

Attention: Mr SS van der Merwe  
Mr Mac Maharaj

P.O. BOX 4853  
JOHANNESBURG  
2000  
28<sup>th</sup> February 1992

The Secretariat  
C.O.D.E.S.A.  
P.O. Box 307  
ISANDO  
1600



Sir

re: SUBMISSIONS TO C.O.D.E.S.A.

It has been noted with appreciation that the preparatory meeting which launched Codesa decided that only bona fide political parties, organisations and administrations should be accorded full participant status, nevertheless at the same time the organisers of Codesa wish to encourage the greatest possible participation by all interest groups from every walk of life.

Sir, the recent political dispensation which is unfolding in our country is viewed with keen interest by almost all the inhabitants and the majority of the people expect that the old prophecy of the united, non-racial and democratic South Africa should be realised. Codesa is one process which is expected to crown and qualify the wishes of many peace loving South Africans. It is a fact that this process of a negotiated peaceful settlement is long over-due.

As part of my submissions, I want to place on record that I happen to be the PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF BATLHAPING TRIBE IN TAUNG (Northern Cape) and my territory happen to fall under the so called the "Republic of Bophuthatswana" which has made history by failing to sign the Declaration of Intent. I was deposed in the form of a "coup" on the 14<sup>th</sup> September 1988 by Lucas Mangope and the Bophuthatswana regime and since then I am living in semi-exile here in Johannesburg. The following are my submissions to Codesa:

# I. FAILURE TO SIGN DECLARATION OF INTENT BY BOPHUTHATSWANA.

It is submitted that Lucas Mangope and his ruling party are not the representative of Batswana in Codesa. Whatever the rigid decisions his illegitimate government is taking by refusing to sign the Declaration of Intent will result into political suicide and this will hamper the progress which is far advanced in Codesa.

Their constant refusal is utterly unacceptable, and such a behaviour will totally jeopardise the negotiation process. Bophuthatswana is presently dependent on South Africa economically and it will further benefit from the proceeds which would have been achieved tirelessly through Codesa. I want to place on record that their failure to sign will be an obstacle to the negotiation process, and I foresee the economic sanctions and other measures being applied in order to bring Mangope and his government in line with the political realities of South Africa.

Bophuthatswana is not internationally recognised and other bantustans, and they are financially dependent on the South African budget. It is therefore my submission that whatever the new government which might come into power through the negotiation process, that government will be under severe criticism if it can continue to finance the party or the bantustan structure which failed to be part of the process of forming the new government.

I might not be acquainted with the criteria which has been used to invite the participation of all the relevant liberation movements and political parties in Codesa, however many people who lives in Bophuthatswana were shocked to learn that the opposition parties which command a massive support like People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the National Seoposengwe Party (NSP) were not invited to sign the Declaration of Intent. In contrast, the South African government and the National Party are there in Codesa and they encourage their opposition parties like the CP, HNP and others to take part in Codesa.

However we welcome the recent decision of Codesa that other parties and organisations may apply and this will help that majority of people will be represented.

## 2. REPRESENTATION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS (CHIEFS)

I will <sup>be</sup> doing injustice to myself and the BATLHAPING TRIBE if I do not submit any views about the participation of Chiefs, Paramount Chiefs and Kings in Codesa. It seems there is a lot of controversy about the role which have to be played by the traditional leaders in Codesa and probably in the future South Africa. It is my humble submission that these respectable leaders of the majority of blacks in South Africa are not necessarily on the race-track with politicians to claim some seats in any negotiating table as it is the case in Codesa. A point in issue here is that for a long time especially during the apartheid era, the traditional leaders have been manipulated by the politicians, thus being indirectly forced to pursue or perpetuate a particular political ideology.

Further it is my submission that it is not wise for the traditional leaders to affiliate to any political party. Each and every chief is a symbol of unity and should be above party politics. For any one who affiliates to any party will be biased in trying to resolve any dispute among his subjects. More important, however, one of the options before Codesa is whether and if so, how traditional leaders should be accommodated in the new and future South Africa. Codesa should not be seen as just a mere convention of political parties, rather it should be seen as a convention of all the leaders in South Africa representing their people irrespective of political affiliation.

Codesa's first plenary session (20 - 21 December 1991) concentrated on bringing as many parties to the negotiating table as possible, but it was rather strange to realise that it was silent about the participation of traditional leaders in this process. It is quiet obvious that these parties will be taking decisions, whether good or bad about such traditional leaders and their territories without any meaningful discussions with them and furthermore without the backing of the mandate of their subjects. If the decision of Codesa is to exclude their participation, then they must come with a meaningfully convincing provision of which role are they going to play in the near foreseeable future. To cite the case of Botswana and Namibia, their constitutions provides some seats for House of Chiefs. Even Zimbabwe has a provision for traditional leaders.

South Africa has adopted the Constitutional model of Westminster system, which is applicable in Britain. It is a fact that this system of government caters with respect the existence of Kings and Queens as part of protecting the traditional heritage of English people. Sir, with respect, it is placed on record that failure to invite the traditional leaders to participate in Codesa might jeopardise the negotiation process which so many people are willing to see continuing peacefully and successfully.

Finally, it is submitted that although Mangope and the Bophuthatswana regime have deposed me as the Chief of Batlhaping, I command the massive support from my subjects. Since they are disillusioned about the Bophuthatswana regime and the bantustan politics, they demand that they rather be represented by their Chief in any negotiation process. The Batlhaping tribe demand Mangope and his government not <sup>to</sup> pretend as if they are the only representative of Batswana whereas they know very well that the majority of people have lost confidence in their government.

Finally, it was my wish to have made an intensive contribution to the Working Groups, unfortunately it seems there is no light at the end of the tunnel for the participation of traditional leaders. Nevertheless on behalf of Batlhaping tribe, we support the negotiation process which is taking place to shape the New South Africa, although it was not our wish to be the mere spectators for reforms which are going to govern our lives as a continuation of our history.

As mandated by Batlhaping tribe, I hereby apply for their participation in Codesa or my participation as their traditional leader on condition this would not spoil the talks.

Hoping my application and submissions will be considered.

Yours faithfully.



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SAMUEL MORWAGAABUSI II MANKUROANE ( PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF BATLHAPING-TAUNG )  
*M. S. Mankuroane*

DEPOSED CHIEF  
KGOSI E E MENOTSWENG  
AFGESITTENDE LEIER