

18 March, 1992

Attention: Rev. J.J Mohapi, chairperson of the sub-committee on the King of the Zulus and other traditional leaders.

Presentation of oral evidence to the sub-committee

1. It is hereby reported that the evidence given in this document is an enthusiastic response to the request of your sub-committee that Brig. O.J. Gqozo "facilitate a delegation of six traditional leaders from" Ciskei, "representative of the different groups" to give oral evidence to the sub-committee on the issue of the role of the King of the Zulus and other traditional leaders in the negotiations process", on the one hand.

1.1 Again, it is hereby announced that the evidence hereby submitted to your sub-committee is an earnest reaction to the deliberate overlooking of the most senior traditional leader in Ciskei, by the chairman of the Ciskei Council of State, in the matter of democratically facilitating a delegation of the six traditional leaders you urgently requested him to carry out in your relevant communication dated 9 March 1992, on the other. I refer to His Majesty Maxhobayakhawuleza, Bangilizwe Sandile, King of the Ciskei Xhosa-speaking people.

1.2 Yet again, His Majesty, suffering the displeasure resulting from this obviously serious act of intentionally taking no notice of him, on the one hand, whilst being honestly anxious to facilitate a delegation to participate in the current historic negotiation process on the other, felt impelled, in the circumstances, to support the negotiation process by co-operating in this regard. Accordingly, by virtue of his traditional and lawful rank and status in traditional Xhosa culture and in terms of his prerogative as King, it pleased him to forward to your sub-committee the names of the ff. princes of royal blood and traditional rulers:-

1. Siphso Mangindi Burns-Ncamashe
2. Doyle Mpuhle Jongilanga
3. Justice Thandathu Mabandla
4. Simon Mthobeni Hebe
5. Hamilton Mxolisi Makinana, His Majesty being **first and topmost** among them.

2. Further, this delegation wishes to place on record its deep appreciation of the significant and noble act of wanting the views of traditional rulers on the participation of the Zulu King and other traditional leaders in CODESA on the part of your sub-committee. In this connection our delegation wishes to state as follows.

2.1 We accept that CODESA is a fit and proper instrument for effective use in transforming our common fatherland, South Africa, into a real and true democracy;

2.2 We concur that all - not some of - the people of South Africa, deserve to be accorded the right to contribute to the negotiating process of CODESA on a meaningful basis;

2.3 We support the structuring of CODESA with political parties, political organisations, movements and administrations, and fully support the dimension of the inclusion of democratically elected representatives of traditional leaders as fully-fledged active participants in the negotiation process of CODESA.

2.4 We wish to request the sub-committee investigating possible participation in CODESA by the King of the Zulus and other traditional leaders of South Africa to regard the traditional leaders of South Africa as being co-ordinate and co-extensive with political formations operating in South Africa as they are part of the broad liberatory and reformative

movement.

2.5 We wish to, point out that the time-honoured institution of chieftainship, like political or economic institutions, is one kind of social institution, a view which derives from W.G. Runciman in his Social Science and Political Theory.

2.6 Further, we wish to state that the traditional leaders naturally manifest economic behaviour as well as political behaviour characteristic of social behaviour in economic or political institutions which are commonly recognised as social institutions.

2.7 On that score the traditional leaders in South Africa, in the main, advocate a formation to be a distinct, corporate body constituting a single constituency co-terminus with the political parties, organisations and administrations participating in CODESA. They should on no account be excluded under the mere penalty of happening to be of royal descent.

2.8 Furthermore, no one need fear that traditional rulers in the CODESA contexture will promote particular ethnic or religious loyalties against the common political and economic goals of CODESA

2.9 As elsewhere in Africa and beyond, traditional rulers who have evidently benefitted by receiving sound education and effective training[∞] participate in the government of their countries - so in our common fatherland, South Africa, we advocate the policy of engaging all suitably equipped persons among them in local, regional and national levels of government. A good number of them have wide experience in executive positions in the government of their territories albeit on the separate development basis which is in any case anathema. We therefore plead for the consideration of the advisability, by your sub-committee, of the transfer of the training, education and wide experience of those traditional rulers who possess these

gifts to the national government level, as well as the harnessing of the many potential others ^(TRADITIONAL LEADERS) known to be capable of serving this country in responsible positions in the envisaged polity in the new South Africa.

2.10 In the light of the foregoing arguments, we are convinced that traditional leaders who are fittingly and properly equipped for full participation in CODESA should be granted the opportunity to offer their inputs in the negotiation process of CODESA

3. Regarding Kings, we support the view that they all attend CODESA as observers.

S.M. Burns-Ncamashe