread southward and eastward to unoccupied fertile land. In the sixteenth century, the Bantu groups reached modern-day Mozambique, among them the Nguni clans which included the Swazi.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Nguni peoples populated southern Africa after breaking off from the other Bantu peoples that had reached Mozambique. <sup>3</sup> Conflict rapidly arose between the different clans. At that point, the Swazi people inhabited the Pongola River valley in KwaZulu-Natal and were led by Nkhosi Sobhuza I.<sup>4</sup> However, they were far from a major power in the region at the time. The Ndwandwe Kingdom fought the Mthethwa Paramountcy for political domination over the south African region.<sup>5</sup>

The Ndwandwe was led by Zwide while the Mthethwa was led by Dingiswayo. Many of the smaller Nguni clans were caught up in the war as they each tried to protect the land they had claimed during the immigration process. The Ndwandwe were a much more dominant military force and forced the Swazi people to relocate to the Ezulwini valley in the area that comprises modern-day Eswatini. In 1818, Dingiswayo was captured by Zwide and later executed. With his death, the Mthethwa forces were set to be destroyed, but he was succeeded by his mentee, Shaka.

Shaka rebuilt a new kingdom by conquering many different chiefdoms and stockpiling military might. He became the king of the Zulu, another Nguni clan. Zwide aimed to end Shaka by orchestrating a full-frontal assault on Zululand, but was at various points outdone by Shaka's superior military strategies and tactics. The defeat was crushing and led to the collapse of the Ndwandwe kingdom. Many of Zwide's generals fled north, but were unable to escape Shaka who firmly established himself as the major power in South Africa.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Eswatini | Facts, History & News. https://www.infoplease.com/world/countries/eswatini

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Nguni | People." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Nguni. Accessed 8 Aug. 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eswatini (Formerly Swaziland) | South African History Online. https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/eswatini-formerly-swaziland

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>1750-1820 - Ndwandwe Kingdom. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/ndwandwe-kingdom.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Shaka Zulu | South African History Online. https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/shaka-zulu

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Shaka's supremacy initiated a period of rapid cultural and social change amongst the Nguni people known as the Mfecane, or the Crushing. The expansive Zulu state waged wars on all its neighbors, including the Swazi, and caused massive amounts of resettlements that led to extensive cultural exchange and merging. The Swazi people were forced to adapt and adopted many of the military principles that led to Shaka's rise. This, in turn, strengthened the Swazi state for future generations. Additionally, with the increase in military strength, the Swazi were able to drive away most of the Sotho groups that populated the territories in and around the Ezulwini valley.

#### The Swazi state and culture:

The Swazi people were, and still are, primarily agriculturists and their lifestyle fit well with their environment in the Ezulwini valley. The Nkhosi, or king, wields the highest political, economic, and spiritual powers. He shares this power with his mother or maternal figure who serves as Queen Regent, or Queen Mother. The royal family resides in designated villages where they are able to have influence over all of the different regions of Eswatini. Polygyny is a common practice where the bride(s) is paid for with gifts to her family; a practice that the Nkhosi himself also partakes in. It is the Nkhosi's responsibility to keep all of the clans in Eswatini content as well as to protect his people and their lands.

The territory features vast fertile lands, abundant rivers and streams, diverse plant life, and precious minerals. <sup>13</sup> In Swazi culture, there is no distinction between the natural and supernatural worlds. Everything possesses emandla, or powers that maintain the majestic order of the world. Emandla is both substance and not of substance, meaning that it is present in all objects and forms of life. There is no origin myth that the Swazi have crafted as they simply allow the world to *be*, in all of its mysterious ways. <sup>14</sup> Certain things and ideas are sacred such as the Nkhosi and Queen Mother who

<sup>8&</sup>quot;Mfecane | African History." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/event/Mfecane

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "Nguni | People." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Nguni

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Eswatini (Formerly Swaziland) | South African History Online. https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/eswatini-formerly-swaziland

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;Swazi | People." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Swazi-people

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Swazi Religion | Encyclopedia.Com. https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/swazi-religion

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

are physical embodiments of sacred emandla.<sup>15</sup> Because of the ruler's spiritual connections, their power is indisputable and part of what later allowed for Eswatini's autonomy under British control.

#### **Pre-colonization**

Nkhosi Sobhuza I ruled until his death in 1836. In 1840, he was succeeded by Mswati II, named after who the Swazi people recognize as their first king Mswati I (the origin for the Swazi and Eswatini names). <sup>16</sup> Even after years of raids from the Zulu, Eswatini was still left standing. Fortunately for the Swazi people, Mswati II was a gifted diplomat and contacted the British in Cape Colony (located in modern South Africa) to assist in preventing Zulu attacks on Eswatini. Under his rule, the first Europeans settled in the region. <sup>17</sup> Among the European settlers were hunters, merchants, and missionaries who all intended to live in the region permanently. Through Mswati II's diplomacy, the Swazi people were able to avoid some of the more drastic effects of the Mfecane. Therefore, while neighbors disintegrated, Eswatini continued to become a stronger state.

Though the European missionaries would condemn the Swazi religious practices as heretical, there was no significant resistance on the part of Swazi leaders to the adoption of some facets of Christianity, considering its basic tenets to not be incompatible with the existing religious beliefs in Eswatini. This lack of initial resistance set in motion the rapid spread of Christianity in Eswatini to the point where over a century after its introduction, it is the dominant religion amongst Swazi citizens. With the adoption of Zulu military practices, Mswati II was able to lead Eswatini to territorial expansion. Said expansion was eventually limited by the increased British imperial presence (in part because of Mswati II's invitation to meddle in South African affairs) and by the growing Boer republics of Transvaal established by Dutch settlers in the Cape of Good Hope. 19

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Postgraduate Certificate in Education, University College London, et al. "A Brief History of Swaziland in Africa."

ThoughtCo, https://www.thoughtco.com/brief-history-of-swaziland-44586

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Swazi Religion | Encyclopedia.Com. https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/swazi-religion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Eswatini - Cultural Life." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/Eswatini

Up until the end of the nineteenth century, Eswatini's territorial dominion and political influence slowly contracted. <sup>20</sup> In 1875, Mbandzeni became the king of Eswatini. By the end of his life, Mswati II was considered Eswatini's greatest fighting king due to his territorial expansion and strengthening of Eswatini. Mbanzeni's rule was characterized by many concessions made to European settlers that would ultimately lead to British rule over Eswatini.

#### Colonization

In the late 19th Century, gold was discovered in the northern part of Eswatini. In response, a number of mining expeditions were launched by European companies in search of this gold. British settlers divided up the land and mining rights through a series of "concessions." Europeans, starting in the 1880s, traveled to King Mbandzeni's palace, where the king and his advisors would grant land concessions until Europeans claimed a right to exploit land in almost the entire country. The haphazard and chaotic period of land distribution was put to an end by the Crown Lands Order and the Concessions Partition Proclamation of 1907. These acts allocated 43% of land in the colony to settlers and corporations, 22% to the crown, and 33% to the Swazi people. This land alienation, along with a heavy tax imposed in 1903 encouraged many Swazi people to become wage laborers and, in particular, to work in the mines.

