

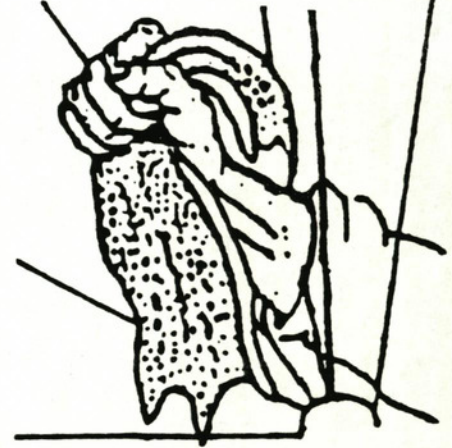
CONTRALESA

The Dawn of Freedom

24 Ferreira St.
Ferreira House
Marshalltown 2107

P.O. Box 61500
Marshalltown 2107
Tel: (011) 834-1002

[7]
Congress of Traditional
Leaders of South Africa



2nd March 1992

The Management Committee
Codesa
Attention: Subcommittee for Traditional Leaders
P. O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Att: Murphy Morobe

Re: . . . GUIDEPTC. SG. (1)

As per our application for participation in Codesa, we hereby submit the following information as regards our organisation - Contralesa, and required by Codesa-

1. Contralesa was formed on the 20th Sep 1987.
2. The following are the names of the office bearers:-
 - 2.1 Chief Adv S.P. Holomisa (President)
 - 2.2 Chief L.C. Mothiba (Vice President
 - 2.3 Sub-chief V.T. Sifora (General Secretary)
 - 2.4 Prince R. Ratshitanga (Ass.Gen Secratary)
 - 2.5 Prince R.S. Ndou (Treasurer)
 - 2.6 Chief G.R. Tshikalange (National Organiser)
 - 2.7 Chieftainess S.N. Sigcau (Director/projects)
3. Enclosed find copy of our Constitution.
4. The signed up membership is 2 957 as at date, and have good attendance at different local rallies.

2/-

5. Activities:

- 5.1 Meeting activities take place at the levels of branches, sub-regions, regions and nationally at different times.
- 5.2 Enclosed news letters for distribution to our members.
6. This point raised by yourselves is answered in our Constitution under Aims and Objectives, point number 4.10
7. Contralesa's HQ is situated at no. 24 Ferreira Street, Ferreira House, 5th Floor Room 517. The Tel & Fax is (011) 834-1002, and the number of officially employed personnel is five (5).
8. As one of the many organisations in the Country, and affected by repression, Contralesa has financial problems here and there but still survives.
9.
 - 9.1 Contralesa is a national organisation which has members in all homelands, and other parts of the Country.
 - 9.2 Contralesa has demarcated South Africa into four (4) regions, namely;
 - 9.2.1 Transvaal
 - 9.2.2 North Western Cape - OFS
 - 9.2.3 Eastern Cape
 - 9.2.4 Natal/Kwazulu, and has full support from above mentioned regions.
10. Our Constitution clearly explains the rules of the organisation.

Hoping that our application will be considered.

Yours sincerely

V. I. SIFORA

V. I. SIFORA
GENERAL SECRETARY

NB. COPY OF CONTRALESA'S APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN CODESA SUBMITTED AND DATED THE 20th DECEMBER 1991 ENCLOSED.

CONTRALESA

The Dawn of Freedom

24 Fernside St.
Fernside House
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P.O. Box 61500
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The Co-Chairpersons
Codesa
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Congress of Traditional
Leaders of South Africa



20th DECEMBER 1991

Sirs

re : PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA

The thought never came to me that there would come a stage where the original rulers of this country, the traditional leaders, would find themselves having to request that they be included in the process of searching and finding a method whereby the freedom of the indigenous people of South Africa is restored and given back to them. Yet this is what the object of this letter is about - to ask the participants in Codesa, through you, gentlemen, to at least allow traditional leaders to take part in Codesa as interested observers. It goes without saying that the institution of Chieftainship is the oldest form of leadership in Africa in general and in South Africa in particular. A chief in his own individual capacity commands the support of thousands of followers who might, in terms of numbers, be more than that enjoyed by a combination of some of the organisations invited to participate in Codesa.

The reason for the exclusion of traditional leaders from the negotiation forum being unclear to me, I will try and address the issues that may have motivated the decision in as far as I can surmise.

We have been made to understand that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has not been invited on account of it not being a political party or organisation, it being described as an interest group in that it represents the interests of its membership. While we admit that membership to Contralesa is open only to traditional and hereditary leaders, we take issue with being described as an interest group because we do not represent the interests of our membership alone but also those of the people over whom fate, custom, tradition and our ancestry have decreed that we rule. Even while no scientific test has been conducted as an organisation we have been inundated by call from our people that it is unacceptable for traditional leaders to be excluded from the negotiation process and that we must press on with the demand that we form part of Codesa until reason and sincerity prevails. I would be surprised if anyone of the participants in Codesa were to doubt or reject the efficacy of traditional leadership in areas where this institution prevails. The liberation movement as a whole is on record as having admitted that traditional leaders have a role to play in both the transitional phase and in the envisaged new South Africa.

We would be hurt and disappointed, not to mention being betrayed, if we were to be given the impression that such utterances were intended to master support for those organisations by using the influence of chiefs.

The Nationalist Party government, together with the various homeland administrations, has given recognition to the fact that chiefs cannot be left outside when the affairs of the people of this country are being dealt with. Hence the homeland parliaments have been filled with chiefs as ex officio members in most cases. Here again we would not want to believe that the Nationalist Party government, even as we know its track record, was motivated by racism when it seemed to be according traditional leaders their due status. We are however, strongly tempted to believe so when they are part of those who block our representation on Codesa when rule over the whole of South Africa is being discussed and about to be determined.

In Contralesa we are aware of the very real danger of traditional leaders being viewed as potential, if not real, perpetrators of tribalism. Such a state of affairs, even though it would be no different from what can be said of the composition of Codesa participants, is anathema to us. We formed Contralesa in order to forge unity amongst ourselves and to combat tribalism by inculcating in both ourselves and our people the feeling that we are all South Africans who have common goals, aims and destiny. We are full aware that the apartheid system has exploited our tribal and language differences to the extent that our people were made to believe that the African section of the South African Community was constituted of ten different

nations, hence the ten homelands.. Contralesa has made great if not properly recognised, strides in the reversal of that belief and divisive strategy.

We believe that had traditional leaders throughout South Africa organised themselves into one body, like Contralesa, and spoke with one united voice our position would be that much better. We are striving towards that goal and, given time, we are going to succeed. For the record I may mention that in all four provinces and ten Homelands, Contralesa commands the support of the greater number of traditional leaders. In Transvaal all traditional leaders are in Contralesa, the same goes with the Free State and the Border and, in the Transkei and Natal/Zululand the majority, even if in the latter not openly, support the ideals, goals and principles of Contralesa. I am not sure if the same can be said about most of the accredited participants in this Convention.

We are confident that traditional leaders who are members of and/ or support Contralesa, would be satisfied with being represented by Contralesa in Codesa, without having to have their Kings or paramount Chiefs coming by themselves. It would, therefore, present no insurmountable problem to allow those who still fall outside Contralesa to have their kings or Paramount Chiefs representing them because they are few and far between.

entually, as people with common interests and responsibility, we shall constitute one body.

It is completely unacceptable to us to be persuaded to form part of the delegations of the various organisations represented in Codesa for the simple reason that these bodies have political agendas of their own which do not necessarily coincide with ours but which, in fact, might be contrary to our ideal of the unity of the African Communities across tribal language differences.

We maintain that we are not asking too much of the people who have arrogated to themselves the right to determine the future of our beloved but sorrowful country, South Africa. As personages who do not wish to be embroiled in political wrangling and controversy, we are merely asserting our right to oversee the negotiation process as interested observers who would be in a position to be consulted and give advices on matters pertinent to our role in the running of the affairs of our people.

In all humility and driven by a sense of the responsibility resting on our shoulders and being driven by the knowledge that disaster is not improbable on our being excluded, we urge the honourable members of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa to reconsider the hitherto-held view and facilitate that traditional leaders be included in this all important exercise of endeavouring to bring about a democratic South Africa through peaceful means.

CONTRALES NEWS



CONTRALES NATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT (28 — 30 SEPTEMBER 1990)

Opening the inaugural, National Conference of the Congress of the Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALES) the acting President, Advocate S.P. Holomisa states i.a.:

"If all our chiefs and kings were to stand up and speak with one voice, telling their people, that we are one nation even if we differ in language and culture, all our petty differences would come to an end..... The time is high that our hereditary leaders, are seen to be embodying the unity of the people....."

