

CHAPTER 4.

THE TSWANA ON THE ROAD TO SELF-RULE

4.1. Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to look at the implementation of the Black Authority System structures as applied in the Tswana homeland, in particular the territorial authority as the legislative body of the Tswana — more so that this body eventually became the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly. The chapter also examines the events concerning the Tswana on the road to self-rule. This will be done by looking at the constitutional and political development of the Tswana, the creation and development of political parties and party issues as well as the establishment of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party (B.D.P) and its policy.

The chapter will further elucidate the nature of the process the Tswana followed towards self-rule and how self-rule was finally achieved. Ideological as well as physical conflicts amongst the political parties will be discussed.

4.2. Constitutional and political development

4.2.1. Introduction

Various aspects relating to constitutional and political developments will be discussed. This will include issues such as the establishment of the Tswana Territorial Authority (T.T.A.); the question of citizenship and urban representation; the formation of the Tswana Legislative Assembly (T.L.A.); the drawing of the constitution and its recommendations; the national

symbols and powers of the Tswana Legislative Assembly as well as the elections.

4.2.2. Tswana Territorial Authority (T.T.A)

The establishment of the territorial authorities was settled in parliament by the Black Authorities Act of 1951, and by the Promotion of Black Self-Government Act of 1959.

Subsequent to the Promotion of the Black Self-Government Act of 1959, the Tswana Territorial Authority was established in 1961, at Potchefstroom. This was in accordance with Section 2(c) of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951¹¹⁰.

The Tswana Territorial Authority was comprised of representatives of eight regional authorities, which number was later increased to twelve. The executive council of the Tswana Territorial Authority was comprised of the chairman, vice-chairman (both chiefs), a full time secretary and one member from each regional authority. This executive council met twice a month at Mafikeng. The term of office for the council was five years. Beside the council, there were also sub-committees, such as:

1. The committee in charge of the codification of Tswana laws and their use;
2. The committee in charge of income and expenditure; and
3. The committee in charge of urban representation.

All these sub-committees were formed from members of the Executive Council of the Tswana Territorial Authority¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰Union of South Africa. Black Authorities Act of 1951. Art. 2(c).

¹¹¹Loc. cit.

The chairman of the Tswana Territorial Authority was Chief T.R. Pilane, chief of the Bakgatla ba ga Kgáfêla of Pilanesberg. Chief L.M. Mangope, chief of the Bahurutshe boo Manyane of Motswedi near Zeerust, was vice-chairman. These two men were to dominate the political scene in the homeland¹¹².

As the highest constitutional body, the T.T.A. had some political powers and had to co-operate with the Commissioner General of the Tswana. This enabled it to work co-ordinately with the central South African government for purposes of proper administrative control. The T.T.A. also had to co-operate with the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development¹¹³.

The Tswana Territorial Authority was comprised of the following regional authorities:

1. Ditsobotla Regional Authority
2. Odi Regional Authority
3. Huhudi-Bechuanaland Regional Authority
4. Madikwe Regional Authority
5. Pilanesberg Regional Authority
6. Barolong Regional Authority
7. Bakgatla-Ndebele Regional Authority
8. Bahurutshe Regional Authority
9. Taung Regional Authority
10. Seokama-Dichaba Regional Authority
11. Bafokeng Tribal Authority

¹¹²Republic of South Africa. Department of Information, 1969. Bantu. Tswana Territorial Authority 16(2). pp.1-10 — An account of the History of T.T.A.

¹¹³Loc. cit.

12. Barolong Tribal Authority
13. Batlhaping Tribal Authority¹¹⁴.

The three tribal authorities mentioned were endowed with the same responsibilities and powers as regional authorities¹¹⁵. All regional and tribal authorities were established in respect of areas regarded as part of the Tswana homeland.

Some Regional Authorities in Bophuthatswana regarded the creation of a territorial authority as a blessing. They believed that it served a most useful purpose in the political development of the Tswana people as it provided an instrument whereby they could make their views known to the central government on all matters which were of interest or importance to them. More significantly, it also provided a platform from which to launch all future efforts to promote their own political objectives¹¹⁶.

During the very first session of the T.T.A. in 1961, it became clear, however, that certain members were setting their sights on self-government. In one instance, the chairman, Chief Pilane, declared:

"We are a proud people, will it then be surprising if we ask for self-government?"

The Vice-chairman, Chief Mangope, however, took a different view:

"We have to ask ourselves if we have enough experience and strength to govern ourselves."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. pp.488-502.