This process of dispossession through concession had profound effects on Swazi economic and cultural norms. For example, wage labor and the concept of private ownership of land and capital were introduced with these concessions. As a result, white settlers retained the vast majority of the land in Eswatini for much of the protectorate period and in 1954, Nkhosi Sobhuza II of the Swazi people was protesting to the British Commissioner in the territory that "the private ownership of land is something unknown among the Swazis ... so it is a wild dream to say that Nkhosi Mbandzeni sold, alienated or created private ownership of land in the land of his people." These early policies

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Simelane, Hamilton Sipho. "Landlessness and Imperial Response in Swaziland 1938-1950." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4, 1991, pp. 717–741. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2637367. Accessed 4 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> EISA Swaziland: Settlers, Colonialism and the Struggle for National Identity (1907 - 1945). https://www.eisa.org/wep/swaoverview1.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Stevens, R. P. "Swaziland Political Development." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1963, pp. 327–350. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/158913. Accessed 4 July 2021.

taken together demonstrate that the colonial state consistently favored the interests of minority white settlers, often at the expense of native Swazis.<sup>24</sup>

The Transvaal Republic sat to the north of Eswatini where it continually applied pressure to the Swazi people as it hoped to gain access to a port through the Kosi River that ran through the Swazi territory. Among the Boers' attempts to take Swazi territory was to inebriate Nkhosi Mbanzeni and have him name President Paul Kruger the heir to Eswatini. The British quickly acted to undo the agreement. After several disputes over the administration of Eswatini, the nation eventually obtained protected status under the Transvaal Republic where Mbandzeni's successor Ngwane V had his own administration and the Boers had their own administration.

At the conclusion of the Boer War (between the British and the Transvaal Republic) in 1902, Eswatini's legally protected status under the Transvaal Republic disappeared and the country regained its complete sovereignty and autonomy. The Swazi people then requested the British government to establish a protectorate by treaty, with legal checks and barriers. Instead, however, the British acted alone and assumed all powers in Eswatini that had previously been held by the Transvaal Republic in Eswatini. Eswatini became another British colony in all but name.<sup>27</sup>

#### Colonial Period

The colonial government in Eswatini was led by the Resident Commissioner, who was also advised by an advisory body called the European Advisory Council (EAC). The EAC existed in some form for much of Eswatini's rule under Britain and was designed to advise the Resident Commissioner on any matters that the Resident Commissioner asked the council to examine and on any matters that generally affected European residents in Eswatini. The EAC didn't have any formal legislative power, but did have a lot of informal advisory power and influence with the Resident Commissioner, largely because of the economic power of many residents on the EAC. Every European British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> EISA Swaziland: Settlers, Colonialism and the Struggle for National Identity (1907 - 1945). https://www.eisa.org/wep/swaoverview1.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Swaziland Protectorate. https://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/swaziland.htm

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Stevens, R. P. "Swaziland Political Development." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1963, pp. 327–350. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/158913. Accessed 4 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Stevens, 1963

subject who had lived in Eswatini for at least five years was eligible to sit on the EAC. In the early period of British colonization in Eswatini, the EAC worked to emphasize and secure the English nature of the colony and distinguish it from the Dutch South Africans. In particular, the EAC focused on settlement, building infrastructure, and strengthening colonial administration.<sup>29</sup>

The Swazi king also had his own advisory council, called the Swazi National Council. The National Council consisted of the *Liqoqo*—the king's council made up of a collection of about 60 nobles and commoners—and the *Libandhla*, or national body, which met once every year and was open to any adult male.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Eswatini was administered by advisory legislative councils. The Swazi King's legal authority extended to all African residents of the territory.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the boom in European migration to Eswatini that the possibility of finding gold had caused, most gold mines established in the colony were unsuccessful and yielded little economic return. After gold was initially discovered in the northern part of the territory, very little gold was subsequently found, and by 1910, gold mining companies had largely disappeared. Some mining companies did persist, though, especially those which shifted from mining for gold to mining for tin, which was abundant in the region.

As the futility of mining in Eswatini set in among settlers, more Europeans began to shift their focus towards agriculture. An economy based on agriculture, however, required access to a skilled labor force and secure property rights—in particular, secure rights to private land. In response, the British government decided, against Swazi desires, to partition the land in the territory. One-third of the land in the territory was reserved for native Swazis, and the rest for British settlers and the British crown.<sup>34</sup> This model was designed, in part, to urge native adoption of British modes of agricultural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>EISA Swaziland: Settlers, Colonialism and the Struggle for National Identity (1907 - 1945). https://www.eisa.org/wep/swaoverview1.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Dale, Richard. "Political Changes in Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland." *Current History*, vol. 71, no. 421, 1976, pp. 161–183. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/45314273. Accessed 11 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Crush, Jonathan S. "Settler-Estate Production, Monopoly Control, and the Imperial Response: The Case of the Swaziland Corporation Ltd." *African Economic History*, no. 8, 1979, pp. 183–197. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3601564. Accessed 9 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Crush, Jonathan. "The Colonial Division of Space: The Significance of the Swaziland Land Partition." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1980, pp. 71–86. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/218373. Accessed 9 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Crush, 1979

production—with limited access to land, native Swazis would have to maximize the productivity of the land that had not been taken from them by using modern European agricultural innovations. After the land partition, roughly 42% of native Swazis remained on expropriated land granted to Europeans, and the British expected that many of these natives Swazis, alienated from their land, would enter into contracts with European settlers and form the agricultural labor force on these new farms.<sup>35</sup> Corporations and individuals that lobbied for and invested in this new agricultural land were confident that it could be productive, in particular expecting that cotton would grow well in the territory.<sup>36</sup>

The land partition was also designed to favor the monopolization of existing infrastructure by British settlers. Two-thirds of the nation's territory was allocated to British settlers, containing almost all of the mines that had been built in the territory as well as the easiest access to the developing major metropolitan centers, allowing settlers to more easily and cheaply bring their goods to market.<sup>37</sup> This method of land expropriation and subsequent distribution led to an inequitable distribution of land wealth that persisted throughout the colonial period. In 1963, the small white population of what would shortly become an independent Eswatini made up less than five percent of the total population of the territory, owned nearly 50% of the land in the territory, and owned virtually 100% of mines, industries, and other businesses.<sup>38</sup>

After World War II, in which the Swazis sent 4,000 soldiers to fight with the British in North Africa, the British and Swazis focused on developing the territory's first exports in the form of sugar cane and pine for wood pulp.<sup>39</sup> Sugar developed into a relatively large industry, along with cotton, corn, and peanuts.<sup>40</sup>

As European settlers flocked to Eswatini and began building businesses, they started to change the Swazi economy and cultural norms. The enterprises these settlers established were for the most part

<sup>35</sup> Crush, 1980

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Crush, 1979

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Crush, 1980

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Peterson, Rachel. Why Swaziland? how Colonial History, Nationalism, and Cultural Identity Contribute to a National Epidemic, University of Wyoming, Ann Arbor, 2009. *ProQuest*,

http://proxy.uchicago.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/why-swaziland-how-colonial-history-nationalism/docview/305035499/se-2?accountid=14657.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Peterson, 2009

successful, increasing the overall material wealth and productivity of the territory, but also disproportionately increasing the privileged status of the settlers. 41 The prosperity of settlers and their businesses—in particular their farms and plantations—led to a high demand for a skilled workforce. Swazis learned not only European ways to read and write, but also the skills that would allow them to work in contemporary European enterprises. This development also led to the development of a European-style system of education.<sup>42</sup> The importation of an education system also naturally led to an importation of culture and norms: European ways of dress, social behavior, and even thought became more common among native Swazis. 43 This development led many native Swazis to adopt European cultural practices. In response, British settlers tried to maintain a degree of separation between themselves and the native Swazis, often by offering them extremely low wages and maintaining physical distinctions between the groups. 44

The people of Eswatini, then, faced several changes and challenges leading up to their eventual independence from the British Commonwealth. The country relies on an interesting mix of traditional Swazi agriculture and European farming, mining, and industrial techniques. Similarly, its culture is informed by both native Swazis and Europeans who have migrated to the territory and set down roots. The Parliament of this newly-independent country will have to reconcile the differences among its people, create a set of laws that encourages industry, culture, and equity, and help form a united nation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Peterson, 2009

<sup>43</sup> Peterson, 2009

<sup>44</sup> Stevens, 1963

# Statement of the Problem

#### Independence and the Constitutional Assembly

Following the Second World War, the United Kingdom entered a long period of African decolonization. <sup>45</sup> Nationalist movements existed throughout the continent since the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the establishment of the United Nations and the publication of the Atlantic Charter reignited these ideals and moved them into public discourse now that the right to self-determination directly challenged the British Empire's existence. <sup>46</sup> As mentioned in previous sections, Eswatini maintained a significant level of autonomy over the one third of land that they had not conceded to the British. In the past years before the start of our committee, Eswatini has been looking to ride on that independence wave along with all of its neighbors. However, complete independence has not always been the most likely fate for Eswatini as part of this decolonization project.