He was addressing some 300 traditional and hereditary leaders, among them paramounts of Kwandebile and Lebowa, crowded into the auditorium of the Alpha Training Centre — Broederstroom, to make a personal commitment to the cause of the people they lead and so-doing, shed the odium of surrogacy designed for them and often in spite of themselves by successive, white minority administrations. With their countrymen, they have known death, shared the experience of deposition, the indignity of arrest, internment, bannings and banishment in defence of the mother land, the rights and dignity of their communities. Among their forebears they remembered in grateful memory: Sekhukhune, Ramabulana, Ngungunyana, Lobengula, Dingane, Cetywayo, Bambatha, Hintsa, Dalindyebo, Luthuli among many, who died fighting for the dignity of the African people against foreign usurpers.

At the Alpha Training Centre and enshrined in the preamble to the constitution they adopt, they make the collective admission: "..... that in the eyes of black communities, traditional leaders are viewed with a measure of truth, as part of and collaborators in the apartheid system (and) without whose co-operation it were difficult to implement even as they undermined their own integrity, credibility and customary authority....." and decide collectively to reverse this situation by joining their people in their bid to freedom.

They came from Kwandebile, the scene of revolt in 1986 against apartheid inspired independence, the fountainhead of Contrales itself and where the independence locomotive "came to a jolting halt", says S.P. Holomisa, from Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Lebowa, Transkei and Venda by car, bus, train and what have you. Of the three regions in the country which did not send delegates, apologies were received from two with Natal/Kwazulu a notable exception for reasons which can only be surmised.

Conference received massive support judging by fraternal greetings from organisations across the social and political mosaic of South Africa: Youth-, Women-, Church- and Worker's organisations and where these could not send speakers as requested, written addresses were submitted. The governments of Lebowa and the Transkei must be commended in this regard.

Among highlight addresses delivered must be singled out Ms G. Shope from the ANC Womens' League substituting for "mother" A Sisula who had taken ill and was hospitalised on the eve of the conference. A veteran in the fight for human rights, Compatriot Getrude, barely referring to hurriedly prepared notes, came across loud and clear and self-help projects, "the message of the collective" as she put it. An appeal from the heart of a mother to mothers, the first line of defence to keep the wolf from the door. Mothers, get to her first meeting that you hear of:

The care, concern bordering on anxiety; the challenges ahead for leaders; community, church or political but especially for the traditional leaders in the traditional society that much of South Africa still is; these could barely be masked in Dr B. Naude's off-the-cuff remarks. Former chairman of the Christian Institute, defrocked dominee of the N.G.K. arrestee for many years in his own house and now director of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau, compatriot B. Naude had seen it all. He witnessed the difficult birth of Contrales, suffered with it throughout its teething problems. His broodings for the traditional communities, for South Africa itself if Contrales should fail, were quietly taken by his audience. "There can be no looking back," he tells them, to loud applause.

RESOLUTIONS

The theme to the resolutions adopted by Conference reads:

"We, the traditional and hereditary leaders of South Africa gathered in Conference at the Alpha Training Centre — Broederstroom, on this Saturday 29 September 1990, do hereby solemnly resolve, under the guidance of the God of our fathers, to constitute ourselves into an organisation of all progressive, traditional and hereditary leaders, hereinafter referred to as the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALES); to reinstate, protect and promote the institution of Chieftainship, its traditional status and bonding function in the traditional community and to join our people in their determined bid for freedom; to refrain from aligning ourselves with any particular organisation to the exclusion of any other organisation....." The constitution embodying these sentiments was unanimously adopted with few amendments. Space does not allow inclusion in this report of all the resolutions adopted. The more urgent (because of their subjects) are however reflected below;

1. ON LAND AND REMOVALS

History is full of evidence that in one form or another, our forebears were made to part with their land, often at the barrel of the gun, or deceived into parting not only with their land, but with their wealth through use of a foreign and strange system of barter when a pouch of tobacco could "buy" several hectares of land.

Conference therefore resolves that:

- "chiefs" in their various regions, immediately look into and compile evidence of authentic incidents showing how our forebears were raped of their land.
- In support of such information, support their findings with maps showing the borders of tribal territory prior to the 1913/1936 Land Acts, in support of the drive for redistribution of resources, especially LAND and
- In pursuit of this objective, to seek expert advice on strategies to retrieve losses and for this purpose, that an ad hoc committee on Land under the NEC be set up to co-ordinate plans towards correcting mistakes with the government of the day in conjunction with the mass organisations of our people.
- That the practice of forced removals is a direct result of policies of Grand Apartheid in the formation of so-called homelands, the formulation of laws such as: The Native Trust and Land Act (Act 28 of 1936); the Group Areas Act etc. and must forthwith desist and that all related laws must be removed from the Statute Book so that all people of South Africa can choose their residential areas freely.

2. DEPOSITIONS AND BANISHMENTS

Mindful of corrosive, colonial policies of the George Greys, Harry Smiths, Benjamins D'Urbans and their like before and after the 19th century, who in pursuit of imperialistic schemes, enshrined through a battery of Proclamations their right to depose and/or banish the rightful heirs to traditional royalty whose only offence was dissent and the defence of land and human dignity according to the tenets of natural justice and in favour of selected minions, this Conference:

- Condemns in disgust the perpetuation of similar policies by the South African government and its lackeys, the so-called homeland leaders; for their utter contempt of customary observances and thereby the deliberate destruction of the traditional community;
- Call for the reinstatement of the rightful, hereditary heirs who fell victim to the practice of the ungodly policy and;
- Demands the restoration to the traditional, hereditary leader, the right, authority and function within customary law to instal their subordinates and in council, to punish offenders and;
- Condemns the banning and the banishments for political reasons, of the leaders of the people, be they political, community or traditional as malicious and wicked and demands immediate stop to these practices by the South African and homeland governments and;
- Demands the return or release of all the banished and detained for political reasons.

3. NEGOTIATIONS

In South Africa, the role of leadership can be twofold: Traditional and Political. As traditional leaders, chiefs are seen as a unifying force and custodians of the culture and traditions of the traditional community. As political figures, their unifying role will be found in the maintenance of the essential balance between the demands of custom and tradition on the one hand and the calls of progress and development in the interest of the local community (the tribe) and equally important, at the national level and in conjunction with progressive thinking and structures in every aspect of the national life.

In this dual capacity the traditional leader may not and dare not exclude himself or be excluded from negotiation processes initiated towards a unitary, democratic South Africa.

Conference therefore resolves that:

that the incoming National Executive Committee (NEC) takes every possible step to ensure that Contralesa is suitably represented in forums engaged in the negotiation processes and for this purpose, that

Chiefs in their respective areas, cultivate a spirit of understanding through effective communication at the grassroots of their communities and with local and national structures across the socio-political spectrum;

that the institution of Bogosi/Ubukhosi as understood and accepted in the traditional community, be enshrined in any future constitution of South Africa.

ON-GOING VIOLENCE

Having noted through the media, the spread of violence from Natal/Kwazulu and into the townships on the Reef and elsewhere with already some 800 people reported dead, depicted by the South African government and its agents as Zulu/Xhosa "inter-tribal" fights and having been part of a team comprising the ANC, UDF and COSATU to address the situation in mine hostels and townships, aimed at peace between the warring groups, the Conference wishes to note as a matter of record:

The failure of the South African government and the Inkatha to co-operate in the exercise;

The failure of members of the S.A.P. on the spot to co-operate with the delegation; their refusal in certain areas to grant permission to the delegation to address their own people in the interests of peace;

Their reported involvement in the planning and direction of violent operations initiated within the hostels as inmates will attest and their obvious sympathy with, if not direct support of the Inkatha group (Rooidoek) which the delegation discovered was not composed of Zulu's only and often drew support from outside with open display of arms like bush knives, assegais, axes under cover of "traditional sticks".

The rejection by the South African government of appeals for an independent commission of inquiry and the mounting instead of the so-called "Iron Fist". In the light of these findings, Conference resolves that:

- The violence experienced, is not a Zulu — Xhosa conflict but has its roots in the system of apartheid and its pillars, the Bantustans;
- The violence is designed to further divide our people and thereby retard progress on the issue of negotiations and so-doing prolong the status quo and frustrate all efforts towards liberty and social justice;
- That the system of single-sex hostels be abolished and that workers generally and miners in particular be accommodated in family units and within the ambit of their own communities in townships to remove isolation and minimise discrimination against them;
- The unity of the oppressed depends on the unity of all traditional leaders irrespective of ethnic origins and for this reason we call upon our counterparts in Natal/Kwazulu to join hands with us;
- Every encouragement be given to the South African government, the ANC, COSATU, the UDF, the INKATHA and the CHURCH to meet as a matter of urgency, not only to quell the fires of violence but specifically to promote the cause of negotiations towards a better, prosperous South Africa.

