The paradox of the *Azanian*[1] (South African) traditional leadership: labour reserves' governance and their economic development

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Introduction

The paper will attempt to summarise the role of the traditional leadership in governance and facilitating the labour reserves/rural economic development in South Africa. In doing so, it will start by briefly scrutinise the historical emergence of traditional leaders and their role. The paper will also look at the role played by the traditional leaders in the rise and the entrenchment of industrialisation in South Africa. In addition, it will re-look at the function played in the post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, the paper will focus in some of the challenges faced by the traditional leaders and possible solution that can be considered.

This paper is written in time when the normal structures of traditional leadership are being challenged and that raises concern of whether the outcome will be address to address the fundamentals that succumb the whole institution. Another concern is whether the current debate about the recognition of the eleven chiefs will come with something different or it is just another ploy that is geared to garner legitimacy or maybe, the fight to be included in the capitalist system. Whilst South Africa remains the shinning example that must be simulated to other countries in the same states such as South Africa but the previously disadvantaged majority remain concerned. This concern arises out of hopes that 1994 was expected to be the turning point from their suffering that came as the result of colonisation that raised its ugly head in the form of land dispossession. Land dispossession cannot be clearly understood in the absence of traditional leadership, as they form part of the leadership of the indigenous populace. The effects of colonisation tended to quarantine traditional leadership in the rural areas, which are currently remain intact in same style of old apartheid state. Currently, South Africa has about the mid-2006 estimates from Statistics South Africa, the country's population stands over 47.4-million, from the census 2001 statistics that estimated 44.8-million. There are about 27, 8% of unemployed people inn the rural area of which consists of male 24,4% and female 32,4%. Rural areas also have 40,1%, of the non-urban economically active population , which 29,2% are male and 52,7% are female (Green Paper, 1995). Africans

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[1] Literally it means whom Jehovah hears and also refers to Azaniah the father of Jeshua who reached the covenant of separation from the laws of people of the land unto the law of Jah after they have been subjugated to oppressive laws and unrighteous laws (Nehemiah 9:36-38; 10: 1-29). It depicts the ancients Azanian/Nubian people (which Afrikan people in the southern of Aethiopia/Afrika form part) who were who were and still found in the regions of the Nile River.

are in the majority at 37.7-million, making up 79.5% of the total population. The white population is estimated at 4.4-million (9.2%), the coloured population at 4.2-million (8.9%) and the Indian/Asian population at 1.2-million (2.5%). South Africa is a country with moderately few major urban centres and a great deal of wide open space, where slightly above 50% of population live in urban areas. This maybe due to the outcomes of the forced migration to the cities to seek employment or better livelihood, as the land is dry and arid. Unemployment remains in the alarming rate of over 40%, which mostly affect the African people.

Background

In order for one to be in a better position of understanding the reasoning behind the migration of African populace to the urban areas, it will be wise to revisit the historical development that led people to opt for such an option instead of developing their areas of residences. Firstly, we need to note that history indicates that traditional leadership in part of *communal*[2] societies that were partly destroyed by white colonisers when they reached the shores of this mighty continent – *Ethiopia/Africa*[3]. Communal societies' leadership style was based on religion and family ties (Rodney, 1973: 22). The communalist communities operated under the auspices of *"ubuntu"* that is guided by the *theocratic principles*[4] and values. History tells us that the origins of African people in this part of the continent descended *from the north*[5] of the continent and moved downwards in different era.

Therefore, South African has experienced five eras of tribal and state formation that have marked the modern history. The pre-industrial era can be considered as the formative years of ancient empire to rise of King Shaka. The subjugation years of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of a colonial state and the reworking of ethnic identities tied to tribal political structures within an imperial context. The 1920s saw the rise of segregation and "retribalisation" as set out in legislation such as the 1920 Native Affairs Act and the 1927 Native Administration Act. Such legislations further bureaucraticised state administration of Africans and moved the country towards territorial segregation, which is defined by some scholars as a system of "decentralized despotism." The fourth era began with the Bantustan policies (such as the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act) of imposing apartheid, which

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[2]*Communalism* owned property collectively, work is done in collective and goods were shared out equally (Jack and Johnson, 1995:57).

[3] Ethiopianism conflates Aethiopia with Africa in general (Edmons, 2003:34).