In 1909, the British Parliament allowed the formation of the Union of South Africa as an autonomous British dominion. This came as a result of the treaty that ended the Anglo-Boer War. <sup>47</sup> However, though the area had received self government, all the power resided with the white minority. Thus, the apartheid era began in the southern tip of the African continent. One of the provisions that emerged from the constitutional assembly in 1910 was the eventual transfer of Eswatini and two other territories to the union. Over the next several decades, South Africa requested the transfer from the British Crown's control over to the union many times even when the Status of the Union Pact was passed which gave South Africa full sovereignty (though it maintained a close relationship with the United Kingdom). <sup>48</sup>

Therefore, in order to avoid annexation of Eswatini into South Africa where its majority black population would be further oppressed, Nkhosi Sobhuza II has worked with the British rulers to move

48 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> "British Decolonization in Africa." Britannica Kids, https://kids.britannica.com/students/article/British-Decolonization-in-Africa/310389

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Editors, History com. "Atlantic Charter." HISTORY, https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/atlantic-charter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> "South Africa | History, Capital, Flag, Map, Population, & Facts." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa

https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Afric

towards an independent Eswatini.<sup>49</sup> In 1964, the first parliamentary elections took place and resulted in the people in this committee taking power. They are charged with writing a constitution for this nascent nation.

Nkhosi Sobhuza II was born in 1899 and has served as the paramount chief of the Swazi since 1921.<sup>50</sup> Sobhuza II fiercely defended the Swazi people's traditions and beliefs as he was able to exercise complete power over his people. In the years leading up to independence, he solidified a base of supporters with the Imbokodvo National Movement (INM) which he utilized to lead the push towards the constitutional assembly. However, the political forces of the other political movements lead to the election in 1964 where different groups would have input over the path Eswatini would take.<sup>51</sup> This marks the first kind of internal opposition that Sobhuza II has ever faced. While he hoped that independence would expand upon his power, it might result in just the opposite outcome.

#### **Political Parties**

At independence, four political parties dominate the parliamentary system of Eswatini. In particular, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC) has the most members, while the Swaziland Progressive Party (SPP) and Swaziland Democratic Party (SDP) also make up a significant portion of parliament. The United Swaziland Association (USA) has the fewest members of the four major parties, but still wields a significant amount of influence and could be instrumental in shaping the future of Eswatini. Speaking broadly, two of the parties—the NNLC and SPP—could be classified as progressive, with support bases concentrated among those living and working in urban centers of industry. The SDP is a moderate party, appealing to those throughout the country hoping for a constitution that is founded on classically liberal ideas but does not journey too far afield from some of the traditional institutions they know best. Finally, the USA can be considered conservative, accepting that some change is necessary, but advocating that preserving as much of the traditional ways of the country is best. None of the four parties are large enough or powerful enough to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Eswatini - Colonial Administration." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/Eswatini <sup>50</sup> Sobhuza II | King of Eswatini." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sobhuza-II

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Gillis, D. Hugh. The Kingdom of Swaziland: Studies in Political History. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999

determine the path of the country alone. Rather, compromises must be made between parties to guide the newly independent country towards national unity, advancement, and prosperity.

The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress was formed as an offshoot from the Swaziland Progressive Party in 1962. The party was led initially and during this time by Dr. Ambrose P Zwane.<sup>52</sup> The NNLC split off from the SPP largely because of a clash of personalities between Ambrose Zwane and JJ Nguku, the SPP leader. Prince Dumisa Dlamini, the nephew of the king, was also a significant figure in the formation of the party. Both Dlamini and Zwane were associated with the traditional Swazi political hierarchy.<sup>53</sup> However, the NNLC's agenda is more closely aligned with that of the SPP, from which they split off, than it is with the USA. The NNLC also gained a lot of traction among the people by allying with and supporting striking workers under British rule. The NNLC can be thought of as a middle class-driven nationalist movement.<sup>54</sup> Though it had ties to certain elements of the traditional Swazi political hierarchy, it advocated for a more progressive, bourgeois approach to politics. The main source of support for the NNLC was among the urban bourgeoisie. They are not as strong among the rural peasants as they might like to be, as their agenda most closely aligns with the development of urban industry. The NNLC aspired to be a modern political party, advocating for parliamentary democracy with the king as the head of state.<sup>55</sup> It is also particularly in favor of the policy of pan-Africanism—the effort to strengthen bonds across borders between people of African descent.56

Like the NNLC, the Swaziland Democratic Party was closely associated with the traditional Swazi hierarchy. The party was founded in 1962 and is led at this time by Dr. Allen Nxumalo and Simon Sishayi Nxumalo.<sup>57</sup> The SDP considered itself a traditional liberal party--in favor of self-determination and embracing classically liberal political institutions, like a representative assembly. The SDP also advocated for universal suffrage at the time of independence, unlike some other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Potholm, Christian P. "Changing Political Configurations in Swaziland." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1966, pp. 313–322. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/159202. Accessed 24 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> MacMillan, Hugh. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of 'Tradition'." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1985, pp. 643–666. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/160683. Accessed 24 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Sallinger-McBride, Jan, and Louis A. Picard. "Rural Development Areas in Swaziland: The Politics of Integrated Rural Development." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1989, pp. 1–22. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/μ22319. Accessed 24 July 2021.

<sup>55</sup> https://www.eisa.org/wep/swa1967election.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>57</sup> MacMillan, 1985

smaller liberal parties.<sup>58</sup> The Party focused especially on the importance of social and economic advancement, emphasizing the importance of the institution of property rights to this cause, but still recognizing the rights of labor and workers as well.<sup>59</sup> The SDP is staunchly against a policy of pan-Africanism. The SDP advocates for one Swazi nationality and citizenship, unified under a uniform system of laws and taxation. They are also opposed to writing traditional tribal forms of government into the new constitution. The SDP accepts many elements of Swazi nationalism, focusing on the affirmation of the universal human dignity afforded to all Swazis and all people. The SDP finds its supporters among those who are looking for a liberal constitution focused on the future, but who are uncertain about the implications of the radical progressive change advocated for by the NNLC and the SPP.

The Swaziland Progressive Party was founded in 1960 by John J. Nguku. 60 The party grew out of the Progressive Association in Swaziland, which had been active for many years in the country, and which Nguku had led since 1945. The SPP focused on allowing for democratic enfranchisement of all people regardless of race, color, or creed as well as complete racial integration of the country. The SPP also advocated for the adoption of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and opposed the integration of Swaziland by South Africa. <sup>61</sup> The SPP opposed writing the existing hierarchy into the new constitution, arguing that it would close the door to future economic development. For the purposes of this committee, the Swaziland Progressive Party also represents the Swaziland Student Union (SSU), one of the smaller political parties at the time of independence. The SSU embraced an agenda that was very similar to that of the Progressive Party, advocating especially against the idea of representing traditional social and economic modes of operating in their modern constitution. <sup>62</sup> The support of the SPP is located primarily among the urban working class. The SPP advocates for trade unions and prioritizes the interests of labor over property rights.