CONTRALESA LEADERSHIP ELECTED INTO OFFICE FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS

NAME	PORTFOLIO	ADDRESS
S.P. HOLOMISA	PRESIDENT	11 FRERE ROAD, UMTATA
L.C. MOTHIBA	VICE PRESIDENT	GA-MOTHIBA LEBOWA
V.T. SIFORA	GEN. SECRETARY	310 MUTLE STR. TLHABANE
R. RATSHITANGA	ASS. GEN. SEC.	NGULUMBI LOC VENDA
R.S. NDOU	TREASURER	JOHANNESBURG
S. SIGCAU	DIRECTOR PROJECTS	FORTCALE UMTATA
G.R. TSHIKALANGE	ORGANISER	TSHIFIFI TRADING STORE SIBASA VENDA

SIGNED: _____ (PRESIDENT)

SIGNED: _____ (SECRETARY)

CONTRALESA CONSULTATIVE MEETING HELD AT JOHANNESBURG HOTEL 10 — 11TH JUNE 1989

SPEECH BY MA-ALBERTINAH SISULU, PRESIDENT — UDF.

Honourable Chiefs I greet you from Polsmoor Prison, where I am visiting my husband, Walter Sisulu. Today marks a very important event in the history of our country because today we are proving that tribal conflicts are a creation of those who wish to manipulate us away from the road to unity and peace, justice, a non-racial and democratic South Africa. You are together today to examine your position as traditional leaders and to find an end to apartheid. Honourable Chiefs, many years ago we had a Council of Chiefs who worked hand in hand with the political organisations and like you they were people who came together to look for a peaceful means to end the injustice of the theft of our land and our leadership. I salute you for your decision to come together like this and to give the people that hope that our traditional leaders will once again stand together as a solid wall against racism and division.

Honourable Chiefs, our people have been robbed of the land that fed the people, our forefathers owned heads of cattle, which supported many mouths, today in the countryside we see the sad sight of children starving. Malnutrition and poverty is rife in a land as rich as S.A. Today white farmers farm the land of our forefathers, they pay low wages and charge high prices for the crops. In the bantustans we see endless tracts of dry land which is not fertile and our people buy food from white farmers.

Today Honourable Chiefs, many of you are robbed of your right to be chosen by the people, instead many chiefs are appointed by the government and then paid a low salary from money the government takes from poor villagers and after they pay the chiefs, what happens to the rest of the money they take, nobody knows. This is exploitation, the government is exploiting the chiefs and using them to carry out rules which goes against the will of the people. It has been a trend over a number of years that most chiefs who accept the bantustan system, depend on commissioners and the police force to keep them in power. By doing this the chiefs abdicate their right to be selected by the people and the position of chief is one in name only. Whilst a chief carries out the instructions of the police and the commissioner, the chiefs do not consult the people. Your strength and leadership comes from the people and without the people you are not a leader. In our past a person was chosen as a chief if they showed bravery in protecting their village from wild animals or an opposing intruder, a chief was chosen because he proved himself to be brave in the face of danger. The term MOHADI or INGWENYAMA (HERO) was used and meant.

Any man in any family is still considered to be the defender of the family — as a chief your community is your family and you must not become a threat to your community by becoming co-opted into the apartheid machinery, you must protect your community from the danger of apartheid laws. You must take your rightful place once again. In the past, our forefathers lead armies against colonization and racism, you must defend our right to have peace, to own the land, to own the wealth of the mines and the industries. You must defend our right to share the wealth of our land equally amongst all who live in it. Do not become a co-opted lackey or puppet of the government but take back what you are — a rightful leader of the people.

Since the early days of the colonialists or robbers of our land, to this day, the enemies of peace and justice use the method of deposition a chief who opposes colonialism and apartheid. The time has come for chiefs to defend each other when one chief is deposed others must rally around him and you must also rally around people who are removed. In the same way the enemies of peace and unity want you to believe that UDF and COSATU are your enemies, this is not so, you are the chiefs of millions of people and those people are supporters of UDF and COSATU, the UDF and COSATU people are part of your family, part of the community which needs your protection when they are under attack. The enemy has a habit of using chiefs as intermediaries, do not fall into the trap of becoming an intermediary in a war you did not create. In Zimbabwe, Muzorewa was to co-opt the chiefs to try and persuade them to side against ZANU-PF and ZAPU. The chiefs were to be used as intermediaries for Smith's regime when they wanted an internal settlement. Ian Smith wanted to use chiefs to try and weaken the popularity of ZANU-PF and ZAPU. One chief who refused to do this was Tangwena — he refused Smith's money and challenged Smith to leave him on the land of his ancestors if he (Smith) was sincere. He was removed from his land because he would not capitulate, Tangwena was a man of the people and Smith's positions did not interest him (Tangwena) because he valued the will of the people more than he valued money and co-option. Co-option into government posts and structures can only lead to your defeat — because co-option means the loss of your right to consult the people and serve the will of the people. We see this happening all the time.

I am asking you to work with the progressive organs both inside and outside the country. You know, over the past few months: Idasa, TIC, Nusas, NIC, Church people, Doctors, Lawyers and Teachers have gone to see the ANC because they seek peace. Even Danie Cruywen has been to see the ANC. Actually you should have gone there before they did, but it is never too late to go if peace is your objective and there can be no peace if all our leaders don't talk together.

Remember that the rural areas are the base of our struggle, the issue of land is what power is all about, the people want to share the land and our enemies control the land. When the nats took power in 1948 they realized that the power of the people lay in the rural areas and with rural chiefs, and what did they do? They deceitfully co-opted chiefs to create the bantustans. This tactic was meant to smash our peaceful existence. Land can never belong to one person or one group of people. If we own the land together we will regain our respect for what it can do for us.

I say this to you again — take back your rightful place as traditional leaders — lead your people towards a united South Africa. Fight against removals and deposing of chiefs — stand together against the hanging of our children and the continued imprisonment and exile of leaders. Stand together as one against apartheid. The children are the bright jewels of our future, protect their rights as any father should.

I WISH YOU ALL WELL

Ma-Albertinah Sisulu
President — UDF

RESOLUTION AT CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF 10 — 11 JUNE 1989

We the traditional leaders of South Africa meeting at the Johannesburger Hotel this 11th day of June, 1989, realizing that.

1. The Bantustan system has created killing fields of the murderous apartheid machinery that seeks to deny our people their right to full South African citizenship and to a share in the wealth of their country by the imposition of sham, independence, ethnicity, tribalism, forced removals, forced tribal levies and taxes on land and stock limitation and restrictions, migratory labour system, vigilantes and other forms of apartheid violence against our people and that it has and continues to sow seeds of divisions amongst the oppressed people of our country;
2. in the country of their birth our people have been reduced to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water, particularly in that they have been robbed of their political, economic and social rights, and their rights to self-determination and nationhood by a succession of Dutch, British and now apartheid colonialism;
3. the divisions amongst the anti-apartheid forces weaken the liberation forces striving for the creation of a just order;
4. in perpetuating the evil system of apartheid, especially in the form of the Bantustan policy, the regime has been and is still using chiefs to oppress their own people.

THEREFORE RESOLVE TO

1. Organise and unite all traditional leaders in our country;
2. Take up the demands of our communities jointly with them to the existing authorities;
3. Fight against tribalism, ethnicity and all apartheid instigated conflicts amongst our people.
4. Organise traditional leaders to identify themselves with the struggles which are being waged by the people of South Africa for a non-racial democratic South Africa

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF CONTRALESA

CONTRALESA is a progressive grassroots and community based organisation which was formed in 1987 by a group of traditional leaders and people from rural areas, who after fleeing from their homes because of repression by the state and certain homeland administrations, found themselves living in virtual exile in the cities.

Their views brought them into contact with the mass based organisations such as UDF and COSATU affiliates. Many such "refugees" became activists within democratic organisations and it was here that many of them recognised the limitations of the urban approach to the solution of the unique problems within the rural areas.

Since being founded, CONTRALESA has developed into a national organisation with a significant and growing presence in areas such as KwaNdebele, Venda, KwaZulu, KwaVuma, Ciskei and Transkei. Inroads are being made into Lebowa, Bophuthatswana and Qwa-Qwa despite formidable obstacles not the least of which being the political and economic inducements offered by the homeland governments.

