

# CONTRALESA

## The Dawn of Freedom

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Congress of Traditional  
Leaders of South Africa



# FAX COVER SHEET

Please deliver this document to addressee AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

to: *Codesa Management Committee* DATE: *30th Jan 1992*  
 Attn: *Sub-committee for Traditional Leaders* FAX NO: *397-2211*

FROM: *V. T. Sifora*

Please receive this page and ~~-----~~ <sup>14</sup> pages following.

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NOTES/COMMENTS: Greetings:.....

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Thanks & Regards  
*[Signature]*

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## The Dawn of Freedom

Congress of Traditional  
Leaders of South Africa

4 Fernside St.  
Festiva House  
Marshalltown 2107

Box 61500  
Marshalltown 2107  
Tel: (011) 884-1002

THE CO-CHAIRPERSONS  
Codessa  
P.O. Box 307  
ISANDO  
1600

20<sup>th</sup> 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 Codessa, through you, gentlemen, to at least allow traditional leaders to take part in Codessa 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 Codessa.

/2. ....

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 Contralasa 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.

/3. ....

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 garner 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 Codessa 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 Codessa 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 organized 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 Codessa, 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.

/5. ....

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

It is completely inappropriate for us to be 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.

**MEMORANDUM**

TO : CODESA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE  
CC. : LEADERS TAKING PART IN CODESA  
ATT. : SUB-COMMITTEE FOR TRADITIONAL LEADERS  
SUBJECT: PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA  
DATE : 1991-01-27

1. **BACKGROUND:**

1.1 Our organisation wrote and sent a memorandum to all the leaders of the organisations which were invited in the Preparatory Meeting of the All Party Congress/Multi Party Talks/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting which was held on 29-30 October 1991.

1.2 The matter was not raised at the Preparatory Meeting but was discussed indirectly only after the delegation of the IFP raised an issue of King Zwelithini Bekuzulu's delegation.

/2.....

- 1.3 The issue of representation of Traditional Leaders could not be resolved and the members decided to refer the matter to Codesa for a decision.
- 1.4 Codesa 1 was held on 20-21 December 1991 and strange enough the issue was not on the agenda. However, it was raised by delegates and to our surprise it was referred back to Management Committee for a decision. This was done notwithstanding the fact that the President had sent another Memorandum to the Chairpersons with a view that we should be heard.
- 1.5 We have reason to believe that the Management Committee at its meeting held on 20-01-1992 discussed this issue and resolved to refer it to its sub-committee.
- 1.6 We further have reason to believe that the Working Group of Codesa 1 met on the 20 January 1992 with a view to schedule their work.

2. **MOTIVATION:**

- 2.1 The Traditional Leaders are the born leaders



of all the peoples of South Africa in accordance with tradition and culture. The people of S.A. respect their leaders and likewise the Traditional Leaders have vested interest in their subjects. This is in accordance with the principle of allegiance. This bond and mutual trust existed from time immemorial and notwithstanding vicious attacks to destroy or undermine it - it exists.

2.2 We have used a term Traditional Leader to include Kings i.e. those who are often referred to as Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs and Headmen. We use the term used by the Government instead of vernacular e.g. Nkosi, Kgosi etc.

2.3 In view of what has been said under 2.1 above when the Colonialists arrived here, the Traditional Leaders were rulers over the territory which is now the subject of negotiation.

2.4 When the land was taken away, the Traditional Leaders and their people fought and because when they were fighting they did so against the United Force they were defeated and the land of the forebears was taken away and as a

result the Traditional Leaders and the people found themselves beggars in the land of their forebears.

2.5 The Traditional rule was from thenceforth dramatically curtailed and in some instances completely destroyed.

2.6 When the Traditional Leaders and their people were not involved in the Convention for the Creation of the Union of S.A. of 1910, they and their subjects bitterly protested and form their Union in 1912.

2.7 The Government soon realised that it could not administer the affairs of the People of S.A. without according the Traditional Leaders recognition. Because of the previous experience the Govenner General was given a power to be "a Supreme Chief of all the Africans" in terms of the then Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927. It should be remembered that during this period the Union was still under Britain and in view of the fact that the British Monarch was respected by the Governors, our Kings were accorded an inferior status to that of the British monarch and referred to as

"Paramount Chiefs".

2.8 Further constitutional development took place in 1951 when the promotion of Self Government Act was passed by the S.A. Parliament. The Government realised the fact that it could not effect any new constitutional development without the involvement of Traditional Leaders and had no choice but to recognise them and in fact caused them to head the Territorial Authorities i.e. the Homelands. This explains why the first Chief Ministers were traditional leaders. There is no doubt that without the full participation of Traditional Leaders in the creation of the structures they would fail.

2.9 We have quoted only the few abovementioned constitutional developments to prove that there are no genuine negotiations that could take place in this country without the full participation of Traditional Leaders.

2.10 We understand that the reluctance to invite the Traditional Leaders is because some people regard it as "interest group" whose objectives is restricted to the interest of the group. We have indicated above that the involvement of Traditional Leaders is

relevant in any constitutional development in this country. Our interest is not restricted to the interest of the Group. It is well-nigh irrefutable that we have vested interest in the land. It is a fact that we administer the areas under our jurisdiction. Nobody can deny that the overwhelming majority of the people of S.A. still regard us as their leaders and accordingly look upon ourselves to lead and assist them to regain freedom.

2.11 We would like to bring to your attention that there are various political parties that canvass and have support of the people. However, in view of the conflict between rival political parties and sometimes in view of the attitudes of some governments some of our people have decided to adopt a wait and see attitude and some have not as yet decided to join any of the political parties. Their interest should be taken into consideration. We have constant communications with them through our customary gatherings. We know what they want and we believe that they can also make contributions in the rebuilding of their country. There is no doubt we, their born leaders are best able to voice their views.