Finally, the United Swaziland Association (USA) advocates primarily for the interests of the conservative portion of Eswatini's population. This segment of the population is made up largely of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>60</sup> Stevens, R. P. "Swaziland Political Development." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 1, no. 3, 1963, pp. 327— 350. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/158913. Accessed 24 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Stevens, 1963

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Stevens, 1963

the traditional landed elite of the country as well as the wealthy settler class who own and control land (Note: For the purposes of this committee, the USA contains both the United Swaziland Association and the Imbokodvo National Movement). The Association was led by wealthy landowners and ranchers and was interested primarily in preserving the status quo regarding the social and economic hierarchy in the country. <sup>63</sup> However, the USA also garners plenty of support from less wealthy citizens in rural areas who are accustomed to traditional ways of ruling and are uncertain about the implications of radical change. The USA is in favor of landed interests and of working with South Africa. The USA also advocated against labor and trade unions on the grounds that they obstruct free trade. Much of the USA support base is in rural areas of the country. <sup>64</sup> Though the USA has few members, its members tend to be wealthier than many of those in the other political parties. Despite advocating for traditional ways of organizing society, the USA has adopted the methods of a modern conservative party and have been able to appeal widely to those who are uncertain about what the more radically progressive political parties advocate for.

#### Current Relations with the United Kingdom and Other Countries

As previously mentioned, South Africa hoped to incorporate territories in southwest Africa which encompassed Eswatini. <sup>65</sup> The United Kingdom's insistence on not allowing South Africa to annex Eswatini soured relations between the two countries as South Africa exited the British Commonwealth in 1961. Therefore, now that Eswatini is gaining its independence, South Africa will surely be attempting to form a favorable relationship with the fledgling nation. However, the republic has been employing increasingly racist policies that are of concern when it comes to forming relations considering that Eswatini's population is almost entirely black. <sup>66</sup> Lesotho has recently become independent as well, but it is highly dependent on South Africa since it is entirely

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Potholm, Christian P. "Changing Political Configurations in Swaziland." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1966, pp. 313–322. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/159202. Accessed 24 July 2021.
<sup>64</sup> Potholm, 1966

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Magagula, Petros Qambukusa (1988) Swaziland's relations with Britain and South Africa since 1968, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6640/
<sup>66</sup>Eswatini - The World Factbook. https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/eswatini/#people-and-society

surrounded by the much larger republic. Therefore, relations with Lesotho would be almost entirely dependent on relations with South Africa. <sup>67</sup>

Eswatini has been a British protectorate for the better part of a century. In that time, British industrialists have taken possession of a massive amount of precious land ripe for both agriculture and mineral extraction. Simultaneously, these businesses have become less involved directly with the United Kingdom in favor of trading with nearby territories and countries. Therefore, by ceasing political control over Eswatini, the United Kingdom has a highly limited sway over the nation since it is nowhere near to be considered a major trade partner. However, it would still be beneficial to maintain friendly relations with the British as the most obvious major power to have as an ally. For its part, the United Kingdom no longer has any major value to extract from Eswatini aside from staying true to its self-proclaimed mission of decolonization. <sup>68</sup>

# Economy and Major Industries

The major industries of Swaziland at the time of independence were agriculture, mining, lumber, and manufacturing. Sugar, in particular, appears to be a fast-growing industry and export in Eswatini, and growing urban centers present the possibility for the country to develop a flourishing textile and manufacturing industry. The dynamic, growing economy of Eswatini presents both an opportunity for the country to succeed, and a potential challenge for those with different visions concerning the future of the country.

After World War II, the Swazi economy changed dramatically. Agriculture, which was already the most significant part of the territory's economy, became more productive. A few crops fueled this change: citrus, pineapple, and sugar all grew at rapid rates and became critical parts of the Swazi economy. <sup>69</sup> In addition, the other agricultural and mineral exports of asbestos, timber, wood-pulp, and iron-ore drove a growing economy. This growth in certain industries also transformed the way

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> "Lesotho's People Plead with South Africa to Annex Their Troubled Country." The Guardian, 5 June 2010, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jun/06/lesotho-independence-south-africa

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Magagula, Petros Qambukusa (1988) Swaziland's relations with Britain and South Africa since 1968, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6640/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> MacMillan, Hugh. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of 'Tradition'." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1985, pp. 643–666. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/160683. Accessed 24 July 2021.

people worked: labor migration became less common and was eventually replaced by local employment and commuting.<sup>70</sup> People were moving their lives to work less, and were working where they lived. The Swaziland territory even began importing labor to fuel this growth of industry—workers were coming from other countries such as Mozambique and South Africa. Swaziland was an especially attractive location for foreign workers because of a developing and expanding education system.<sup>71</sup>

Despite the growing productivity of agriculture in Eswatini, the industry could also be a potential locus of conflict. Much of the agricultural economy of Eswatini can be traced back to the lasting effects of the land proclamations under the British administration of the territory, which reallocated land and caused mass resettlement. Though the land allocation tried to minimize the amount of resettlement, a significant portion of the territory's population at the time of independence was living on land they did not own.<sup>72</sup> These people typically pay a periodic rent to, or worked for, the owner of the land on which they live and grow crops or graze livestock. However, many of those living on this land refute the claim that those who formally own the land legitimately have any right to it, as they gained the land under a potentially illegitimate colonial administration.<sup>73</sup> Reconciling the differences and conflicting interests between wealthy landowners—both the native Swazi elite and European settlers—will be a key task for the parliament of the newly-independent Eswatini.

In 1966, of the nearly 400,000 residents of Eswatini, roughly 17% live in urban areas.<sup>74</sup> The major cities, such as Mbabane, continue to grow in both status and population. Manzini, another major urban center in Eswatini, is also likely to continue to grow as a shipping and transit hub on account of its close proximity to the country's railway network.<sup>75</sup> With a growing urban population, Eswatini has begun to develop into a center for textile manufacturing, in addition to potentially refining some of the metals it mines, such as iron or tin.

70 MacMillan, 1985

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> MacMillan, 1985

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Ackson, Kanduza, and Mkhonza Sarah. Issues in the Economy and Politics of Swaziland Since 1968. University of Swaziland, 2003,

 $https://media.africaportal.org/documents/ECONOMY\_AND\_POLITICS\_OF\_SWAZILAND\_SINCE\_1968.pdf. \\ ^{73}ibid.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Whittington, G. "TOWARDS URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN SWAZILAND." *Erdkunde*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1970, pp. 26–39. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23218271. Accessed 25 July 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Whittington, 1970

#### **Demographics**

In 1966, the population of Eswatini is 383,820 people.<sup>76</sup> The Swazi people make up around 82.3% of the population.<sup>77</sup> Other significant ethnic groups are Zulu (9.6%), Tsonga (2.3%), and European (1.4%).<sup>78</sup> The population is primarily Christian with 90% of the population practicing it in some form including up to 40% of the total population that practices a blend of Christianity with traditional indigenous beliefs. Around 2% of the population is Muslim and the remaining percentage practice several other religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, indigenous, and more.<sup>79</sup> As previously stated, the vast majority of the population lives in rural areas and dedicate themselves to farming and mining.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Population, Total - Eswatini | Data.

https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?end=1966&locations=SZ&start=1966&view=bar

<sup>774</sup> Eswatini | Culture, History, & People." Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/Eswatini

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Eswatini - The World Factbook. https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/eswatini/

# **Character Biographies**

#### 1. Dr. Ambrose P Zwane - Shiselweni Minister of Parliament and President of the NNLC

Dr. Ambrose Zwane was born in 1924 and was the son of a king's counselor. He is most notably the founder and leader of the Ngwane National Liberatory Council. Before he took on this political role, however, he was a practicing medical doctor. He obtained his medical degree in 1951 and worked in various hospitals in Eswatini and elsewhere for 9 years. He spent some time practicing in South Africa and Zululand until 1960. At each of the hospitals he worked at in this period, he experienced racial discrimination in his pay, often receiving only a fraction of the pay of his white counterparts. This inequity led to a frustration with practicing medicine and a desire to drive structural change in his homeland of Eswatini. Therefore, in 1960 he left medicine and decided to enter politics.

