

## **Elections-Foreign relations-Devaluations-Budgets**

*General election (Sept. 8, 1984). Re-election of President (Sept. 10). Appointment of Cabinet (Sept. 14). By-election (Dec. 1). Cabinet reshuffle (Jan. 28, 1985). Relations with Zimbabwe (May-December 1983). Relations with South Africa (June 1983-February 1985). Devaluation of pula (July 1984 and January 1985). Presentation of 1984-85 budget (Feb. 13, 1984). Presidential statement on impact of drought (Oct. 8). Presentation of 1985-86 budget (Feb. 18, 1985).*

The first general election under the presidency of Dr Quett Masire (who took office on the death of Sir Seretse Khama in July 1980—see 30455 A), and the fourth since independence from Britain in September 1966 [see 21659 B], took place on Sept. 8, 1984. A decisive victory was won by the President's Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), although the main opposition party, the Botswana National Front (BNF), improved its position slightly by comparison with the last (October 1979) general election [see 30083 A]. Primary elections to choose BDP candidates had been held in June, and Parliament had been dissolved on July 20.

President Masire was declared re-elected for a five-year term on Sept. 10, as the candidate commanding the previously announced support of more than half of the elected members of the National Assembly. Other presidential candidates were Dr Kenneth Koma, the chairman of the BNF (and a presidential candidate in 1979-*ibid.*), and Mr Victor Masole of the Botswana People's Party (BPP).

By-election Distribution of the 34 elective seats in the National Assembly (two extra seats having been created since the 1979 elections) was as follows, with 1979 results shown for comparison:

	Votes		Seats	
	1984	1979	1984	1979
BDP	154,863	100,398	29	29
BNF	46,116	17,480	4	2
BPP	14,961	9,983	1	1
Botswana Independence Party (BIP)	7,288	5,057		
Botswana Progressive Union (BPU)	3,036	-		-
Independent candidates	1,058	278		

There were in addition four members elected by the Assembly itself [see below]. The overall turnout represented approximately 76 per cent of the electorate, compared with almost 60 per cent in 1979. The Botswana Liberal Party, formed in April 1983 by Mr Martin Chakaliso, did not participate in the elections. The BPU, led by Mr Daniel K Kwele, had been formed in 1982 with the aim of challenging the political predominance of the BDP.

Seats won by the BNF were the Ngwaketse South and Gaborone North constituencies, where the BNF candidates defeated respectively Mrs Kebatshabile Disele, the Minister of Home Affairs, and Mr Archie M Mogwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (who was subsequently nominated to Parliament by President Masire), and the Kanye and Okavango seats. The BPP retained the North East seat which it had won in the previous election.

The BNF won a fifth seat at a by-election on Dec. 1 after Dr Koma, the party's defeated candidate in the Gaborone South constituency, had obtained a High Court judgment on Oct. 22 ruling null and void the election of Mr Peter Mmusi, the Vice-President and BDP candidate in the constituency.

Dr Koma alleged that his supporters had been turned away from the polling stations, that many of the voters in the capital appeared to be under the legal voting age of 21, and that Mr Mmusi had intimidated the official counters into refusing a recount. In addition, the Office of the President announced the discovery, one month after the elections, of a sealed ballot box containing uncounted votes from one of the constituency's polling stations. Mr Mmusi was on Oct. 24 temporarily relieved of his post of Vice-President, while retaining that of Minister of Finance and Development Planning.

Voting in the Dec. 1 by-election was as follows: Dr Koma (BNF) 4,771 votes; Mr Mmusi (BDP) 4,029 votes; Mr Masole (BPP) 80 votes.

Mr Mmusi was, however, subsequently returned to Parliament when one of the four specially elected members stood down in his favour, and he was reappointed to the post of Vice-President on Dec. 19.

