

FUTURE OF SA-TBVC STATESPOSITION STATEMENT BY BOPHUTHATSWANA1. BASIC PREMISES

Bophuthatswana's participation in CODESA departs from the following basic premises:

- 1.1 Our right to be allowed to choose freely, without external pressure or threat, the best possible solution for the future;
- 1.2 Our right to be fully informed on the contents of various options for consideration and an objective evaluation of the likely implications resulting from these options;
- 1.3 The opportunity to assess freely and objectively the merits of each proposal for our specific situation; and
- 1.4 The application of democratic principles and approaches in allowing the people themselves a final say in determining the desired outcome.

2. EVALUATION CRITERIA

It is the considered opinion of my government that the SA-TBVC states cannot be generalised as a group. Each individual state should in fact be valued as a specific entity in terms of its own unique norms and criteria as follows:

- 2.1 Its historical and cultural heritage. [See attached supporting documentation as ANNEXURE A].

2.2 Its principles and basic values as a people. [See attached supporting documentation as ANNEXURE B].

2.3 Its performances and achievements to date - These have been extensively documented in various studies comparing the situation in Bophuthatswana with those of other countries in the world and in Africa.

Only then, can one really be in a position to suggest solutions that will serve the best interests of the country and its people.

3. ORDER OF PREFERENCE

We have been assured by participants at CODESA that all possible options and solutions will be thoroughly investigated and assessed. Our order of preference is thus:

3.1 A sovereign and internationally recognised Bophuthatswana with **extended** boundaries that meet its historic claims, economic and cultural base more fully than at present. At the same time the strengthening of confederal arrangements between independent countries that recognise the integrated economic relations and resource base, and the need for co-operation regarding matters of common concern across borders, i.e. - environmental protection, training and defence matters.

3.2 Alternatively, the maintenance of the **present** situation regarding its relations with the RSA government. This presupposes continued, and even strengthened cordial and supportive relations and structures between the two governments.

Bophuthatswana proved beyond any doubt that, relatively speaking, it can grow and flourish under such circumstances. Any unsubstantiated deterioration of relations and attitudes could be viewed as being contrary to the basic premises. [See 1.1].

3.3 The option of federal structures with constitutionally entrenched responsibilities^{with} is only considered a feasible and realistic option if it promises a better future, or a future at least as good as the present situation, to its people. This will be for the people themselves to decide and not CODESA.

3.4 The option of a unitary South Africa with only delegated authorities to second tier [regional], and third tier [local] governmental structures, are not considered a feasible alternative that will at present entice Bophuthatswana to be re-incorporated into South Africa.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Batswana occupied the whole of the central area of Southern Africa, from the Drakensberg Mountains in the east to the Kalahari desert in the west, many hundred years before white people set foot in Africa. In terms of the Sand River Convention of 1852, the British Government alienated the area that is now the Transvaal to the Boer farmers as the South African Republic, thus depriving the Batswana of much of their ancestral land. Following the discovery of diamonds in the Vaal River and the Kimberley area in 1867, the British Government established the Colony of Griqualand West and in terms of the Keate Award of 17th October 1871, set aside the land of the Batswana. This area was very roughly the land to the west of the Harts River and to the North of the Vaal River, up into and including what is now Botswana.

In 1884-85 General Sir Charles Warren was sent by the British Government into the area of the Batswana to control the influx of Boer farmers seeking land by fair means or foul and, in doing so, entered into agreements with the leading tribal chiefs to establish the Bechuanaland Protectorate which was set aside on 23rd March 1885. Cecil Rhodes, then a member of the Cape Parliament and the founder of the De Beers Diamonds empire, petitioned the British Government to change the land classification of the Protectorate south of the Molopo River to that of a Crown Colony, so that the labour could be more easily directed to the Kimberley Diamond Mine.

On 30th September 1885, the land south of the Molopo River was re-classified as the Crown Colony of British Bechuannaland. The Batswana accepted the assurance of the British Government that they would continue to receive exactly the same protection in British Bechuanaland as they had enjoyed in the Protectorate, and a further undertaking that it would never be incorporated into either the Transvaal or the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1891, the first Customs Union established between the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, was joined by the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, [the present Bophuthatswana], as a separate entity. This Customs Union was soon extended to other British Protectorates and by 1910, this Union included almost all the colonies and states of Southern Africa as far as South and North Western Rhodesia.

On 3rd October 1895, without any consultation or discussion, the Batswana resident in British Bechuanaland were informed that, for "ease of administration", British Bechuannaland would be incorporated into the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Following the Boer War in 1902, four colonial territories were established by the British Government in Southern Africa and in 1910, by Act of Union, these colonial territories were consolidated into the Union of South Africa. The Union Government promptly ignored the promises of the British Government to safeguard the interests of the Batswana and in 1913, almost all traditional land was alienated in a determined effort to force the Batswana into labour.

North of the Molopo the Tswana Chiefs were more fortunate, and even managed to avert the wholesale transfer of the Protectorate of the British South African Company in 1895. Here too, the powers of chiefs were far less affected by white officialdom than to the South where Tswana independence was virtually extinguished for more than 90 years.

In 1966 the British Government gave independence to those Batswana resident in the Bechuanaland Protectorate making no provision for their kith and kin resident south of the Molopo River.

On 6th December 1977, in accordance with the policy of separate development established by the apartheid philosophy of the South African Government, the Batswana regained their independence and established the independent country of Bophuthatswana. It is true that the motive of the South African Government was to off-load responsibility for black people, but clearly the Batswana accepted the offer as a golden opportunity to regain the independence given away by the British Government in 1895.

In the fourteen years since independence was regained, we have established a Christian, democratic system of government, a free market economy and a way of life dedicated to the development of our country for the good of all. There is no racialism in the country; people of all nationalities live and work effectively together, all apartheid legislation having being repealed immediately we regained our independence. President Mangope has consistently called upon his people to work hard to improve the quality of their lives and to establish a feeling of national pride.

Educational facilities throughout the country are available to all from pre-school to university and even includes an International School with students from many countries in Southern Africa. Health care has been carried to those living in the most remote areas of our country and a very steady improvement in the health of the nation is clearly apparent. We mine between 40% and 50% of the world's supply of platinum in addition to chrome and other base minerals.

Since we regained our independence, there have been three general elections and a fourth will be held in October 1992. Of the 109 seats in Parliament, the President is elected by the people for a period of 7 years; 72 members of the house are elected for a period of 5 years by all those over the age of 18 and registered on the voters role; 24 tribal members are nominated from the 12 regions of the country and 12 members are nominated by the President. The Constitution contains a declaration of fundamental rights and Parliament has appointed an Ombudsman to safeguard the rights of the individual.

Much effort is dedicated to the maintenance of cultural values throughout the country and to this end centres have been established to highlight the customs and traditions of the people.

PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

The following principles and values are regarded very important in any constitutional dispensation:

- ▲ a bill of rights which protects the individual within a diverse and multi-ethnic society and against state abuse;
- ▲ espousing the freedom of religion and the ability to promote Christian values and beliefs;
- ▲ the fostering of an attitude that is conducive to peaceful co-existence as expressed in the culture, values, marriage and family life;
- ▲ the independence of the judiciary and recognition of the status and position of indigenous law;
- ▲ special efforts to promote opportunities for the youth and women to participate equally in the wellbeing of the country;
- ▲ the devolution of authority and decision-making to be promoted and the competencies of central, regional and local governments to be guaranteed;
- ▲ an economic dispensation which is based on free-market principles and free and equal access to resources;
- ▲ a guaranteed multi-party system of democracy which compels a government to be fully answerable and responsible to all its people.