When he first entered politics, Dr. Zwane joined the Swaziland Progressive Party, led, as it had been for years, by John J Nquku. Zwane and Nquku had similar political views; they both advocated for Eswatini independence and racial equality in the new country. They both held progressive views, but the two men both had strong personalities that clashed with each other. Zwane, who was ambitious and capable, sought a more controlling role in the party. Eventually, the relationship between Zwane and Nquku soured such that Zwane decided to form a new party that had shared many core principles with the SPP: The NNLC. Because of Zwane's connections through his father's former role and natural charisma, the NNLC quickly became a large party in Eswatini, eclipsing the support of the SPP. Dr. Zwane is passionate about the health of his country, as well as about achieving genuine racial equality. He is also hopeful about the possibility of forming a pan-African network and growing liberal progressive ideas in Africa. He has connections to some progressive members of the traditional Swazi hierarchy as well as some workers in urban centers from his support of their strike.

#### 2. STM Sukati - Minister of Health and Social Welfare from the SDP

STM Sukati was the youngest child of a family of healthcare workers. His mother was a nurse, his father was a physician, and at least two of his uncles were surgeons. It was clear to Sukati that he was expected to continue the family tradition and become a medical doctor himself. The pressure continued to mount as he got older. Through sheer luck, Sukati was eventually accepted into

medical school. However, it was clear from day one that he was not cut out for that profession as he struggled mightily to memorize even the basic principles of medicine. Sukati dropped out of medical school in secret and used his father's financial support to subsist while he looked for a different job. He eventually landed as a clerk at the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. Sukati thought it was only right that he at least worked in public health since he was unable to become a doctor. His father cut him off after three years had passed and he had not heard about any progress from his son. Sukati did not want to let himself be ruled by his past failures and instead decided to look forwards towards a greater goal of helping the people of Eswatini live healthier, happier lives. He allied himself with the SDP as a progressive party that did not feel threatening to the way of life that had existed for so long. Now as the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, he hopes to guarantee what he sees as universal human rights to Swazi citizens in order to reach the end on his road to redemption.

#### 3. Mfundza Sotsha - Minister of Home Affairs from the NNLC

Mfundza Sotsha is a lifelong soldier. Sotsha grew up in Eswatini and attended military schools from a young age until he graduated from college. He served in the Eswatini colonial army for many years before independence from Britain, and encountered discrimination in the hierarchy and command structure of both the military and government. Most of his time in the army was spent domestically-working security within Eswatini, rather than traveling domestically.

Sotsha distinguished himself as a skilled soldier in his time in the army, and rose within the ranks of the military despite the barriers he encountered. When independence began to look like a more realistic outcome, he entered politics with the belief that his experience would make him a resource to a new independent government. Sotsha serves as the Minister of Home Affairs, a role that suits his unique skills, and is passionate about racial equality and the interior security of his country, as well as self-determination. Sotsha still has connections in various portions of the armed forces, in particular in domestic policing forces.

#### 4. William M Magongo - Minister of Natural Resources and Energy from the SPP

William M Magongo was the son of a farmer in Manzini. Magongo was witness to the hardship to which his father was subjected as he had to work day and night on the fields in order to keep the family afloat. Meanwhile, he saw that the European landowner seemed to not have a care in the world with the life of luxury he lived. Magongo was determined to shift the course of the nation because he could not stand the thought of more people undergoing the kind of treatment his father received. Magongo worked hard to gain a proper education so that he could enter a position where he could affect public policy. After completing his studies abroad, Magongo was heartbroken when he found that his father had tragically passed away while he was gone. With his hero gone, Magongo was more determined than ever to generate change. He associated himself with the liberal SPP whose goals most closely aligned with his own. With the help of his fellow party members, Magongo hoped to limit the growth of European enterprises in favor of indigenous businesses. Because of comments relating to this, he clashed with fellow officials Peter Braun and JM Mamba. Regardless, Magongo has continued his climb to the top and has set his sights on the constitutional assembly as an opportunity for greater power and thus a greater ability to guide the nation towards his ideal future.

#### 5. JSM Matsebula - Hhohho Minister of Parliament from the NNLC

James Matsebula grew up in Swaziland and his family, like Dr. Zwane's, had connections to the existing royal power structure. His father was an influential advisor in the king's government, and as a result Matsebula was well educated as a child in both Eswatini and South Africa. He rose to prominence as an author at a young age, leveraging his formal education. Matsebula was especially interested in the history of his homeland, and wrote several books about its past.

Matsebula entered politics, hoping he could put his extensive knowledge of the history of his country to use. Through his studies, he became passionate about the need for an independent Eswatini, and is also in favor of a network of African states working together to shrug off the burden of colonialism and build a new progressive country. Matsebula can leverage his relationships with people he met at school in South Africa, and also with many in the academic and student community who he met through his research.

#### 6. Francis M Mbelu - Hhohho Minister of Parliament from the NNLC

Francis Mbelu was born and raised in the northwestern region of Hhohho where he grew up the oldest of five brothers. As the oldest child, Mbelu was often tasked with taking care of his siblings and with many of the chores around the home. He quickly developed an impressive work ethic as he managed to juggle his responsibilities at school with those at home. Growing up, he always wanted to become a football player as was his passion, but fate had different ideas. In 1952, he was granted the opportunity to complete his higher education in Manchester where he was able to further indulge his love of football by attending Manchester United FC games. He studied political science and returned to Eswatini where he became an official for the colonial government. It was his deepest desire to help develop social programs to improve the education of the country and invest in youth sports programs such that kids like him can achieve their dreams. In 1960, he joined the Swazi Progressive Party as he thought that their beliefs were most in line with his vision. Once the NNLC broke off from the rest of the party, Mbelu followed as he saw it as his best chance to obtain public office as democracy seemed to be on the horizon. His can-do attitude has made him popular amongst many other politicians and public officials, and his ability to reach across the aisle is second to none. Mbelu is also well known for being seen playing football with the kids from his childhood neighborhood anytime he visits Hhohho.

#### 7. Makhosini Dlamini - Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs from the NNLC

Makhosini Dlamini originally grew up in South Africa, but came to Eswatini to practice law and pursue politics shortly after receiving his degree. He obtained an extensive formal education in South Africa, including obtaining his law degree there. He moved to Eswatini to pursue a political career years before independence, as the prospects for a native African politician in South Africa were grim. He had practiced law in South Africa, but was hoping he could put his skills to use for the cause of Swazi independence and the equality of native Africans throughout the southern portion of the continent.

Dlamini moved to Eswatini and joined the Swaziland Progressive Party, but would later leave the party with Ambrose Zwane when he founded the NNLC. Dlamini still has extensive connections in his native South Africa and remains affectionate towards the native Africans in the country. He

hopes that he can help drive the cause of racial equality in Eswatini, South Africa, and the rest of the continent.