A slightly rearranged Cabinet was announced on Sept. 14 incorporating the following changes at ministerial level (with previous responsibilities shown in parentheses):

Dr Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe (Mineral Resources and Water Affairs)	Foreign Affairs
Mr Archie M. Mogwe (Foreign Affairs)	Mineral Resources and Water Affairs
Mr Englishman Kgabo (Local Government and Lands)	Home Affairs
Mr Jameson Lesedi Mothibamele (Assistant Minister of Local Government and Lands)	Local Government and Lands

There were also three new appointments at Assistant Minister level. Mrs Disele was the only outgoing Minister not reappointed at this time; Dr Chiepe was then the only remaining woman

member of the Cabinet. (See 30083 A for 1979 list and 30455 A for changes in July 1980. Mr Kgabo had become Minister of Local Government and Lands following the death in January 1983 of the then Vice-President, Mr Lenyeletse M Seretse for which see 32062 A.)

Further Cabinet changes on Jan. 28, 1985, involved the departure of Mr Washington Meswele and Mr Lemme Makgekgenene (who had held respectively the Agriculture and the Health portfolios), and the following three appointments:

Mr Daniel K. Kwelagobe (Public Service and Information)	Agriculture
Mr Patrick Balopi	Health
Mr P.H. Kedikilwe (Assistant Minister of Finance and Public and Development Planning)	Presidential Affairs and Public Administration

In addition, besides Dr Masire and Mr Mmusi and the four Ministers involved in the September 1984 reshuffle [see above], Mr Colin Blackbeard was Minister of Works and Communications, Mr Moatlagola Nwako was Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Mr Kematlamang Pitseyosi Morake was Minister of Education.

Botswana and Zimbabwe established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level on May 31, 1983, but relations between the two countries came under strain later in the year as a result of the Zimbabwe National Army's military activities in North and South Matabeleland provinces, which bordered Botswana to the north-east. (For security situation in Zimbabwe, see 33135 A and 32775 A.]

On Nov. 8, 1983, border troops of both countries clashed near Maitengwe in Botswana after a five-man patrol of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) came under fire 4 km inside the Botswana border. At an emergency meeting of the bilateral defence and security commission on Nov. 10, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, the Zimbabwean Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office responsible for security, stated that members of his country's armed forces were under strict instructions not to enter Botswana territory, and he denied that any had done so; it was suggested that the clash could have occurred between BDF troops and dissident members of the (opposition) Zimbabwe African People's Union.

In a second incident on Dec. 20, 1983, a member of the Zimbabwe National Army was shot dead after a group of armed men were challenged by a BDF patrol about 200 metres inside Botswana. Mr Munangagwa disclosed on Dec. 22 that a contingent of six Zimbabwean troops had been conducting a "hot pursuit" operation against anti-government insurgents in the area. Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, stated on Dec. 23 that the killing of the soldier had been "quite unnecessary", and that the Zimbabwe contingent had not opened fire and had not deliberately crossed the border; he also claimed that his government had "substantial" information about South African involvement in the training of dissidents in the Dukwe refugee camp in Botswana [see map], and about their infiltration back into Zimbabwe. (A number of people from the south-western part of Zimbabwe had taken refuge from government anti-insurgency operations in camps in Botswana.)

Mr Kwelagobe in late December 1983 toured villages along the border and gave assurances to the inhabitants that they would be protected against armed intruders. Two arms caches situated near the border had been revealed to the BDF earlier in December by captured Zimbabwe anti-government dissidents, who were subsequently deported to Zimbabwe.

The Botswana government had since independence maintained a policy of receiving refugees, while forbidding them to launch guerrilla operations against South Africa or Zimbabwe from the camps. Security at the main refugee camp at Dukwe, about 50 km from the Zimbabwe border, had been tightened during 1983 [see 32062A], all refugees being required to carry identity cards at all times. In May and June 1983 over 200 foreigners were expelled from the country, most of whom were Zimbabweans. In September 1983, only 45 out of an estimated 3,000 Zimbabwe refugees at the Dukwe settlement accepted the Zimbabwe government's offer of voluntary repatriation.

Three members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) were slightly injured in an incident on Oct. 25, 1984, when BDF soldiers opened fire on an SADF patrol boat on the Chobe river in the Caprivi Strip (the narrow stretch of Namibian territory between Botswana, Angola and Zambia—see map). In a statement issued on Oct. 26 the BDF said that the SADF marines were inside Botswana territory, thus contradicting an earlier SADF claim that they were on the Namibian side of the border. Discussions on possible border adjustments in the region were held in Pretoria on Dec. 19.