The founders of CONTRALESA were motivated by the fact that there is very little understanding today of the role that traditional leaders play and could play in influencing and mobilizing their own constituencies. What there is a prevalent ignorance among urban based opinion-makers/leaders of the potentially creative role of such leaders, if reached out to and if provided with appropriate guidance and resources.

It is CONTRALESA's belief that traditional leaders are very influential and powerful in so far as their own constituencies are concerned. This was one of the things the South African state exploited by offering the chiefs in the rural areas material inducements to join the homeland system.

Events of the past have also shown that many rural projects, praised as being in the vanguard of rural development and transformation could not have survived without the tacit approval of local chiefs. In many cases the chiefs have been active participants in projects together with youth congresses, womens groups etc.

CONTRALESA's founders were also motivated by the fact that although people in rural areas account for a significant proportion of the population, they were not catered for in many development projects. As a consequence these areas continued to prove a source of social and economic difficulties for the present regime. As has been evidenced by upheavals in Venda, KwaNdebele, Ciskei, Transkei and in Bophuthatswana the rural areas are far from being docile.

This situation, unless adequately addressed, may one day prove to be a minefield of discontent that a future post apartheid government may be faced with. It should be remembered that the destabilising factors such as UNITA and RENAMO found fertile ground in the disillusionment of rural people in the respective countries.

The establishment and founding of CONTRALESA must also be seen in the context of the June 1976 events, which led to the reawakening of political consciousness among black people. They also brought about an awareness of the need to organise oppressed communities beyond the classical definition of a formal political organisation and also gave rise to mass-based activity and spawned the growth of the concept of community based organisation.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- * To organise and unite all traditional leaders of South Africa.
- * To offer traditional leaders and their communities an alternative to the sterile politics of homeland separatism, especially in the area of economic development.
- * To provide training and educational opportunities for members and their children to enable them to cope with the fast developing trends of the modern world.
- * To provide advice and technical expertise in the design and implementation of projects designed to increase self-reliance and self-sufficiency in rural communities.
- * To introduce and help in the development of a holistic approach to rural development.
- * To help members and their communities in identifying priorities in the development needs of their areas.
- * To fight against tribalism, ethnicity and all apartheid instigated conflicts amongst our people.
- * To fight for the eradication of the homeland system and for the restoration of South African citizenship to all the people of South Africa.
- * To build, develop and deepen the spirit of free exchange of cultural activities among all South Africans in pursuance of the building and development of a true South African culture and national talent.
- * To network with other organisations.

WELCOME ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF CONTRALESA, KGOSHI L.C. MOTHIBA DURING A RALLY IN VENDA — 1990-11-11

Amandla.....matla.....Amandla.....Comrade chairperson, my colleagues in the traditional leadership fraternity the ANC deputy President, representatives of the ANC and all other progressive organisations, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen, I salute you all in the name of our struggle for freedom.

The deputy president, CONTRALESA has observed with appreciation that you and the organisation accept traditional leadership in South Africa. We have further observed with appreciation and admiration your devotion to join hands in the structuring and restructuring of the concept 'Traditional leadership' and the role it must play in designing the New South Africa.

It is to me an honour and privilege to find this opportunity to say a few words of welcome to you. First and foremost I wish to express my gratitude to the organizers of this conference and everybody else and in particular the Venda government which has allowed this rally to take place.

Comrade chairperson, we are gathered here in response to a call by the nation that looks up at us to save the situation that our fathers and forefathers have struggled in vain to reach and ideals and aspirations of our society.

We are gathered at a moment when South Africa, much against the expectations of many, suddenly found herself standing at the crossroad. In the language of democracy the people will choose the directions, but in the language of practice and human nature, it is the duty of leaders to guide the people according to their (people) aspirations, in making that choice.

It is my sincere belief that the essence of leadership in a community is to lead the people and sincerely guide them through the bumps and dents of life. This is why in times of victory it is the people you lead who will give you all the compliments and honours; and similarly, in times of trouble they will look up at you to bail them out of situations of utter helplessness.

It is for this reason that I view the nature of this gathering here as nothing but one of the many stop-overs that we will make on our noble mission to search and find solutions to the problems facing our country.

I want to emphasize, on the other hand however, it is the will and wish of the people which must guide the leadership in its search for solutions. It is only when you know what the rights and aspirations of the people are that you can determine the objectives of the task before you.

Comrade chairperson, if there is any sector in our community that had suffered the worst under the yoke of colonialism in Africa, that sector is that of traditional leaders. Unlike the rest of the community, they did not only lose their rights and possessions, they did not join others as they watched our traditional system of government, which we so much honoured, crumble down in the face of stormy waters of imperialism and territorial expansionism.

They were relegated to mere pawns of fate as their authority and power were undermined severely under the divide and rule tactics of colonialism. They were reduced to mere rubber stamps in the execution of the policies of the self-imposed masters. They were used to impose the will of the colonial master on their own people. However, it is heartening to note that it was the traditional leaders who founded organisations like the African National Congress in 1912. Our forefathers knew and realised but very vaguely, that politics is about power, and that power rests on the resources of the land which they were dispossessed and the people of this country, whom colonialism and apartheid had divided.

Now that we know the truth and understand the facts, I believe time is now opportune for traditional leaders to stand up so that their followers should draw inspiration from them, and redefine our role in the present political situation in the country. The role that we should think of is not that which should give traditional leaders a large share in the political power struggle in the country, but which will disentangle us from the humiliation of abuse that we once suffered under those who claimed to know us better, and to restore the legitimacy and credibility of the institution.

It is a bitter lesson that we have learnt and I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the courageous struggle of resistance waged by great leaders such as Makhado, Tshivhase, Dinga, Ngungunyane, Sekhukhune, Hintsha and many others.

With the establishment of the congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, the individual struggles fought by these great sons of Africa, will now be fought collectively by all in this country. The way ahead is still hard and long. Let us recall the words of the Italian, Nicolo Machiavelli in his guide to "the Prince", when he said:

- a) "The great fortress of the Prince and the State is the love of the people...."
- b) Do not take the property of others, for men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony.....
- c) Legislate good laws and back them with good arms."

Contralesa experiences the existence of many splinter groups who operate in the name of the ANC, Civics and youth. Some of these splinter groups, purporting to be acting under the banner of the ANC, forcefully take over the administration of private homes and private institutions such as church organisations and issue instructions.

Some of these splinter groups, prevent cases from serving before traditional courts or remove cases from traditional courts and try them without authority. They impose fines and sentences according to their thinking. We all know who is behind these criminal elements within our communities.

Contralesa is fully aware that all these evil deeds by these bad elements do not belong to any of the progressive organisations in our country, thus there is a need for all progressive organisations, people of goodwill in all our communities to jointly and openly disassociate themselves from such elements and isolate them.

Let us close the gap between us and our people. I am aware that it is a difficult period of transition which will require some time for us to move over on an equal footing with current events. In the event of the process being to slow, I wish to appeal for patience on the part of those of us who have already adjusted. It is our task, Comrade chairperson, in any event to assist our colleagues who still lag behind.

Our adjustment however, should not be construed to mean an adoption of a policy of vengeance and retribution against those who wronged us. South Africa has seen enough of bitterness and violence, and if and when the opportunity offers, I believe, an amicable solution can be found. Our task is now to help find a fair solution to the problems facing our people. While on the other hand gearing ourselves up for reconciliation of our people across both the colour and tribal lines, and the reconstruction of the country to develop into an economic powerhouse of the continent.

Let us not lose the determination to undo the damage done by the system of apartheid. All we need is to hold hands together, bury the prejudices of the past and think of ourselves as one people in one country. South Africa has a lot more to offer us as a single nation than a multiplicity of small miniature states.

With these few words, Comrades, I wish to welcome you all especially Comrade Mandela and hope you will enjoy your stay here and have a fruitful discussions.

Amandlamatla I Africa Mayibuye
 VIVAANCVIVA
 VIVACONTRALESAVIVA

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN.
GOD BLESS THE PEOPLE

The battle ahead will be long and hard fought. Our basic tool of battle can be said in one word: DISCIPLINE, for any lasting success. A disciplined freedom-fighter, a disciplined village committee under a disciplined tribal council, a constitutional (customary) and democratic Nkosi/Kgosi in touch with the nerve centre of his people, a disciplined YOUTH in organisations and associations committed to a cause above themselves, a disciplined motherhood of the nation, the bearers of the future. All this has nothing to do with the mercenary, the modern "vigilante" manipulated by and in the pay of the enemy of the people. All have to be vigilant - the eyes and ears of the struggle.