[4] See Magema (1979:9-11 & 90) argues that the origin of African people in this south part of Africa shows that they are the branch of Israelites that believed and live theocratically values – refers to the rule of people-by-people for the Creator. Therefore, I will argue further that theocratic values are normally documented in 'totality' in the normal Bible. For example, the Ngoni such as Zulu people practiced the ceremony that resembles those that are documented in the Bible (Jeremiah 2:3) like the ceremony of the First Fruit.

[5] Magema (1979) argues that ten tribes of Ethiopia left the north part of Africa and went down to the south of the continent and the great majority of African inhabitants are Bantu, so called because of similarities in the many languages they speak. They are a mixture of Negro and Hamitic peoples who came from further North in a series of migrations and overran great areas. There are many physical types (Wrong, 1946: 372).

the former reserves would become sovereign nation-states. Apartheid was a system of tribalist social engineering and bureaucratic authoritarianism. The fifth era of ethnic and state formation began at least ten years ago with South Africa's first democratic elections. The new government inherited colonial tribal structures, some well over a century old. They also inherited a weakened economy, diminished state resources, and a host of seemingly intractable problems (Crais, 2006:721).

Map of Monomotapa (South Africa). Source: Shwabede A. Collection

The early kingdoms' history cite that in this part of the southern region of the continent - (which is referred today as South Africa), the kingdom that is known to be iron-using and state-building peoples , as early as the first millennium A .D., and that eventually led to the emergence in the 15th century of the empire which Europeans called Monomotapa. The term 'Zimbabwe' is being used here to designate the Zambezi / Limpopo cultures in the few centuries preceding the European arrival, because it was from the 11th to the 14th century that there flourished the societies whose most characteristic feature was the building of large stone palaces, known collectively as Zimbabwe Residue (Rodney, 1973:54). It is believed that the inhabitants of Zimbabwe between the 11th and 14th centuries were Sotho speaking but by the time the Portuguese arrived a Shona-speaking dynasty had taken control of most of the region. That was the Rozwi clan, which set up the state of Mutapa, between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. The ruler was known as the Mwene Mutapa, which apparently meant 'the great Lord of Mutapa' to his own followers and forms a single empire. Mwene Mutapa ruled from about 1415-1450, but the dynasty had already been growing prominent before that date. The capital was at first sited at Great Zimbabwe, and later moved north. What

was important was that the Mwene Mutapa appointed governors to rule over various localities outside the capital, in a manner similar to that of the Western Sudanic empires or the inter-lacustrine 'Bachwezi' states (Rodney, 1973:58).

The early Africans in the southern part of South Africa were spotted in this area before the arrivals of the white colonists in the 17th century in what is today called Cape Town were Khoisan. The literature on early kingdoms of the indigenous people in the continent of Africa shows that Kings and Queens ruled it (Magema, 1998; Callinicos, 1990: 5). *Imfecane Wars* destroyed these early kingdoms and later that was sealed by the arrival of western colonisers. The 19th century, saw the rise of Chiefs the victorious *King Shaka*[6] ka Senzangakhona Zulu *'who forced other Kings to abdicate their power*[7]*'* or face the mighty of the King. Those King who opted to abdicate they were given the status of being *chief/main* representative for King Shaka's newly forged Zulu Empire. Over an area of 12,000 sq. miles, population came to define themselves 'Ama-Zulu', and to abdicate their clan kingship to second place.

In addition, the victorious kingdom had power to control over spoils of war such as people, land and to select *chiefs/indunas* of which later became the aristocracy, s they enjoyed more power and privileges (see Callinicos, 1990:5; Giddens, 1971:27). During ranging of the *Mfecane* Wars, the Dutch settlers emerged in the 1600s with colonisation programme that altered the Africa subsistence society further. When the Africans return to their places from their areas of refuge, their territories were occupied by white trekkers and that started another bitter war for land dispossession/ *alienation*[8] of which was first experienced in the Cape between the Dutch and later the British, and then Natal between Zulus and the Dutch and the British (Wrong, 1946; Callinicos, 1990).