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2.16 We realize that one of the main objectives of Codans is to accommodate the views of all the Africans. In accordance with this objective the National Executive Committee has resolved that in view of the fact that some Traditional Leaders have not as yet decided to join the organization coupled with the fact it is necessary that all Traditional Leaders of S.A. should form a single delegation. We believe that separate delegations to represent each ethnic group is not possible and in fact it is also objectionable on the basis that such groupings would further tribalism.

2.13 Furthermore all the items in Codans agenda and which are now going to be discussed fully by the Working Groups, directly affect our institution and like governments we have vested interests in making contributions for the benefit of our beloved country and all peoples living in it.

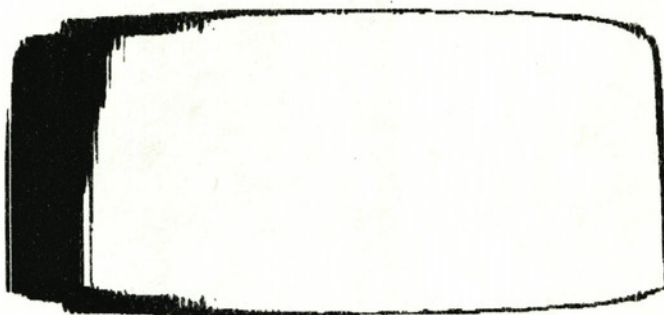
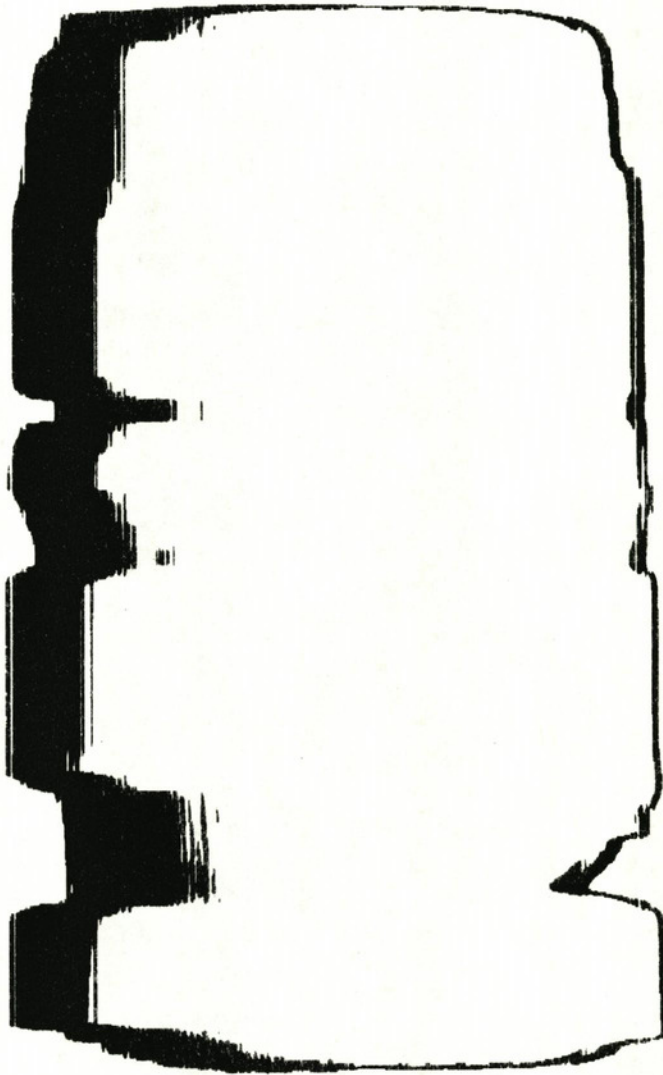
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with respect an anomaly that needs to be

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN CODANS IS

### 3. RECOMMENDATIONS:

We accordingly strongly recommend as follows:-

- 3.1 THAT Traditional Leaders should be invited to attend CODESA and be accorded full participation.
- 3.2 THAT Traditional Leaders should form a single delegation.
- 3.3 THAT the delegation should be comprised of Traditional Leaders all over S.A.
- 3.4 THAT the delegation should be elected by Traditional Leaders on the basis of proportional representation.
- 3.5 THAT Management Committee should obtain statistics of Traditional Leaders from Governments and on the basis of information request Traditional Leaders to send all Regional representative(s). (Twelve (12) names of delegates and five (5) names of advisors should be sought and also twenty (20) Traditional Leaders to represent them in the Working Groups i.e. 4x5 = 20.) Accordingly representation should comprise of thirty seven (37) people in all and the number spread over South Africa



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proportionally.

- 3.7 THAT once all the 37 names have been received by Management a member of Management Committee should convene a Meeting to brief Traditional Leaders and also to preside over the nomination of a leader of Traditional Leaders delegation.
- 3.8 THAT in addition to the aforesaid the kings should be invited as dignitaries to attend CODESA 2 and be accorded only an observer status.

PREPARED BY: 

CHIEF M. MOKOENA : N.E.C. MEMBER

APPROVED FOR SUBMISSION: 

CHIEF S. P. MOLEMISA : PRESIDENT



ATT. MR. ANDRE LE ROUX

ORAL SUBMISSION

FROM CHIEF S. P. HLOKOMISA

19/08/92

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Congress of TRaditional Leaders  
of South Africa  
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20 December 1991

The Co-Chairpersons

Codesa

P.O. Box 307

ISANDO

1600

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