Leave our witches alone! Black Africa has survived and will continue to live inspite of them. At this stage of our struggle we cannot afford divisions and thereby expose ourselves to those who will divide us in order to destroy us. Accommodate the so-called collaborator, discipline him and win him for the struggle. But who are we to judge without being judged? We need each other even in post-apartheid South Africa. Leave judgement to the unfailing tribunal of history and that will be when final victory is with the people, the democratic majority of all South Africans.

We in the National Executive Committee of Contralesa are witnesses on this Saturday, the 24th Day of November to the establishment of the Transvaal Region of Contralesa and we thank you.

ISSUED BY CONTRALESA, JOHANNESBURG

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Contralesa News

Memorandum On Contralesa and the Role of
TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP



CONTRALESA is a progressive grassroots and community based organisation which was formed in 1987 by a group of traditional leaders and people from rural areas, who after fleeing from their homes because of repression by the state and certain homeland administrations, found themselves living in virtual exile in the cities.

Their views brought them into contact with the mass based organisations such as UDF and COSATU affiliates. Many such "rural refugees" became activists within democratic organisations and it was here that many of them recognised the limitations of the urban approach to the solution of the unique problems within the rural areas.

It became clear that the traditional leaders were more vulnerable and open to attack by the system as they engaged the enemy as individual leaders of their communities. Driven by the belief that unity is strength traditional leaders decided to form an organisation of their own so that they too, like their subjects in the United Democratic Front, could speak and act in unison whenever there was a matter affecting them and their communities as chiefs. Believing further that the institution of chieftainship was being used by the Nationalist Party government to entrench the strategy of divide and rule among the African communities the traditional leaders resolved that Contralesa would be a national organisation which would transcend tribal and homeland boundaries.

Contralesa is now a truly national organisation with members in all ten homelands in the country. Our paid-up membership is in the region of 1500 and the number is still growing. The Ciskei, BophuthaTswana and KwaZulu are the three homelands where Contralesa is not enjoying the support of the rulers. Clearly the rulers in these homelands view Contralesa as a threat to their hitherto unchallenged support from the traditional leaders. These authorities harass, intimidate and generally victimize our members by either suspending and/or deposing them on trumped up charges or false accusations of them not being rightful holders of their positions. On the other hand chiefs who are not viewed as being openly supportive of Contralesa are enticed with positions in the government and increase in salary. Be that as it may we are nevertheless making in-roads in the said homelands even if not openly.

The organisation is non-partisan and autonomous and, contrary to popular belief, we are not affiliated to any political organisation. As an organisation we are, however, committed to waging struggles together with political organisations whose programs of action are not contrary to the aims and objectives of Contralesa. Also our members as individuals are free to join organisations of their own choice as long as such membership will not result in such member acting contrary to our constitution.

In our observation the majority of the people of South Africa, especially those who still place significance in their rural connections, believe that the institution of chieftainship needs to be maintained but modernized and democratized. All are agreed that the apartheid system has wreaked havoc on the institution to the extent that some people entertained the dangerous notion that chieftainship should go down into the political rubbish bin with apartheid.

ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE TRANSVAAL REGION OF CONTRALESA IN PIETERSBURG/POLOKWANE

Change and its Implications

Chieftainship embodied the essence - the being - of an African community. A chief is not merely a political or administrative head of his community; he is, most importantly, the spiritual head as well. His place, believe it or not, is still the repository of the customs and traditions of the community. That is why chiefs are apt to be conservative to the extent of being reactionary - that is so that any form of change must first be observed to ensure that it will be in the interests of the people before everyone can accept it.

Contralesa has taken it upon itself to ensure that chieftainship, as long as it subsists, is transformed into modernised and democratic institution. Modernization entails, inter alia, the education of traditional leaders in present day ways of government so that they do not, as some do at present, inhibit the development of our people. The democratisation of chieftainship, on the other hand, does not mean that chiefs will have to be elected. Chieftainship is by its nature a hereditary institution. A chief, however, has always been expected to act according to the will and wishes of his people - hence he was often referred to as the "voice of the people". His decisions and pronouncements were based on the views of the people and were as such binding on them - hence it was often said his "word was the law". Such a democratic handling of the affairs can be ensured by the introduction of a mechanism whereby his councillors are elected by the people rather than be selected by the chief himself. Such councillors will thus be in a position to help the chief come to informed decisions.

2. The Role of Traditional Leaders In a Changing S.A.

The survival of the homeland system is due in the main to the support that the system has enjoyed from chiefs. The loss of independence and freedom by the indigenous people of this land came simultaneously with the reduction of the powers of the chiefs who were downgraded to the status of lackeys and informers for the white government. The introduction of the strategy of divide and rule in the form of the homeland system was carried out under the guise of the restoration of the African people's lost independence and the reinstatement of chieftainship in its former status.

It is now accepted, even by the Nationalist Party government, that the bantustan set-up is not viable. It has proved to be a recipe for disaster and tribal polarisation and conflict. Contralesa believes that chiefs have a moral responsibility to reverse the situation by working for the establishment of a democratic, free, unitary, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

Tribal Authorities, in their present form, have proved to be unpopular and undemocratic means of local government under traditional leaders. This is due, inter alia, to the fact that some of the councillors who form the tribal authority with the chief are not elected by the people over whom they exercise authority. Contralesa supports the formation of Residents Associations in the rural areas as long as this does not mean hereditary traditional leaders will be replaced by these structures.

We envisage a situation where the executive committee members of a Residents Association will be working closely with the chief so that their role will in effect be that of traditional councillors save that they will be popularly elected. At the present moment there is no real effective connection between the tribal authorities and the government. All community matters have to be channelled through a district commissioner or magistrate before they find their way to the relevant departments. This results in delays and unacceptable hardship for the people concerned.

The council that will be established by means of the residents association will be structured in such a way that there shall be a councillor responsible for each department so that there are direct dealings between the community and the government. This will obviate the need for district commissioners or magistrates when the community affairs are dealt with.

Depending on the number and concentration of the people in a given locality each administrative area should have its own residents association with its own executive committee. These executive committees will in turn come together to form up a central committee responsible for the whole area falling within the jurisdiction of the chief. The chief shall at all times be the head of such a central committee while the members will be in office for a stipulated period of time.

3. The On-Going Violence in Natal and the Reef

A chief, as the upper guardian of all the members of the community, is supposed to deal with his people impartially, fairly and without favour. Ideally a chief, therefore, should be above sectional politics so that his people can enjoy freedom of association and freedom of expression.

The operative word in our current history is change: change in our eco-political systems sweeping our little world from Goberschev's systems sweeping our little world from Margaret Thatcher's United Kingdom. Change is bringing down artificial barriers which divided whole communities and families and as often as not against their wishes and better judgement. The Berlin wall is past history. On Thursday, 22nd November 1990, Margaret Thatcher resigned the leadership of her conservative, Tory Party and by the same token, the premiership of the United Kingdom. The Verwoerdian ethic of separate but equal nations, alias apartheid has proved hopelessly unequal, a curse for the voiceless majority, a heresy and nightmare for his progeny in the common fatherland.

Change is with us and we gather here today as traditional leaders, Magosi/Amakhosi, kings and princes/ses of the blood as witnesses of that, to make history and to examine its implications for us. But change will not be change unless it can transcend geographic, economical and political walls and be firmly planted in the hearts and mind of the South African polity itself to give rise to renewed social attitudes, to a new personality capable and of willing to accept change in himself and in herself and to go beyond the threshold of the now and into the wider horizons of the basic humanity and brotherhood of mankind sans the pettiness of self-interest, of tribalism and ethnicity, colour and even our respective cultural heritages which should enrich and unite our common South African nationhood, rather than divide.

At this stadium and in this hall, we shall look back not with anger but with a willingness to forgive and accommodate after the known and confessed ravages of successive colonial administrations with special reference to the 19th Century when battles were won and lost by our forebears for land and hearth: our Sekhukhuni's, our Hintsas and Cetshwayo's our Ramabulana's Moroka's and Luthuli's to mention but a few at random.

On trial today is apartheid and its agents in both church and state which has wrecked whole families, communities and true to its name, set people upon people, destroy the institution of hereditary Bogosi/Ubukhusi and thereby undermined cultural and traditional bonds which made for the cohesion and unity of the traditional community, sowing factious strife within the tribe and succeeding to a certain measure to isolate Bogosi/Ubukhusi from the people, the very guardians of custom and tradition and the institution itself, in the interests of a foreign, selfish, and wholly ungodly and unchristian policy - separateness, segregation, pluralism, apartheid - call it what you will, it boils down to the something: Divide and Rule, sustained by trade and industry over the decades and until the Rustenburg Confession recently, by the church, I want to repeat. We have much to confess and much to forgive, the Amakhosi/Magosi to their people, the communities to their Amakhosi/Magosi. We have no choice in this matter other than the killing fields of black on black. And when this shall have been done, the problems remains unsolved and we move, of our own accord, to the second National Suicide.