#### 8. Msindwaze Sukati - Speaker of the House from the NNLC

Misndwaze Sukati has been an urban-dweller his entire life. He grew up in Mbabane, one of the largest cities in the country, and the country's capital. He watched the city develop over his lifetime, working in a textile mill in the city, and he credits much of the growth of the city to industry.

Msindwaze Sukati is the Speaker of the House of in the preliminary constitutional convention. He is one of the more prominent members of the NNLC, largely on account of his close allegiance to the founder of the party, Dr. Zwane. Sukati was one of the first members of the SPP to join the NNLC when the two parties split, and has maintained a prominent position in the party ever since. He holds many of the same views as Dr. Zwane, and is especially passionate about the economic development of the newly independent Eswatini. For Sukati, the best way for Eswatini to thrive as a new nation is to develop industry. However, he also recognizes that rapidly growing industry often violates the rights of workers, and is especially passionate about ensuring that all factory workers are treated fairly and paid what they deserve. He was one of the main supporters within the NNLC of the striking workers shortly before independence. This support garnered both Sukati and the NNLC as a whole a lot of national attention and favor among people in the country.

#### 9. John J. Nguku - Shiselweni Minister of Parliament from the SPP

John J. Nquku is the founder of the Swaziland Progressive Party—the first political party in Eswatini—and was an early advocate for Eswatini independence. Nquku began his professional career as a teacher and educator, even becoming an inspector of schools in Swaziland. He considers the education of native Swazis to be an important goal for the independent country, and also that greater education will increase support for the progressive views he espouses.

Nquku began his career in politics in 1944 and became the president of the Swaziland Progressive Association in 1945. This Association would eventually evolve to become the Swaziland Progressive Party, which he has led for its entire existence up to the time of independence. Nguku is passionate

about Eswatini independence and about racial, ethnic, and religious equality. He also is an amateur historian, and has come to believe that many of the old hierarchical structures of both the Eswatini Kingdom and the colonial government oppose the achievement of his goals for the country. As a result of his background as an educator, he is a supporter of youth movements and student movements.

#### 10. Dr. Charles Dlamini - Shiselweni Minister of Parliament from the SDP

Charles was the lone son of a miner and a housewife. When he was only three years old, his father died in a mining incident due to the unsafe conditions the workers had to live through daily. Because of her grief, his mother gave Dlamini up and has never been seen by Dlamini since. Fortunately, he was adopted by the rich Dlamini family who were very distant relatives to the royal family and as such had a large plot of land where they grew their own crops. Because of his parents' wealth, Dlamini received top-notch education, but was always put second to the biological children. He studied for nine years in India where many believe he associated himself with communist youth movements though he has denied such allegations. He obtained a juris doctorate and has put it to good use since returning to Eswatini where he has become politically active in hopes that he can reform the distribution of land in the nation. Highly motivated by the tragic fate that met his father, Dr. Dlamini is highly passionate about protecting indigenous workers from the greed of European businessmen.

#### 11. Prince Dumisa Dlamini - Lubombo Minister of Parliament from the NNLC

Prince Dumisa Dlamini is the nephew of the king, but is not a member of the conservative party most in favor of retaining the existing hierarchy of Eswatini. Prince Dlamini received an extensive education in both South Africa and Eswatini, and was exposed in the course of his education to liberal and progressive ideas. He came to believe that the progressive ideas--those that protect workers, that are in favor of equality of opportunity and a wariness of private capital accumulation-were those that might favor the development of a strong independent Eswatini state and Swazi people.

Prince Dlamini, despite his radical political views, retains several connections with members of the traditional royal hierarchy, which he can leverage to potentially advance the ideals of himself and of his party. He is especially passionate about the progressive ideals mentioned above, and also advocates strongly for the support of industry and the urban bourgeoisie, while ensuring that all workers have certain rights and protections.

#### 12. Clifford Nkosi - Minister of Economic Planning and Development from the SDP

Clifford Nkosi split his time growing up between Eswatini and South Africa. He was born into a wealthy family and had a high affinity for mathematics and entrepreneurship at a young age as he would spend summers doing odd jobs for neighbors. He studied economics in South Africa and spent several years working there afterwards. He eventually transferred back to Eswatini as a consultant for a law firm with ties to South Africa. As he developed further into a professional, he felt himself being pulled in two different directions due to the duality of his life in the two nations. As the years working in Eswatini piled up, he continued to make a name for himself as a highly intelligent economist. He entered public life in 1958 when he left the law firm he worked at and transitioned to working full time as a consultant for the Swazi government. Through that experience, Nkosi gained a greater social conscience and met Dr. George Msibi of the SDP. After becoming a member of the SDP himself, Nkosi now finds himself serving as the Minister of Economic Planning and Development. Through his work, he hopes to modernize Eswatini to the level he had seen in South Africa and bring the two countries together.

# 13. Dr Allen Nxumalo - Minister of Housing and Urban Development from the SDP

Like several of the other members of parliament, Allen Nxumalo was the son of a prominent advisor to the king. As a result, he received a strong primary education in Swaziland, then traveled to South Africa to continue his education and eventually become a medical doctor. After completing his education, Nxumalo became a teacher in South Africa then eventually returned to Swaziland to practice medicine in Mbabane. At the hospital, Nxumalo proved to be a capable administrator and made connections with members of the colonial government and native Swazi hierarchy.

Allen Nxumalo resigned from his work as a doctor in Mbabane to join the Swaziland Democratic Party, which had been founded by his cousin, Simon S. Nxumalo. As a former teacher, doctor and a resident in Mbabane, Nxumalo took special interest in developing the urban infrastructure of Eswatini. This meant ensuring that residents in cities had enough space to live, had access to proper sanitation and food, and could navigate the city well. This passion made Nxumalo a natural fit for his position as Minister of Housing and Urban Development. Nxumalo is not in favor of a policy of pan-Africanism, and is a strong advocate for traditional liberal values, like property rights, which he thinks will lead to the economic development of his country. Nxumalo has extensive connections to members of the medical community who are not in favor of the progressive party, as well as connections with members of the traditional Swazi hierarchy, who view the SDP as a moderate liberal party, more accommodating than the progressive parties.

#### 14. Victor Jordon-Rozwodozwki - Minister of Public Service and Information from the SDP

Victor Jordon-Rozwodozwki was born in Poland where he lived through the horrors of the Second World War that robbed him of many friends and family. After the war, he emigrated to South Africa where he became a very successful farmer. However, the racializing policies of South Africa caused great disgust in Jordon. Therefore, he moved his enterprise to Eswatini where he found fertile ground for growth. Along with the growth of his business, his reputation in Manzini grew as his influence was palpable in everything that took place in the region. His wealth allowed him to venture into philanthropic endeavors that further grew his reputation. Once talks of independence began in Eswatini, Jordon allied himself with the SDP because of his firm belief that democracy would be the best way to avoid a situation like the one present in South Africa. He thought it was especially pressing considering the vast amount of land the European minority owned in Eswatini. Due to his large financial resources, he quickly made his way to the top of the SDP and now serves as the Minister of Public Service and Information.

#### 15. Simon Sishayi Nxumalo - Manzini Minister of Parliament and President of the SDP

Simon Sishayi Nxumalo is the cousin of Dr. Allen Nxumalo and the founder of the Swaziland Democratic Party. Nxumalo has less education than some of the other Ministers of Parliament, having never attended college, and only leaving Swaziland for a brief period to work in the mines in

South Africa. Nxumalo is especially passionate about combating adult illiteracy, which he sees as one of the major obstacles to the development of a flourishing liberal republic in Eswatini. He got his start in politics by traveling throughout the country teaching people in rural parts of Swaziland how to read and write.