The era for racial subjugation

Prior to the South African industrial revolution of the late nineteenth century, *British and Dutch colonists participated in bartering exchange trade* but when they established themselves, traders began to demand *money*[9] (thus the introduction of *monetary system*) instead of goods (See Terreblanche, 2002: 155; Callinicos, 1990: 2; Giddens, 1971:162; Rodney, 1973:18). The *state*[10] passed a series of legislation to control the influx of African immigrant workers

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[6] King Shaka was born about the year 1787, and the impressive achievements attributed to him in his 40-year life span can only be briefed here. By 1816, he was head of a small Ama-Ngoni clan, the Ama-Zulu. Within a few years, he had re-organised it militarily — in terms of both weapons and the tactics and strategy of war— so that the Ama-Zulu clan became a feared fighting force. Through warfare and political manoeuvring , he united and commanded the Ama-Ngoni who had previously been divided into dozens of independent or semi-independent clans led by their kings and established new tribes such as Zulu, Basotho and Ndebele came into existence.

[7] Some of his saying -*Izibongo* states that – '*Shaka is the King who surpasses other Kings with wisdom'*

[8] Marx argued that alienation in the capitalist production begins with the current economic fact is that

[9] Weber argues that plays a vital role, as it makes possible for speculation for values exchanged in quantitative and fixed rather than in subjective terms (see Giddens, 1971:164; Wrong, 1946:376).

[10] Traditional states its where political organisations play the role of being 'estate' and means of administration are controlled by the bureaucracy (see Giddens, 1971:180).

by introduction of Pass Laws as early as 1760 to early slaves in the Cape, and in 1809 and eventually that applied to all South Africa and forcing indigenous people to live in one place and possess *pass* (sees Callinicos, 1990). Durkheim argues that the developmental of the modern form of society is related to expansion of '*individualism*' that is associated with division of labour that produces a specialised occupational function, fosters the development of particular skill, capacity and attitudes that are not shared by everyone in society (Giddens, 1971:73). The idea of formally providing industrial education to Africans in South Africa was first debated in the mid-1800s.

These changes facilitated by the 'discovery[11]' of gold in the Rand that needed more capital for special machinery for deeper level mining.
In 1896, the deep-level mining needed more cheap labour and the government passed two legislations that will help mine owner to have more control over the supply and movement of Black workers in the mines. Colonialist government introduced two forms of coercion (force removal from the land through legislation such as Land Act of 1913 and Trust Act of 1936) of which eventually became compulsory for adult men to work for 'usual wages, for at least one year' and this became known as *cheap labour* and became the norm for wages in all other sectors. This still in practiced today. The second form of coercion which was more subtle but much more far reaching in its implications was the imposition of taxation system – (Black people were expected to pay hut tax and poll tax of one pound that is equivalent to two Rand for every 18 years of age) and collected in monetary form. These taxes were enforced upon indigenous people as an obligation to enter the cash economy in order to earn cash wages to pay these taxes. In addition, changes led African people to adopt other means to gather tax money including adopting means that were never utilised by the subsistence society such as looking for job. Traditional leaders plated a role in collecting tax for the government and organising labour supply for mines (see Callinicos, 1990: 7; Popenoe, 1998:424; Lund, 1998; Rodney, 1973:26; Wrong, 1946: 373).

This era is define as a period of underdevelopment of Africa, as the first four centuries of Afro/European trade in a very real sense represent the roots of African underdevelopment. Colonialism flourished rapidly from a European viewpoint, because several of its features were already rooted in Africa in the preceding period. One of the most decisive features of the colonial system was the presence of Africans serving as economic, political and cultural agents of the European colonialists. The agent/ compradors status of the chiefs came after the subjugation and imprisonment of the Kings to islands like *Robben Island* [12]and St Helena Island (Magema, 1979:134). Those agents or 'compradors' were already serving European interests in the pre-colonial period. The impact of trade with Europe had reduced many African rulers to the status of middlemen for European trade; it had raised ordinary

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[11] The discovery of gold in the 1886 differed with gold mined by Africans hundreds of years earlier by the fact that it ran for many miles underground (see Callinicos, 1990: 8)
[12] For example, the King of the Hlubi tribe, King Langalibale was imprisoned on Robben Island in 1875 for resisting the local government in Natal and the likes of King Makana.