Both the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Roelof “Pik” Botha, and the Minister of Defence, Gen. Magnus Malan, had alleged that Botswana was being used as an infiltration route into South Africa by fighters of the African National Council (ANC).

Mr Pik Botha said on Aug. 26, 1984, that relations between Botswana and the SADF were “not satisfactory” at present. The South African government, he said, knew that the ANC was looking to Botswana as an infiltration route into South Africa, the ANC having been expelled from Mozambique as a result of the Nkomati pact between South Africa and Mozambique [see 32835 A]. Mr Botha affirmed that if necessary the SADF would “strike back” over a wider front and not necessarily limit its actions to attacks on “terrorist” targets.

During 1983 and 1984 the Botswana government continued to affirm that it would not enter into a security agreement with South Africa. In addition to the Nkomati pact with Mozambique in March 1984, South Africa had concluded an agreement in February 1982 with Swaziland, which remained secret until 1984 [see 33080 A], and had also concluded the Lusaka accord with Angola in February 1984 [see page 33198].

In June 1983 a statement from the Office of the President categorically denied a report in the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* of June 6, which suggested that the two governments were negotiating a possible agreement to prevent the use of each other's territories as bases for subversion.

The Office of the President denied knowledge of any such negotiations, or of the “agreement in principle” to which Mr Pik Botha had referred in the newspaper report, and asserted that it was in

any case Botswana's longstanding policy not to permit its territory to be used for this purpose. The South African authorities, it was claimed, had given a totally wrong impression of a meeting held on April 21 between Mr Botha and Mr Mogwe (then Minister of Foreign Affairs), during which matters of mutual interest had been discussed.

In an interview in the *Washington Post* in May 1984 during an official visit to the United States [see below], President Masire stated that officials from Botswana and South Africa had had three meetings about a non-aggression pact, a draft of which had been presented by the South Africans. South Africa had "hinted strongly" that if Botswana refused to sign, the South African government might deploy troops along the mutual border and cause disruptions of traffic.

In a speech made on May 30, 1984, Mr Mogwe stated that the agreements signed between South Africa and its neighbours were not voluntary, but had been forced by South African destabilization of those countries; he reaffirmed Botswana's policy of non-aggression and said that no such agreement would ever be signed voluntarily with South Africa. South African radio on Sept. 12 reported President Masire as saying that Botswana would lose its independence if it entered into a security agreement with South Africa.

An ANC communique from Lusaka on Sept. 13 condemned what it described as attempts by the South African government to compel Botswana to sign a non-aggression pact, and rejected as totally false Mr Botha's suggestion that the organization's armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), was using Botswana as a base for its operations. All ANC operations, the communique asserted, were conducted from within South Africa.

Mr Pik Botha affirmed, however, on Jan. 31, 1985, that since December 1984 there had been a "marked increase" in the number of ANC fighters entering South Africa from Botswana via the nominally independent homeland of Bophuthatswana, which bordered Botswana to the south. The Office of the President announced on Feb. 4 that Bophuthatswana had threatened to invade Botswana unless the passage of ANC members from Botswana ceased.

On Feb. 5 Mr Botha disclosed that he had written to Dr Chiepe on Jan. 29, stating that peace and stability could not be maintained if "terrorists" and their supporters were harboured in neighbouring states with or without the knowledge or consent of these states. Mr Botha called for "effective and practical arrangements" between the security forces of the two countries.

A bomb exploded in Gaborone on Feb. 13, 1985, destroying a house believed to be occupied by exiled ANC members.

Warrant Officer Jacobus Martinus Kok, who had in July 1982 [see 32062 A] been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for attempting to bribe a Botswana police officer for information on the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (also a banned organization in South Africa) and on the movements of South African refugees in Botswana, was released in mid-July 1983 and returned to South Africa following representations from the South African government and negotiations between the two countries.

President Masire paid official visits to Romania on Sept. 5–11, 1983, and to Yugoslavia on Sept. 11–15.

Following discussions between President Masire and President Ceausescu of Romania, a programme of long-term economic and technical co-operation was endorsed.