Like his cousin, Simon Nxumalo is not in favor of a pan-African policy, believing that, with a literate and hardworking population guided by liberal principles, Eswatini will succeed and develop into a flourishing modern state. Motivated by his experiences traveling throughout the country, Nxumalo is passionate about the education of all people in Eswatini, and also about promoting racial equality. He believes that adopting a set of laws in accordance with traditional liberal ideas, a set of laws that allows for individual industry and ensures formal equality in the eyes of the state, will ensure that Eswatini is set on the right path.

# 16. Timothy Zwane - Leader of the Eswatini Student Union

Timothy Zwane was born in Lubombo to a Swazi father and Sotho mother. His father was a widely renowned percussionist that had studied the styles of countless peoples living in the southern tip of Africa. His studies took him to many places, including Lesotho where he met his future wife. Timothy thus grew up with the sounds of music filling his home on a near daily basis. Like his father, he believed that fusion of styles from different cultures was the first step toward artistic transcendence. He hoped to follow in his father's footsteps and practiced percussion since he could remember. He attended Pius XII College in his mother's country where he joined a musical group that served as home for his unique musical style. As part of that group, he explored the ideas of pan-Africanism which was perfectly in line with his artistic vision. All the people of Africa bore the scars of colonialism that could only be healed through unity, Timothy thought. Suddenly, Zwane found his second passion which was activism. He joined the college's student union and made efforts to create a network of students throughout South Africa with the common goal to use their education to enact political change. Upon his return to Eswatini, he founded the Eswatini Student Union (ESU) for all those young men and women that were studying abroad or at the small, informal Swazi colleges. After the ESU proved itself to be a political force to be reckoned with, political parties scrambled to gain Zwane's favor. Timothy Zwane currently works with the SPP as the most liberal party in

Eswatini. He now hopes to sway the constitutional assembly to build an Eswatini that is in tune with its neighbors.

#### 17. Leo Lovell - Minister of Finance from the USA

Leo Lovell was born in Cape Town, South Africa and received an extensive education there that included a focus on classical literature. In school, Lovell encountered Greek philosophy, and in particular enjoyed reading Plato's Apology. He would recall Socrates's famous speech against injustice and tyranny when he encountered the injustice of the South African Apartheid system. His strong disdain for the Apartheid regime in South Africa caused him to move to Eswatini, where he worked as a lawyer.

In 1967—a year before Swaziland became independent—King Sobzuha approached Lovell to be his minister of finance, and Lovell was one of the few white members of the cabinet. Lovell is naturally conservative, in favor of fiscal austerity and moderate change. He recognizes the need for an independent Eswatini, but not necessarily a complete rejection of all traditions. He is passionate about racial equality, appalled as he was by the Apartheid regime in his native South Africa. He is well-versed in financial and legal matters, and has extensive connections to people he used to work with as a lawyer in South Africa.

# 18. Khayone Y Samketi - Hhohho Minister of Parliament and President of the SPP

If the Swazi dictionary had an image to define goody-two-shoes, Khayone Y Samketi's portrait would surely be featured. As an only child to very strict parents, rules were all Samketi knew. He was planted with a deep belief that the best way to go about change is through the proper means. As a result of such a philosophy, he lives a highly regimented lifestyle with set times for waking up, going to bed, and meals. He studied law in South Africa and returned to Eswatini to launch a career in politics, becoming one of the earliest members of the SPP. His earnest desire to create a fair, orderly society in Eswatini propelled him upwards in the party's ranks. However, he smelled something fishy with the top brass. He gathered a small faction and launched an investigation into the party's finances, eventually finding that the party president, John Nquku, had been misappropriating funds. They attempted to keep the scandal under wraps from those outside the SPP. Samketi struggled

with the decision to keep the matter away from the public because he felt that Nquku should face the legal consequences. However, those of his faction convinced him that allowing Nquku's misdeeds to come to light would lead to the party's downfall. Rumors swirled around the media when Nquku suddenly resigned and Samketi became the new party president, but Samketi remained undaunted.

#### 19. Thomas Bhekindlela Ngwenya - Minister of Public Works and Transit from the SPP

Thomas Bhekindela Ngwenya was born in the rural areas of Swaziland outside Mbabane. He grew up working on his family's modest farm and received little formal education. However, Ngwenya from a young age demonstrated a clear ability to fix things when they were broken. He fixed his family's and others' farm equipment and helped make an irrigation system to improve the efficiency of many farms in his region.

This latter endeavor attracted the attention of government officials in Mbabane, who offered Ngwenya a job in the city helping to maintain the city's electric and water utilities. Ngwenya accepted and proved himself repeatedly to be both a competent administrator and technician. In his time in Mbabane, Ngwenya was exposed to many progressive ideas, and became a member of the SPP. He believes that his work in developing the public transportation system and utilities of the country will help promote genuine social equality in his country, allowing all people in Eswatini to access essential resources and improve their social situation.

#### 20. Obed M. Mabuza - Central Bank Governor from the NNLC

Obed M. Mabuza was the fifth son in a family of nine. His parents were both humble farmers in Hhohho. Therefore, from a young age, Mabuza learned to fend for himself. The hustle came naturally to him. Setting up drink stands at shopping districts, selling "holy" rocks at school, and cleaning his neighbors' barns are just some of the odd jobs he took on in his childhood in order to have his own cash. Anytime he had he would dedicate to whatever work he could. He disliked having to depend on his family to get by and wanted to become independent as soon as he could. Since he dedicated so little time to actually studying, he was fortunate to receive a scholarship opportunity to study in Lesotho; he owed it all to his wit and pragmatism, coupled with solid grades. After his first

year of college, he dropped out and started his own business with the scholarship money he was given. From there, his entrepreneurial spirit took him to endless heights as he propped up business after business. Following twenty years of excellence, he was honored with an honorary Masters in Business Administration at the university from which he had previously dropped out. Among his businesses was a cooperative bank. With its establishment began his plunge into the world of economics in which he thrived. He served as a financial advisor for several local lords and eventually made a name for himself as a budget wizard. He joined the NNLC at its founding because he had fallen in love with public service. Many question if he truly works to help the people or to further his business but he now finds himself as the Central Bank Governor with as much influence and power as he has ever had.

#### 21. Enos Mabuza - Minister of Education from the NNLC

Enos Mabuza was born in Swaziland and attended primary school there before traveling to South Africa to continue his education. As a child he loved reading, and he was able to transfer this passion into a career as he became an English teacher shortly after completing his education and moving back to Swaziland. Mabuza was a well-loved teacher and was well-regarded by his peers, and was eventually promoted to be an inspector of schools for several schools in and around Manzini, one of the major urban centers of the country.

Mabuza was also an enthusiastic scholar of native Swazi literature, which he felt was generally underappreciated in much of his homeland. He viewed politics as a vehicle to promote the literature and the culture which was so central to his life and which had been unjustly ignored. Mabuza became a member of the NNLC, and was appointed to be minister of Education because of his talent as an Educator and administrator. He is passionate about Swazi independence and about developing a pan-African network that promotes the education of all people on the continent. He thinks encouraging education and creativity among children and adults will help Eswatini accelerate on its path towards becoming a small but great nation.

#### 22. Jacob D Weir - Shiselweni Minister of Parliament from the USA

Jacob D Weir was born with a silver spoon as the son of one of the largest European mining tycoons in the nation. From birth, he was groomed to become his father's successor in the business.