Africans to that same middleman commercial role. Africans traditional leaders conducted trade on behalf of Europeans not just commercial agents, but also cultural agents, since inevitably they were heavily influenced by European thought and values. The search for European education began in Africa before the colonial period (Rodney, 1973:80).

Early Chiefs faced imprisonment (with informal shelter – huts) at Robben Island. *Source: http://www.freedom.co.za/history2.html*

Therefore, capitalism, under which the greatest wealth in the society was produced not in agriculture but by machines in the factories and in mines. Like the preceding phase of feudalism, capitalism is characterised by the concentration in a few hands of ownership of the means of producing wealth and by unequal distribution of the products of human labour (Rodney, 1973:7). When it comes to examining the situation of the modern worker and peasant classes in Africa, the indispensable component of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of *exploitation.* All of the countries named as 'underdeveloped' in the world are exploited by others and is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole. For example, in 1885, the further scrambling of Africa, while the carving of Africa at the Berlin Conference table, huge fortunes were made from gold and diamonds in Southern Africa by people like Cecil Rhodes. In the present century, both the investment and the outflow of surplus have increased (Rodney, 1973:19).

Thus led the South African government followed the pattern on the traditions of *legitimising*[13] capitalism of utilising a segment of groups within the

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[13] In defining political legitimacy, it is when the people over whom the state exercises its authority accept 'its right to rule'. In order for the state to manage the conflicts within a society peacefully, it needs some passive acceptance of its right to rule by the majority of people. In addition, it also involve the vigorous support of the most powerful people especially those who command economic and political power such as the traditional leaders, big businesses, large

oppressed people to oppress the other rest of the oppressed population. For example, Britain, the biggest of the colonialists in Africa general is characterised by the metropole that utilised the manpower of the colonies (Rodney, 1973:32). Again, the Romans used soldiers that are subjugated nationality to conquer other nationalities, as well as to defend Rome against its enemies. Britain applied this to Africa ever since the early 19th century, when the West Indian Regiment was sent across the Atlantic to protect British interests on the West African coast. The West Indian Regiment had black men in the ranks, Irish (colonials) as NCOs, and Englishmen as officers. By the end of the 19th century, the West Indian Regiment also included many Sierra Leoneans. The African regiments supplemented the metropolitan military apparatus in several ways. Firstly, they were used as emergency forces to put down nationalist uprisings in the various colonies. Secondly, they were used to fight other Europeans inside Africa, notably during the first and second world wars. Thirdly, they were forced to European battlefields or to theatres of war outside Africa. The colonialists used the African continent and her people in some diverse ways to advance their military strengths and techniques (Rodney, 1973:64; Callinicos, 1990:60).

Therefore, the South African traditional leadership was no exception in this practice, as it was and still a significant 'colony' for the supply of raw material reservoir for the whole of imperialism. The economic and political partition of Africa gave Britain the bigger portion of the mineral wealth, while the Boers retained the political power necessary to institutionalise white racism. As capitalists of other nationalities entered into relations with South Africa through investment and trade, those capitalists agreed to and strengthened the racist/fascist social relations of South Africa (Rodney, 1973:71). Throughout the colonial period, this inequality in exchange got worse and Economists refer to the process as the deteriorating terms of trade.
The unequal nature of the trade between the metropole and the colonies was emphasised by the concept of the 'protected market', which meant even an inefficient metropolitan producer could find a guaranteed market in the colony where his class had political control. Furthermore, as in the preceding era of pre-colonial trade (Rodney, 1973:20). Colonial governments were (and still) repeatedly speak about 'the maintenance of law and order', by which they meant the maintenance of conditions most favourable to the expansion of capitalism and the looting of Africa. European colonisers ensured that Africans paid for the upkeep of the governors and police who oppressed them and served as watchdogs for private capitalists. Taxation and customs duties were levied in the 19th century with the aim of allowing the colonial powers to recover the costs of the armed forces, which they despatched to conquer Africa. All expenses were met by exploiting the labour and natural resources

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property owners, major religious leaders or regional power brokers. Globalisation, liberalisation, and the withdrawal of external support from Cold War alliances have placed enormous strains on some developing countries that are described as 'fragile states'. These states have high levels of poverty and inequality and low levels of state capacity and are vulnerable to internal and external shocks as well as domestic and international conflict (Brown, 2007).