6. Unity

Contralesa deserves and calls for the support of all freedom loving South Africans and organisations so that it can achieve its noble goal of uniting the black communities across tribal and language differences.

Address by Advocate S.P. Holomisa, Contralesa President, on the Occasion of the Launch of the Transvaal Regional Council of Contralesa on Saturday 24th November 1990 at Pietersburg

It gives me joy and hope to be here today and to address you on so great a day on the calendar in the march towards the cherished goal of unity and freedom. The launch of the Transvaal Regional Council of Contralesa is indeed, I submit humbly, a significant attempt at working towards the attainment of our stated aim of the abolition of artificial boundaries aimed at keeping our people apart, weak and hostile towards each other.

In terms of the grandiose but failed scheme of the planners of the apartheid policies the province of Transvaal is made up of six states namely, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu and portions of BophuthaTswana. This is based on the premise that the African sector of South African population is so divided and full of small nationalities that it cannot be expected of the Africans to live side by side with each other as brothers and sisters. Our self-styled masters decided, for our own good, to create what they called homelands so that each "national group" could live uninterrupted on its own without the risk of being dominated by the others.

Due to the heroic and unrelenting struggles of our people, led, in the main by the time tested liberation movement of the people, the African National Congress, the very same ruling party that constitutionalized apartheid finally admitted that those that God put together no man should put asunder. In other words the National Party is conceding that the homeland system has been a resounding failure.

Unfortunately, however, in its wake the apartheid monster has spawned several Frankensteins who seem hell-bent on forging ahead with the policies that put emphasis on the surface differences amongst our people rather than on our common features that we are all South Africans and that the whole of the country belongs to us all. Chiefs as the people who did take part in the perpetuation of the policy divide and rule have a moral duty to work towards the elimination of all vestiges of tribalism and racism. In resolving to make the Transvaal province one region for Contralesa purposes we are making a statement to the effect that we are committed to doing away with the Pretoria-imposed border-posts. This, however, is not enough; we need to do more.

The negotiation process is irreversible. Everyone who has an interest in a negotiated settlement knows that to win or retain power one needs allies. Now, as we stress the need for reconciliation, and as it is imperative that we forgive past transgressions, we dare not forget who sacrificed to the extent that we are where we are today, we also dare not forget who inflicted so much harm on the people of South Africa.

These things I say because while the liberation movement is fighting for one-man-one vote in a unitary South Africa where the rights of the individual are paramount, the National Party is still somewhat opposed to one-man-one vote, and is advocating the elevation and retention of groups rights. If we are not to have one-man-one vote, and if we are to agree to the retention of group rights it would mean the struggle has been waged in vain for anything else will mean apartheid.

Before the liberation movement was unbanned it was arguably excusable for certain homeland-based organisations to be formed. The excuse was that the people in the homelands needed vehicles in which they could further their political aims. Now that the national organisations are free there is no more justification for the existence of homeland-based political parties. A political party based in the Transkei of Ciskei is inevitably bound to be a Xhosa dominated organisation, the same would be the case with a party based in Venda in that it would be made up of mainly Venda-speaking people. Tribalism would thus be difficult, if not downright impossible, to prevent from developing even in this era of change. In short members of Contralesa who would be party to such homeland-based organisations, especially those that may be in the process of being formed at this stage of the advent of negotiations, would be violating the very basis of the founding of Contralesa - which is the unity of all the people of South Africa. For should there arise a spate of such organisations De Klerk's advocacy of groups rights would be seen to be having some credence.

More ominous, however, would be the felling of the flames of tribal-based faction fights in the whole of South Africa. It is our duty as Contralesa members, therefore, to make sure that no one in the oppressed section of the South African population is heard to be advocating the protection of so-called minority or group rights. Let us not be seen or heard to be advocating the perpetuation of the splintering of the people.

Our success as Contralesa members lies in our working hand-in-hand with our people through their organisations. Let us be seen to be one with the people and no longer be viewed as tools of the enemy. Let us encourage the building of the peoples' organisation in our communities so that the activities of the people are conducted in a disciplined and co-ordinated manner. A traditional leader must make his task to identify the leadership, in his community, of the youth, the students, the workers, the women, the professionals and the residents in general so that he is at all times aware of their needs. There is a growing tendency throughout the country of groups of persons styling themselves the local members and leaders of the people's organisations, who will hoist high their banners and flags, while at the same time they will be busy committing acts of anarchy and vandalism in our communities. A traditional leader who works closely with the people's structures will be in a position to know who the genuine leaders are and who the wolves in sheep's clothes are.

No single grouping in a given community has the right to decide for others as to what kind of action is to be taken in dealing with a specific problem. Each sector is required to consult and listen to the views of others before a particular form of action can be expected to be carried out by all. The liberation movement has not said and has never said traditional leadership must be done away with. What has been called for is the democratisation of the institution. What this means is that the people must be consulted and a decision taken democratically before it can be implemented. It means a traditional leader must be the voice of the people and not that of the people must be subjected to his whims.

Like any other organisation the strength of Contralesa will depend on how effective its branches are. Co-operation with the community-based organisations will be possible only if we have effective branch committees at local level. There are very many issues that are the subject of debate as we prepare for the formulation of national policies on a vast range of topics.

The institution of traditional leadership itself is a subject of debate. There are those who feel it has outlived its usefulness and there are those who still find it necessary to retain the institution because of various reasons. The involvement of Traditional leaders themselves is vital in this debate. The future of traditional leadership will also be determined by the manner in which we allow ourselves to be perceived by the people i.e. whether we are seen as stumbling blocks on the way to freedom, prosperity and spiritual development or whether we are viewed as vehicles towards those goals. In all the debates and discussion on a local government system that is to be adopted branch committees, regional committees and the National Executive Committee of Contralesa must be represented.

The question of land is another field in which we need to participate. Nobody knows what system of land tenure will best suit the coming South Africa. What we all know, however, is that the present system is not acceptable. Even with repeal of the Land Acts, whose imminence has been recently announced, the biggest percentage of the land will be in the hands of the few whites who bought it for themselves. The question that still has to be answered is: "From whom did they buy the land and for how much?" In our tradition the Land is a God-given right over which no price can be placed. It belongs to the people as a whole. The question is, therefore, whether we want it to be privatised or to remain in the ownership of the people. At the same time as a developing country the new South Africa will have been exposed to the commercial values that have been placed on land especially in urban areas and in the areas that have been used for mass production of food for the nation. Our traditions and values can only be adapted to the developing scenario by a vigorous engagement by Contralesa members in the ongoing constitutional debate.

South Africa, non-racial as it will be in the future, is an African country with a majority African population. Its people are a people who believe in certain norms, customs and traditions. A future constitution will necessarily have to take cognisance of the fact that there are customs which are peculiar to our Africanness. Some of these are clearly harmful to the health of individuals, some are oppressive especially to the fairer sex, while others are good. The former will clearly have to be done away with while the good ones will have to be retained. As people who are used to adjudicating on such matters Contralesa members are better placed to assist in the selection of those that have to be retained and those that have to be cast away into the past of suffocation and oppression.

Whilst the institution of hereditary traditional leadership lasts Contralesa believes that in order for it to retain its authenticity it must be handled in a manner that does not offend the values that our fore-bears held dear. In the wake of apartheid depositions, banishments, detention and jailing of traditional leaders became the order of the day. On the other hand replacements in the form of complaint and semi-authentic traditional leaders became the norm. Initially this was perpetrated directly by colonial authorities, later by the forces of national oppression and latterly by homeland political rulers. The latter perfected the scheme to the extent that it became the norm for a chief minister or a prime minister or a president to give himself a cloak of legitimacy by either applying for chieftainship in Pretoria or by making himself a chief. In the result the homelands are festured with illegitimate chiefs who are self-made and vicious. In the national launch of September 1990 a resolution was taken that political rulers, especially in the homelands, should desist from interfering in the succession of traditional leaders. This is a matter that must be entirely in the hands of the relevant royal houses and communities. Contralesa must help in this regard by speeding up the compilation of the genealogical trees of all the members at branch level so that when disputes arise we are in a position to sort out the pretenders from the real leaders.

Let me use this opportunity to remind all that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa is an organisation for all persons of royal blood regardless of sex or position. Were it not for the fact that we live in an abnormal society we would be saying with all the confidence that it is not a political organisation but some sort of union whose primary aim is to reinstate and purify the status of traditional leaders with due regard to the changing norms in our way of living. But due to the fact that we are also in the main taking it upon ourselves to unite all the tribal communities of our people into one South African nation, we are inevitably bound to encounter opposition from personages whose political survival depends entirely on the fragmentation of the people along tribal lines. We are therefore constrained to admit that we do involve ourselves in the politics of the day.