However, one night, he and his younger brother came to blows over who would be allowed to ask out a girl at school. JD's superior strength allowed him to easily overpower his brother. His brother fled to the upstairs of their manor and JD gave chase. The chase took them throughout the home knocking over his father's adornments. Eventually, JD's brother saw their father reaching the top of the stairs and took refuge behind him. JD had too much momentum and did not manage to stop before bumping his father. Their father fell down the stairs, injuring his hip in the process. Following the destruction in the home and the great injury he sustained, JD's father never looked at his son the same way. JD's brother took his place as the eventual successor to the family business. JD made it his mission to prove himself to his father following that tragic day. He went into politics and joined the USA where he hopes to uplift existing businesses like his father's in order to prove himself. Though he has disgraced himself, he still has access to his father's vast network and is still set to inherit part of the family fortune.

#### 23. Dr. George Msibi - Minister of Tourism, Environment, Communication from the SPP

George Msibi was born in rural Eswatini, but left the country at a young age to pursue an education. He studied as a young adult in Cape Town, South Africa and also traveled for a year to London to study. At all the places he traveled, he noticed the natural beauty of the place and the number of people such beauty brought. He also noticed the economic prosperity that came along with tourism.

When Msibi returned to Swaziland, he thought that utilizing what he viewed to be the unique natural beauty of his country as a tool to attract tourists would ensure that the beauty was protected and would promote the economic development of the country and the prosperity of its people. Msibi, therefore, was a natural fit for Minister of Tourism, Environment, and Communication. He is passionate about protecting Eswatini's natural beauty, and is wary of the potentially pernicious effects that an unregulated free market could have on the country's ecosystem. He thinks progressive ideas that protect workers and the environment are the best way to protect the country and promote its long term economic growth. Though the SPP's support base is concentrated in

cities, Msibi has connections in rural areas where he grew up and still owns his family farm. He also formed connections through his education in South Africa and London.

#### 24. Richard P Stevens - Lubombo Minister of Parliament from the USA

Richard P Stevens is one of the founding members of the USA along with JD Weir and Willie Meyer. He was born the son of a European rancher who always emphasized the importance of education. Stevens excelled at school and topped his class throughout his school career. Though he was often mocked by his peers for his studious nature, Stevens did not pay any of them any mind as he charged forward toward his intellectual goals. It should be no surprise that before delving into politics, he actually studied Swazi history at the Pius XII University in Lesotho. He wrote for several journals about the culture of several of the indigenous ethnic groups of South Africa, but especially the Swazi who were able to maintain so many of their traditions and their monarchy through the entire colonial period. Upon entering politics, Stevens appealed to many of those that feared radical change could jeopardize said traditions. Stevens is well-connected in the academic world, given his many years in academia.

#### 25. Macdonald Maseko - Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade from the NNLC

Macdonald Maseko grew up in Mbabane and began his professional career working in a textile mill in the city. He lacked a formal education, but made up for it through an extensive informal education and a keen mind and quick wit. He would constantly ask the manager of his mill questions about the economics of the manufacturing industry and began to understand the importance of trade and specialization to a successful domestic and global economy.

Maseko informally entered politics by leading the workers' strike through which the NNLC gained prominence. Through this strike, Maseko made relationships with many members of the NNLC, who recognized his influential position in the informal hierarchy of the urban workers of Swaziland. These members of the NNLC encouraged Maseko to enter politics, which he did, leveraging his knowledge of economics to focus on international trade as a way to improve Eswatini. Maseko is passionate about encouraging industry while protecting workers' rights. He still has many connections to workers and leaders in urban centers, which he can leverage to affect politics.

# 26. Willie Meyer - Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives from the USA

Willie Meyer was born to a rancher from Mbabane where he took great pleasure in living the rural life. He would always find any chance he had to take care of the horses, sheep, and cattle that lived on the farm. Horses were always Meyer's favorite, and he would ride them nearly every day. He felt that he had a special connection to them and the land that they inhabited. However, one fateful day, his favorite horse Lady Cupcake fell terribly sick. His inability to help who he considered his dear friend stuck with him and he resolved to never again feel that way. Instead of taking over the family farm like was planned from his birth, Meyer instead entered the public arena because he felt that he could "help many more farms and horses" that way. He studied agriculture business in college and made a name for himself in local Swazi politics as a great advocate for farmers all over the country. Now as the Minister of Agriculture he hopes to continue growing the output of Eswatini's agricultural businesses such that the nation's products will reach more places all over the world.

#### 27. Ndumiso M Hlatshwako - Minister of Defense from the SDP

Ndumiso M Hlatshwako, like Mfundza Sukati, is a lifelong soldier. A native Swazi, he rarely left the country, and became an infantryman as soon as he was old enough to enroll. Hlatshwako thrived under the military discipline of the army. Hlatshwako demonstrated exceptional resolve as a soldier and also a unique, innate ability and desire to lead others. Hlatshwako was promoted to the officer corps and rose as high as he could as a native Swazi in the army. Hlatshwako's talent and zeal was recognized and he was promoted into the political role as Secretary of Defense. Though he is not a natural-born politician, he believes he can use his talents to protect Swaziland in its cabinet.

Hlatshwako is excited by the prospect of Swazi independence. He has seen and been the victim of racial injustice and thinks that independence is a crucial step towards achieving racial equality. Hlatshwako's first priority is always to protect Eswatini from foreign threats. He does not endorse a pan-African policy, viewing its openness as a way to leave the country vulnerable. He also is wary of too much drastic change. In his experience, drastic changes lead to instability, and instability is dangerous for a country, especially one as small as Eswatini. Therefore, he prefers moderate improvements to radical shifts. He is still beloved by many soldiers from his time in the army and continues to have influence at multiple levels in the armed services.

#### 28. Peter J Braun - Manzini Minister of Parliament from the USA

Peter J Braun was born to a German father and Zulu mother. While he had a unique upbringing as a mixed child, the end result was what his friends all called: "the most average man in the British Empire." Braun liked to read novels and play fenceball which was like football except the goal was a certain part of a fence that lined Braun's backyard. Besides that, he had no real interest in any major areas so when it came time to choose his career path, he just asked his father what he should do to which his father replied "I don't know." Therefore, the natural choice was to study political science. There were no outstanding events from his time studying in Australia nor when he returned. In fact, some election officials believe that Braun was elected merely because no one was sure what he really stood for, but he seemed like an agreeable fellow. His most famous act since entering public life was his statements about avoiding the racialization of Eswatini like there is in South Africa. He joined the USA merely because it was the first party that tried to recruit him. Few have really cared to ask what is next for the most average man in Parliament, but those who do think he has the potential to cause some real change.

#### 29. Jabulani M Mamba - Minister of Enterprise and Employment from the SPP

Jabulani M Mamba has few loves in his life: pineapple smoothies, dancing, and the people of Eswatini. Mamba's parents were very hands-off in his upbringing. Even though they were unemployed most of the time, they spent most of their time outside the house. To this day, Mamba is unsure how he did not end up starving when his parents' gigs would last days before they somehow got themselves fired. Mamba and his siblings had two routes before them: to follow in their parents' footsteps of scraping by or working hard in order to succeed in life. Mamba chose secret option C where he barely put in the work, but still succeeded anyway. Through every stage in his life, Mamba continued to run into lucky breaks by meeting just the right people in order to succeed. He happened to meet an army recruiter at a bookstore and served in the military for a few months before being discharged on account of a sprained ankle. Upon discharge, his veteran status was sufficient to get upper level education at a small college near the border between South Africa and Eswatini. In college, he studied business because he accidentally checked it off instead of art since his English was subpar. He befriended all his business teachers who gave him free full marks.

His grades were sufficient to land him a job at the Ministry of Enterprise after accidentally applying when he meant to mail his CV to a knife-selling company. Due to some incidental economic growth in the sectors that he worked on he eventually made a name for himself. Now he is the Minister of Enterprise and Employment and he hopes to continue to build economic growth the way he has been doing it so far.

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