of the continent; and for all practical purposes, the expense of maintaining the colonial government machinery was a form of alienation of the products of African labour (Rodney, 1973:26)

On other hand, the limited social services within Africa during colonial times were and still distributed in a manner that reflected the pattern of domination and exploitation. For example, the vast hectares of land remain in the hands of the white minority colonialist group. The majority of colonialist expatriates who came from the poor background and they were too optimistic of reaching new "promised land". We need to note that white settler's expatriates wanted the standards of the bourgeoisie or professional classes of the metropolis. They were all the more resolute to have luxuries in Africa, because so many of them came from poverty-stricken background in Europe and could not expect good services in their own homelands. For example, in countries like Algeria, Kenya and South Africa, it is well-known fact that whites created an infrastructure to afford themselves leisured and enjoyable lives means, which is proven by the manner in which the total amenities they provided in any of those countries cannot be compared to what Africans got out of colonialism (Rodney, 1973:183).

In South Africa, the basis of gold and diamond empire for the colonialist was already set as early as 1912. This witnessed by the increase of the informal settlements and horrifying living conditions grew worse, and the government committed itself to pursuing the cruel policy of apartheid, which meant separation of the races so as better to exploit the African people. Many Africans trekked to towns with hope of things to be materially better and mentally because of the scourging condition in the Reserves but towns offered a little more than the countryside (Rodney, 1973:3). Colonialist 'modernised' Africa by introducing the dynamic features of capitalism, such as Private property in land, private ownership of the other means of production, and money relations. Dependency syndrome was uncalculated in various ways to African people. For example, in the early years of colonisation, the few African businessmen who were allowed to emerge but they were at the bottom of the ladder and cannot be considered as 'capitalists' in the true sense. They did not own sufficient capital to invest in large-scale farming, trading, mining or industry. They were dependent both on European-owned capital and on the local capital of minority groups (Rodney, 1973:20).

South Africa and Africa in general saw a transition from the phase through which all continents passed in the phase of communalism. When it ceased to be transient and became institutionalised in Africa, due to interruption stopped the African development. Colonialism created Africa to become the cradle of conditions that led not just to periodic famine, but also to chronic undernourishment, mal-nutrition and worsening in the physique of the African bodies.

The brief overview of role of the traditional leadership in 1600 - 1994

Various people view the role of traditional leaders differently, in the pre 1994, some saw them, as the collaborators with the apartheid regime, since they

were key payers in *supplying labour* [14]in the mines and the industries played a role of *keeping stability* [15]in the reserves (Callinicos, 1990). In the late 1980s, "traditional" leader formed the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRELESA). During the negotiations for a new constitution In the 1990s, CONTRELESA demanded a significant role of traditional authorities within the new South Africa. There are new policies and on-going discussions concerning custom and "traditional authorities" and the transformation of communal land tenure. The change of custom resulted in passing of Act 41 of 2003, the "Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act". The legislation establishes the processes for reworking traditional rule and for providing "traditional communities" with limited sovereignty. Under the legislation, "traditional councils or traditional leaders" may have a role in issues ranging from land administration, health and the administration of justice, to economic development and arts and culture.

The old tribal reserves and the former homelands were given some degree of sovereignty like before. The degree of sovereignty was granted to undemocratically elected officials but to so-called "traditional authorities." The fundamental of the politics of traditional rule centres on the question of political sovereignty, in particular the historical consideration of how sovereignty was lost and how it is to be regained. Typically, the modern doctrine of sovereignty based on the notion that someone was in "supreme command" and presumed the existence of a state exercising dominion over a given bounded territory. The sovereign political community was an independent community and from sovereignty of political rights. Sovereignty places at the centre of modern state formation and of the international system itself. Modern political theorists argues that the indivisibility and independence of the state of the nineteenth century is based on the "Westphalian regime" that has become entrenched within European international law, at the centre of which was the sovereign state. Various thinkers argues that the rise of the modern nation-state presented sovereignty as an ontological given and as territorially defined, in order that the field of international relations, such as, he interactions, which mostly is violence of various sovereign states. For example, the historical formations in the colonial setting like South Africa.