Our work, however, would be that much easier if all the political leaders in the homelands were cognisant of the fact that they are not precluded from being members of Contralesa i.e. of course those that are of royal blood. It would not be a question of a president or chief minister engaging himself in partisan politics. The very fact that a traditional leader is a homeland leader is political involvement in itself — but it is the wrong type of political involvement. I therefore want to appeal to all persons of royal blood in leadership positions in the homelands to see their way clear in joining Contralesa and putting their full weight behind the organisation. They will thus be in a position to formulate policies that will promote the interests of their people in that they will be interacting with the people's organisations at grass-roots level.

I wish to once again spell it out that Contralesa is a no-partisan and non aligned organisation. It is not an affiliate of the ANC, PAC, AZAPO, UDF or any other organisation. It is, however, a democratic organisation that believes that the best dispensation for all in South Africa is the creation of a unitary, free, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. We also believe that all persons opposed to apartheid are entitled to be involved in the fight for the removal of racism and national oppression. We are guided, therefore, by the wishes and aspirations of the people over whom we rule.

As traditional leaders we are to conduct ourselves in accordance with the will of the majority of the people.

By definition Contralesa is an organisation whose constituency is homeland based. Some of our members have a past that evokes feelings of anger and hatred. They are all welcome in Contralesa not because it affords them refuge but because it affords them an opportunity to prove themselves that they have changed and are mending their ways. Let us all therefore be tolerant of each other and be patient. If we are to succeed in bringing about the reconciliation which is sorely needed for the new South Africa amongst all races, we need first to be able to make peace amongst ourselves. Let us not allow our past differences lead to the breaking up of the organisation. It has been proved that straight talk, consultation and negotiation are far better at resolving problems than confrontation, in-fighting and breakaways or splinter - group formations. Contralesa is fully aware of the fact that there are already too many organisations in the country each of which claims to be the authentic one. Let us, therefore, do all we can to ensure that our differences are discussed and thrashed out peacefully.

In conclusion I wish you all the success in your endeavours to build this organisation in this part of my country — an organisation which, well handled, is possessed of a potential for good that is beyond measure.

Unfortunately in Natal the majority of chiefs in the area are members of Inkatha. Reports coming to us indicate very strongly that Inkatha chiefs view people, who hold political beliefs that are contrary to those of Inkatha, in their areas, as their enemies and such deserve to be attacked if they do not change their allegiance. This type of practice is totally anathema to proper chiefly rule.

The violence in the Reef is on the face of it being perpetrated in the main by young men who came from the rural areas in search of employment so that they can provide maintenance and schooling for their families and children. These are people who are normally loyal and respectful to their chiefs. Contralesa believes that if all chiefs in South Africa were to speak with one voice, in unison, and tell their people that the violence is serving the interests of those forces or individuals whose political survival depends on the continued existence of a divided black community, the violence would definitely come to an end.

The incipient feeling, (which is of course sponsored by what is viewed as the "third force" in the conflict) amongst the participants in the Reef violence that Zulus are traditional enemies of the Xhosas can again be stamped out if traditional leaders, not only from Natal and Transkei/Ciskei but from all the other homelands, were to be heard and seen to be preaching the message of their being South Africans rather than being members of separate tribal groups.

An involvement by the South African Traditional Leaders in endeavours to put to an end the current violence would, we believe, help depoliticise the conflict so that an end of the fighting will not mean the defeat of one political organisation by another.

4. The Role of Chiefs in the Negotiation Process

Chiefs, as people who deal on a day-to-day basis with the affairs of the rural communities, definitely have a role to play in the process aimed at the introduction of a new constitution takes cognisance of the African dimension of our society.

The Contralesa view is that a provision ought to be made in the new constitution for South African chiefs to elect among themselves people who will represent their interests as chiefs in the legislative assembly, possibly in the Upper House or Second Chamber if there are two.

Contralesa supports the establishment of a Patriotic Front made up of all of organisations committed to the ideal of a democratic, free, unitary, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. Such a move would definitely help reduce the points of differences at a subsequent Assembly. As traditional leaders of the people Contralesa cannot afford not to be represented in all of these stages.

5. Homelands Administration in the Transitional Period

Contralesa believes firmly that an interim form of government is a prerequisite for the proper ushering in of the negotiation process. Such a government will have to be neutral and not be simultaneously part of the negotiation process save to be an overseer of same.

The same applies to homelands administration. A lot of homeland rulers indicated an interest in taking part in the negotiation process. This means that one expects to see them taking part in the All-Party Conference and, possibly, in the Patriotic Front.

Just as the National Party is expected to relinquish its status as the government and get into the negotiation process as a political organisation, homeland rulers will have to come down from their positions as government and compete with the national organisations for the support of the people. At the present moment their support even inside the homelands is dubious because it has never been really tested. Those rulers who are in power because they have been voted for have attained their positions on the basis of tribal political support.

If the homeland rulers join the negotiation process in their capacities as such they will be doing so as tribal leaders thereby introducing tribalism in the effort.

Nevertheless if they want to they should be free to test their strength by contesting with the National organisations so that their mandate is actually determined. Contralesa proposes that the administration of the homelands should be depoliticised so that instead of having political heads of the territories and government departments, we have administrators who are appointed on the basis of their being experts in the given departments. In such a situation freedom of association and expression can be guaranteed so that the people can freely decide for themselves the organisations that represent them with viable alternative political programmes.

CONSTITUTION

CONGRESS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. PREAMBLE

We, the traditional leaders of South Africa, under the guidance of the God of our fore-fathers, realising that:

- 1.1 we, as members of the oppressed and exploited community have been abused and alienated in the violent homeland system;
- 1.2 our people have been robbed of their political, economic and social rights, of their land, and of their rights to self-determination, by a succession of Dutch/British colonialism and now, by apartheid;
- 1.3 we need to look to our fore-fathers and their heirs, who fought against colonialism and apartheid, to define our duty and the role we are to play in the ongoing national liberation struggle for a free, unitary, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa;
- 1.4 in perpetuating the evil system of apartheid, especially in the form of homelands, the regime has been, and still is, applying the old and outdated policy of divide and rule, in order to weaken power of the people and also to suppress their aspirations for the achievement of a fair, just and equitable order;
- 1.5 the anti-apartheid forums inside the country are divided along ideological lines and are thereby weakened in their power to make a significant impact on the system;

Believe that:-

- 1.6 the aspirations of our people can only be met under a democratic state based on the will of the people in a unitary, non-racial, non-sexist, free and democratic South Africa;
- 1.7 all persons should enjoy full equal rights of citizenship;
- 1.8 all persons should have the right to participate in all organs of government;
- 1.9 the land should be re-distributed amongst the people in an equitable and economic manner;

Therefore resolve:-

- 1.10 to form an organisation of all democratically minded traditional leaders in South Africa;
- 1.11 to refrain from aligning ourselves, as an organisation, with any particular organisation to the exclusion of any other organisation.

2. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA).

3. LEGAL STATUS

Contralesa shall be a juristic person capable of acquiring rights, incurring obligations, entering into legal transactions, suing and being sued in its own name.

4. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- 4.1 To reinstate, protect and promote the institution of chieftainship, its traditional status and bonding function in the community;
- 4.2 To organise and unite all traditional leaders of our Country;
- 4.3 To take up the demands of our communities jointly with them;
- 4.4 To fight against tribalism, ethnicity and all apartheid instigated conflicts amongst our people;
- 4.5 To fight for the eradication of the homeland system and for the restoration of South African citizenship to all our people;
- 4.6 To build, develop and deepen the spirit of free exchange of culture activities among our people in pursuance of the building and development of a true South African culture and national talent;
- 4.7 To educate our members and their people about the historical background of those traditional leaders who engaged the colonialists and the racists in wars and battles in order to save this land, and of those who made material contributions to the welfare and development of the people;
- 4.8 To set up a scholarship fund that will help the children of traditional leaders obtain an education that will enable them to cope with the fast developing trends of the modern world;
- 4.9 To assist members in matters relating to land arising from their depositions as traditional leaders;
- 4.10 To run projects and self-help schemes together with like-minded organisations that will advance all communities and enhance the good image of Contralesa;
- 4.11 To set up a register that will contain the genealogical tree of traditional leaders in our respective communities;
- 4.12 Generally to take all necessary action to attain the aims and objectives of Contralesa.