In May 1984 President Masire visited the USA and had talks with President Reagan on May 11. He described relations with the USA as “very amicable”, and said that US investment in Botswana was “very much welcome”.

Botswana's currency, the pula, was devalued by approximately 15 per cent against a basket of currencies (including the South African rand and the IMF special drawing right–SDR), with effect from Jan. 11, 1985.

According to the Bank of Botswana, the central bank, the devaluation was necessary in order to protect local production of manufactured goods against cheaper imports. The pula had been devalued in July 1984 by approximately 5 per cent in an attempt to correct a rapid increase in its value in relation to the currencies of its main trading partners, but since then it had appreciated by almost 30 per cent against the South African rand. The rate against the US dollar, which stood at just under par after the May 1982 pula devaluation, had risen somewhat by early 1984 but then fallen to about \$1.00=P 1.60 by early 1985. The rate after the Jan. 11 devaluation (\$1.00=P 2.004 on Jan. had risen again to \$1.00=P 1.68 by mid-February.

Mr Mmusi presented the 1984–85 budget to Parliament on Feb. 13, 1984.

Revenue for the period was expected to amount to 649,000,000 pula, while expenditure was forecast to be P 604,500,000, leaving a surplus of P 44,500,000, compared with budget deficits of P 3,000,000 for 1983–84, and of P 20,000,000 in 1982–83.

Export earnings from diamonds had increased to approximately P 450,000,000, accounting for 66 per cent of export earnings. The total diamond output for 1983 was nearly 11,000,000 carats, an increase of 43 per cent over the previous year. The second-largest contributor to earnings, the livestock sector, showed a slight decline over 1983–84, the national herd having decreased from 2,979,000 in 1982 to 2,818,000 in 1983. The development budget appropriation for 1984–85 was set at P 238,200,000, an increase of P 36,200,000 over the previous year. The largest share of the development budget (25 per cent) was allocated to the Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs.

Gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated to have grown in real terms by 13 per cent in 1982–83, compared with negative growth in the two previous years. In 1983 Botswana had achieved a record export payments surplus of P 133,000,000, and had for the first time achieved a merchandise trade surplus.

On Oct. 8, 1984, when Parliament reconvened, President Masire announced that 60 per cent of the population were receiving supplementary food from relief supplies, crop production having declined due to drought over the previous three years. An estimated one-third of the national

herd was at risk due to the lack of grazing. Grain production in 1983 was 14,425 tonnes, representing only 10 per cent of national requirements.

Mr Mmusi presented the 1985–86 budget on Feb. 18, 1985.

Estimates of revenue for the 1984–85 period had been revised upwards to P 746,000,000, largely because of increased earnings from diamonds, but revenue for the 1985–86 financial year was expected to be slightly lower, at P 708,000,000, mainly because no major mineral development programmes were expected to come into operation during this period. Expenditure was forecast to increase to P 722,000,000, leaving a budget deficit of P 14,000,000, which was to be funded from reserves.

Export earnings from diamonds in the previous year had increased to P 616,000,000, amounting to 76 per cent of total export earnings of P 809,000,000. Production in 1984 had increased by more than 20 per cent.

A total of P 272,000,000 was allocated to the development budget, of which the largest share (27 per cent) was allocated to the Ministry of Works and Communications, with the Mineral Resources and Water Affairs department receiving 22 per cent.

GDP was estimated to have grown by 12 per cent in 1984–85, but a lower growth rate, of 4 per cent, was projected for 1985–86. Inflation had been reduced from 8.3 per cent to 6.5 per cent. Civil servants' salaries were to be increased by 6 per cent from April 1, 1985 (the previous year's increase having been 10 per cent).

The severity of the drought over the past two years was expected to affect adversely the country's livestock industry, particularly beef exports. The Botswana Meat Commission, the public corporation which managed livestock products, made a loss of P 2,000,000 in 1984. The value of agricultural production had fallen from P 69,000,000 in 1981–82 to P 36,000,000 in 1983–84. (Africa Economic Digest-Cape Times- Africa Research Bulletin-Financial Times-Guardian-Times-Botswana High Commission, London-Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London-BBC Summary of World Broadcasts) (*Prev. rep. 32062 A; 1979 general election 30083*)