Therefore, in the issue of sovereignty, the power is enclosed and exercised, with built-in to state formation as opposed to something taken for granted as a political "given." Sovereignty is formed as a significant part of assertiveness to power and the coming into being, as it is with the state and, more generally, of political rights. Bourdieu argues further that there is a vital need of understanding the ways "the state establishes and inculcates common forms and categories of perception and appreciation, social frameworks of perceptions, of understanding or of memory, in short *state forms of classification.*" Bourdieu highlight his argument on the formulations and the level to which state effects, and state formation itself, which can be usefully
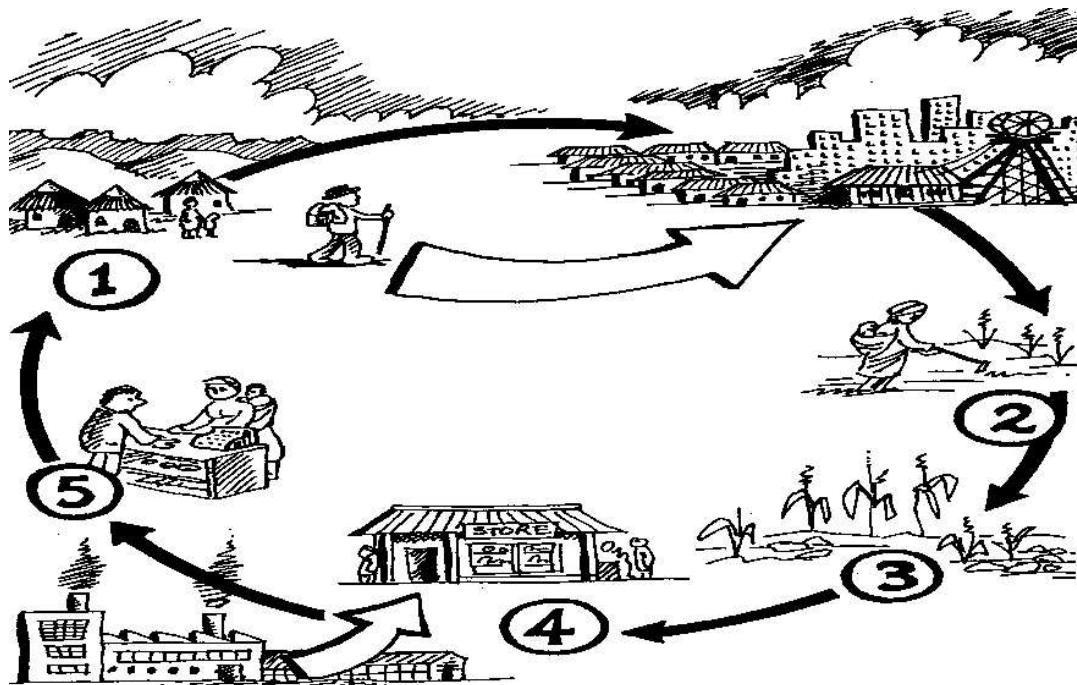
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[14] In some instances, in earlier times Chiefs dispatched young to work in the mines in order that the nation have some money to pay taxation.
[15] Chiefs in customary laws and consider themselves the authoritative voice of their content and they are the senior leaders that preside over local customary courts where they apply their view of the "law" to resolve disputes.

seen as negotiated, and that the naturalisation of the state's classificatory schemes and that includes sovereignty as a kind of political monotheism that emerged out of historical processes of negotiation as well as conflict and confrontation (Crais, 2006:722).

In 1994, South Africa changed governments. A black majority Parliament came to power, adopting a constitution dedicated to equality and human dignity. The role of traditional leaders in the post apartheid South Africa remains almost the same as pre-1994. Since, most black South Africans live in rural areas are headed by hereditary kings or chiefs and by headmen and sub chiefs and still follow customary practices in their daily lives. Chiefs are still regarded, as major player in keeping and promotion of *culture*[16]and as political leaders. Traditional leaders also play a significant role in delivering large numbers of votes during electioneering time (Daedalus and Chambers, 2000). Furthermore, labour supply and conditions in the reserves forced Africans to live a dual livelihood: one life of being a cheap migrant worker in towns and the second life with a family (Callinicos, 1990; Wrong, 1946: 376). Thus, subject Africans to vicious cycle of poverty, as illustrated below by the sketch. Currently, reserves are impoverished; as the majority of people are unemployed and new patterns of migration have emerged, as now everybody (not like before where it was only men) migrate to town to seek employment. Most rural areas are now left with grandmothers, children and unemployed youth that is subjected to alcohol. On other hand the issue of HIV/AIDS, that terrorises communities in various ways. The first way that affects communities is the funeral costs that most of the times are not easily met and that sometimes requires the community take longer period to bury their loved ones on time. Secondly, the households that are left with children only because their families have passed away due to HIV/AIDS leave no elder person at home. Traditional leaders there is little role that they play in meeting these challenges and if they have is not much publicised.