5. MEMBERSHIP

- 5.1 All persons shall be eligible for membership as set out hereunder, provided such person subscribe to the beliefs, resolutions, aims and objectives of Contralesa;
- 5.2 Membership shall be open to all traditional leaders irrespective of sex on the paternal side;
- 5.3 Associate membership shall be open to any other person as approved by the General Council of Contralesa;

5.4 Any person may be invited by the General Council to become an honorary member provided such person has made a significant contribution towards the aims and objectives of Contralesa;

5.5 The General Council shall have the discretion to refuse to admit any person to membership;

5.6 Each ordinary member shall pay to the organisation such annual subscriptions as may be determined by the Annual General Meeting. Such membership shall be renewable annually upon payment of the annual subscription;

5.7 Only paid-up members shall be eligible to vote or to stand for elections;

5.8 Membership shall be terminated by failure to comply with the requirements for membership, by resignation or by expulsion from Contralesa.

6. STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS

There shall be:-

- 6.1 National Executive Committee (NEC)
- 6.2 General Council (G C)
- 6.3 Annual General Meeting (AGM)
- 6.4 Regional Councils
- 6.5 Local Branches

6.1 NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The National Executive Committee shall consist of:-

6.1.1 President, who shall:

- 6.1.1.1 preside over meetings of the NEC, GC and AGM;
- 6.1.1.2 in general act as spokesman for the organisation;
- 6.1.1.3 perform such other functions and duties, and exercise such other powers, as may be assigned to him, with the provisions of the constitution, by the NEC;

6.1.1.4 ensure that the constitution is adhered to.

6.1.2 Vice President, who shall:-

- 6.1.2.1 in general act on behalf of the President in his absence;
- 6.1.2.2 assist the President in carrying out his duties;

6.1.3 General Secretary, who shall:-

- 6.1.3.1 convene meetings of the NEC, GC and AGM;

- 6.1.3.2 in general handle the administration aspect of the organisation;
- 6.1.3.3 be responsible for public relations and dissemination of information pertaining to the organisation.
- 6.1.4 Assistant General Secretary, who shall:-
 - 6.1.4.1 assist the general secretary;
 - 6.1.4.2 record proceedings in meetings of the NEC, GC and AGM.
- 6.1.5 Treasurer, who shall:-
 - 6.1.5.1 manage and control the financial affairs of the organisation;
 - 6.1.5.2 on the recommendation of the NEC, be empowered to open and close any banking, building society or similar account, and designate at least two persons who shall have signing powers on the account, provided that two signatures shall be required for any withdrawals or debts made against the account;
 - 6.1.5.3 keep proper books of accounts;
 - 6.1.5.4 annually a balance sheet, income and expenditure account to be prepared before the Annual General Meeting.
- 6.1.6 National Organiser, who shall:-
 - in general co-ordinate and monitor the activities of the Regional Councils and assist in the organisation of Local Branches.
- 6.1.7 Director of Projects, who shall-
 - be responsible for the development of communities, and initiate and direct projects to this end.

2 GENERAL COUNCIL

- 6.2.1 To act on behalf and in the name of the AGM during adjournment of the latter subject to its approval at its next session.
- 6.2.2 The General Council shall be made up of six (6) delegates per region;
- 6.2.3 The General Council shall have power, inter-alia, to determine and prescribe projects and/or undertakings considered consistent with the aims and objectives of Contralesa for implementation and administration by the National Executive Committee.
- 6.2.4 The General Council shall meet at least twice a year.

6.3 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

- 6.3.1 The AGM shall be the supreme authority of Contralesa.
- 6.3.2 It shall consist of all ordinary members of Contralesa.
- 6.3.3 It shall be held in or about the month of September each
- 6.3.4 it shall elect the National Executive Committee every three (3) years, provided that the AGM shall have power to elect a new NEC before the expiry of three (3) years.

6.4 REGIONAL COUNCILS

- 6.4.1 There shall be four (4) Regional Councils made up of the Transvaal, Natal, Transkei and Ciskei, and the Northwestern Cape and Orange Free State.
- 6.4.2 Regional Council shall consist of three (3) representatives of each Local Branch falling within the area of its jurisdiction.
- 6.4.3 The Regional Council shall have a Regional Executive Committee consisting of a Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Director of Projects and four (4) additional members.
- 6.4.4 The Regional Council shall have the function of co-ordinating activities pertaining to the Local Branches falling within its area of jurisdiction.
- 6.4.5 The Regional Council shall meet at least four (4) times a year.

6.5 LOCAL BRANCHES

- 6.5.1 The Local Branch shall consist of all ordinary members in a particular community.
- 6.5.2 Each Local Branch shall elect a committee consisting of a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, a Projects Officer and three (3) additional members.
- 6.5.3 The Local Branch shall be empowered to set up sub-committees to deal with specific local issues.
- 6.5.4 A Local Branch shall meet at least four (4) times a year.
- 6.5.5 Each Local Branch shall hold an Annual General Meeting of its membership before Contralesa's Annual General Meeting.
- 6.5.6 Each Local Branch shall send its Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer to represent it in the Regional Council.
- 6.5.7 A Local Branch shall manage and be responsible for its own affairs.

7. FINANCE

- 7.1 The funds of Contralesa shall consist of monies received through subscriptions, levies and donations.
- 7.2 Aid funds shall be administered exclusively by the National Executive Committee, save for such funds that may from time to time be allocated to the Regional Councils and/or Local Branches.
- 7.3 The National Executive Committee, the Regional Councils and Local Branches shall operate banking accounts at a registered commercial bank in the name of Contralesa, followed immediately thereafter by words clearly identifying the structure concerned.
- 7.4 Such accounts shall be operated by the relevant Treasurers and either the President/Chairman or the General Secretary.
- 7.5 The Treasurer shall keep proper books of accounts.
- 7.6 The Treasurer shall deposit all monies received as soon as possible, but not later than two (2) consecutive business days after receipt, into Contralesa's account.
- 7.7 The Treasurer shall be entitled to withdraw monies to maintain petty cash float of an amount to be decided upon by the relevant Executive Committee.
- 7.8 There shall be an auditor appointed by the General Council to audit or check the income and expenditure of the organisation.

8. PROCEDURE

- 8.1 Standard rules of procedure shall apply in the conduct of meetings.
- 8.2 Agenda of meetings shall be circulated to members at least fourteen (14) days before the meeting.
- 8.3 Voting by eligible members shall be by a show of hands, or by secret ballot, as the particular meeting may decide, provided that voting in the election of the NEC shall be by secret ballot.
- 8.4 In the event of a dead-lock the President/Chairman may exercise a casting vote.
- 8.5 Amendment of the Constitution shall be at the Annual General Meeting only.
- 8.6 Notice of such amendment shall be sent in writing to the NEC at least a month prior to the AGM.
- 8.7 Any such amendment shall not be deemed to be passed unless approved by two thirds of the members present who have voting rights.
- 8.8 All meetings of Contralesa shall be open to members of the public, who may participate in the deliberations only, provided that the relevant Executive Committee shall have power to exclude members of the public.

9. DISCIPLINE

- 9.1 Carry out or omission committed in contravention of the provision of the Constitution of the organisation shall be regarded as a contravention of discipline and shall be liable to necessary remedial action.
- 9.2 A member shall be guilty of misconduct or contravention of discipline if he/she:-
 - 9.2.1 Contravenes any provision of the constitution;
 - 9.2.2 Disregards, disobeys or makes wilful default in carrying out, an order given by the Local Branch, Regional Council, General Council, NEC or AGM.
 - 9.2.3 Mis-appropriates funds belonging to Contralesa or issued in the name of Contralesa;
 - 9.2.4 Publicly criticizes, publishes or causes to be published, or draws up any document or writing or delivers a public speech, to prejudice Contralesa and its leadership.
- 9.3 Proved contraventions of discipline shall be followed by immediate punishment, by reprimand, reprimand and a fine, suspension.

10. PUBLICATIONS

There shall be a newspaper or magazine or any publication issued by the organisation enhancing the aims and objectives of the organisation.

11. INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

In case of doubt as to the meaning of this constitution and/or any regulations framed hereunder any properly convened General Council meeting shall be the final arbiter and its decision shall be binding upon all members subject to the approval of the AGM.

12. DISSOLUTION

- 12.1 In the event of dissolution of the organisation impending the decision will be taken by a two thirds majority of paid-up members either for or against such dissolution.
- 12.2 At the time of dissolution there shall be trustees who shall:-
 - 12.2.1 have power to buy or sell Contralesa property after due consultation with the AGM;
 - 12.2.2 supervise, in consultation with the AGM, the disposal of the available funds.

13. GENERAL

Any matters not specifically provided for herein shall be determined and dealt with by the National Executive Committee by a simple majority of members present.