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[16] Culture is versatile and a habit or act that tends to be done continuously for sometime and end up being accepted to be part of the norm. For example, the habit of circumcision, which is known to be associated with Jews black / white and in the Southern part of Africa, the Zulu clan did practice this ceremony but during King Shakas' era that was stopped and it became a norm for Zulu not to partake (Magema, 1998; Daedalus and Chambers, 2000).

THE CIRCLE OF POVERTY IN THE RESERVES

1. The men leave home to work as migrants in the towns and mines outside the reserves
2. Women and old people look after the land.
3. The land gets poorer.
4. Families start buying their food and clothes. Factories in the towns send manufactured goods to trading stores in the reserves.
5. The family rely more and more on money for their daily needs.

Circle of poverty in the Reserves (Callinicos, 1990: 30).

Furthermore, Traditional leadership still has more curtailed power in the so-called tribal authority areas, which are for the maintenance of Reserves, of the labour supply. Currently, the traditional leadership provide advice to the national government and make recommendations that relate to any of the following: matters that relates to the traditional leadership and their role; customary law; and the customs of communities observing a system of customary law. They also investigate and present the available information on traditional leadership, traditional authorities; customary law and customs and may, at the request of the President in connection with any matter referred to in this section (Council of Traditional Leaders Act [No. 10 of 1997]). Traditional leaders (House of Chiefs) in other part of Africa like Ghana and Botswana are almost in the same par with their South African counterpart, as they adopted the dual approach leadership style of dealing matters relates to "traditional" or "indigenous" questions will be handled by their Houses of

Chiefs, which have the power to debate and arrive at decisions. In addition, they adopted a governance model based on the principles of *inclusion*, *equality, and responsibility*. On other hand, that matters that concern all citizens are dealt with by their parliaments. Whilst the Canada's First Nations are considering in adopting the same approach of Africa's Houses of Chiefs to shape it in order to suit their interests (Ray, 2001).

The uncritical approach by the Traditional leadership tends to subscribe to the ideas of Western origin or what Alatas (1974) terms as the 'captive mind' which largely refers to the theoretical and institutional dependence of traditional leadership to Western thought, leadership and the uncritical and imitative manner in which such knowledge is assimilated and disseminated. In considering what Abdullah and Low (2005) noted when they argue that the intellectual imperialism has resulted in diverting or lack of attention from issues that should be of critical concern to non-Western societies. In this regard, In exploring the critical theory that aspire "to identify the unresolved tensions in the existing social reality and thereby to cause a change of consciousness" (Snyman, 1997). Lukacs argue further that because of history of capitalist 'civilisation' that offer us the opportunity to learn about reification from the inside out for the first time, as working individuals- dispossessed are subjected, as a saleable commodity, alienated from social processes that lead to the dehumanisation of which can be made self conscious. Furthermore, the Snyman (1997) critical theory is needed because is "guided by analysis of the historical process that has an interest in the future" (Mthembu, 2007).

In order, for the colonised African majority to be able to deal with the past injustices fairly and justly, they need to start to be serious about the future or the survival of the race or else vanish in the world memory or take a stand. That raises a need to start considering what Welsing (1991) suggests the linear thought approach that advocates the progress from problem perception that advance towards problem solution, changing step-by-step anything that wants to be altered to achieve a total problem solution and that calls for whatever in our disposal. The critical theory poses a great challenge to the leaders, scholars and think tankers especially from the previously colonised countries in particular African continent to start moving away from what Welsing (1991) term a circular thought of analytical pattern that tends to move away from problem solution by way of adopting a diversionary route of which result in coming back to the same problem insight.

Maybe, the *current dispute* [17]on the demand by 11 provincial *Amakhosi (chiefs)*[18] of KwaZulu-Natal to be granted same status, as the King Zulu

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[17] The South African President Thabo Mbeki, appointed the Nhlapo Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims is holding hearings into legitimacy of tribes and claims for traditional leadership around the country. The Deputy Chairperson of the KZN House of Traditional Leaders, Mpiyezintombi Mzimela, told The Mercury (July 02 2007) that the meeting had resolved to reject claims by the 11 chiefs.

[18] The list of those claiming the kingship presented at the Ulundi meeting include M J Radebe of AmaHlubi tribe, M A Hlongwane of the AmaNgwane tribe, S D Mngomezulu of the Mngomezulu tribe, M Mngomezulu also of the Mngomezulu tribe, M J Tembe of the AmaThonga tribe, M Z Dlamini of the Nhlangwini clan, M S Ndwandwe of the AbaNguni tribe,

Goodwill Zwelithini and might be indicating a wake up from the slumber of submissiveness to the white supremacy *ideals*[19] (Khumalo, 2007).

In attempting to unpack briefly the current political terrain in the country, one will need to consider some of the arguments that have been suggested above in order to bring us to a better position to understand clearly the nature of the paradox facing Azanian traditional leadership. Firstly, the submission above indicates that traditional leaders were subjugated in dual form: the first manner of subjugation is that once abdicated by King Shaka, sovereigns in Southern African polities, servants of Shaka in a sense. The case concerning the eleven (11) Chiefs in the province now known as KwaZulu-Natal comes to mind. The Chiefs are currently attempting to rectify what they perceive as their limited power over their subjects and secondly, they realised that they retain complete sovereignty over all of their subjects between periods, when the subjects returns to the reserves. Lastly, the colonisation that manipulated the earlier subjection to suit its new set ups. Now this type of set-up shows that
Traditional leadership is free in a sense of the word because their status continues to be an agent for bigger power in this case the government of day as it used be in times of Botha and the likes. In other words chiefs do not have power over the whole of the country and remains under control of the president. In other words, the power of the president is primary and then "kings/ chiefs power is secondary. A dilemma that faces chiefs today is how to practice a form of leadership style that is meant to be collective and independent on its own with a monopolistic and individualistic capitalism(a system that effectively function outside rhymes of faith but on rhymes of democratic materialism). That means that chiefs have attempted to forfeit fundamentals that set the foundations of traditional leadership, which is the *ubuntu* that prevailed under bartering economic system guided by the *theocratic values.*

In conclusion

The bets are high, rules are written, ground is prepared and now the rest is left with the players to finish the game. This time the players are the traditional leaders whether they continue to stand aside and 'waiting in limbo'. Whilst their inheritance is being vandalised in their presence, watching submissively and continue wasting energy and their precious time fighting over crumbs (in the form of payment in kind, sometimes this is called income) that fall from the table of western civilisation, which equals suffering to Africa. Therefore, time is now to take the route for self-determination that is guided by some form of

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M Miya of AmaZizi tribe, V A Madlala of the Madlala tribe, D E Msomi of the Msomi tribe and M A Mavuso of the AmaNgwane Tribe.(Some of the chiefs opted to withdraw their case).

[19] The principle underlying Houses of Chiefs is simple: all western democracies have at least one House of Parliament that represents all citizens on questions of national relevance. Some countries, like Canada, the U.K. and the U.S., also have a second House of Parliament — a Senate or House of Lords — that deals with situations or interests related to geography, regional equality, or history (Ray, 2001).

Order (in this case the ancient *Nyahbinghi Order*[20]) that will ensure the true liberation of the Black world. Respond to the call for assurance of the total liberation of Ethiopia: Psalm 68:31- "Princess shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God" (Edmons, 2003:59). Alternatively, follow suit of the President who has committed himself to be a staunch Knight of the Order of western world civilisation.

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[20] Nyabinghi Order proclaimed by Emperor of Ethiopia for a total liberation of Ethiopia from western oppression for to be able to master that Order one need to be under the commitment of the Nazarite Vow –Numbers 6:5 (Edmons, 2003:59 & 76).

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