¹¹⁵Loc. cit.

¹¹⁶Republic of Bophuthatswana. The Republic of Bophuthatswana. Mmabatho. 1977. pp.194-196.

¹¹⁷L.M. Mangope. 1979. Trends in Southern Africa and the Role of Bophuthatswana. Johannesburg. pp.4-45. Republic of South Africa; Minutes of the Session of Tswana Territorial Authority. 1961. pp.15-16.

The question of self-government was also raised during the 1964 session when Chief Motlhabane, a member of the Executive Council, tabled a motion asking for immediate self-government for the Tswana. This was after the Transkei had been granted self-government the previous year. This motion was, however, withdrawn because no final agreement was reached. A similar motion was tabled in the 1965 session and it was decided that a special session for the discussion of the question of self-government would be held¹¹⁸. In this discussion it was decided that the Executive Council of the T.T.A. was to meet with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.C.Botha¹¹⁹. This meeting took place on 20 November 1965, and the Executive Council was given the assurance that the Tswana were next in line for self-governing status on the Transkei pattern¹²⁰. They were, however, told by the Pretoria government that problems such as a shortage of trained personnel and the unconsolidated nature of the homeland would inevitably delay self-government¹²¹.

When the subject was once more raised during the T.T.A. session of 1966, conflicting views on the question were again expressed. This certainly led to some degree of polarization around Chiefs Pilane and Mangope. Benbo¹²² asserts that the former once more opted for immediate self-government while Chief Mangope still advised a more cautious approach. These conflicting views led directly to the establishment of the two main political parties in Bophuthatswana in 1972, namely the Bophuthatswana National Party (B.N.P.) under Chief Mangope and the Seoposengwe Party (S.P.) under Chief Pilane.

¹¹⁸Republic of South Africa. Minutes of the Session of T.T.A. 1965.

¹¹⁹Loc. cit.

¹²⁰Republic of South Africa. Minutes of the Executive Council T.T.A. and M.C. Botha, 20 November 1965 F/56/6. The Star 21 November 1965.

¹²¹Loc. cit.

¹²²M. Benbo. 1977. Op. cit. pp.130-145.

A special session of the T.T.A. was held in March 1967 to discuss a blueprint for reform in the administration. These reforms implied delegating more administrative powers and functions to the T.T.A. The session amended the T.T.A. constitution and some regulations for tribal communities, regional authorities as well as for the T.T.A. were promulgated. These changes were made in accordance with the framework of the 1959 act with prior notice to, and in agreement with, the central government¹²³.

Members of the T.T.A. were to elect a chairman as well as a vice-chairman who would act as speaker and deputy speaker respectively. They were also to elect a chief councillor and five councillors who would constitute the Executive Council of which the chief councillor would be chairman¹²⁴. The amended constitution further provided for the establishment of the following government departments, each under the political leadership of an executive council member, i.e. Community Affairs and Works; Education and Culture; Agriculture and Justice; and Authority Affairs and Finance. Administrative personnel (both white and black) of the central department of Bantu Education working in the T.T.A. (homeland) were seconded to the T.T.A. and all offices of these departments became offices of the T.T.A. situated in Mafikeng¹²⁵.

Tswana regional authorities henceforth ceased to be executive bodies and instead became advisory bodies on regional development, to the T.T.A. Their functions were taken over by the various departments of the T.T.A.

These administrative reforms, evidently designed to improve the infra-structure of the homeland and give more powers to govern themselves, came into

¹²³Republic of South Africa. Minutes of the Special Session of the T.T.A. 1967.

¹²⁴Republic of South Africa. Constitution of T.T.A. 1967.

Republic of South Africa. Department of Information: Tswana prepare for self-rule. 1967. 14(1) pp.2-13.

¹²⁵Republiek van Suid Afrika. Hersaamgestelde Tswanagebiedsowerheid, 1969, Verrigtinge van die 1968 Algemene Sessie. Mafikeng. pp.33-34.

effect on 9 December 1968. The new dispensation of 1968 was referred to as the second phase of "accelerated self-rule". Chief Mangope was elected Chief Councillor, while three other chiefs and two commoners were elected members of the Executive Council¹²⁶.

At that time, the T.T.A. did not consist of chiefs only. Because the T.T.A. was empowered to co-opt progressive tribesmen for the elected community authority, many commoners were returned to regional authorities and from there to the T.T.A. In fact, by the end of 1968 the T.T.A. consisted of 29 chiefs, 7 headmen and 23 commoners. Except for 12 chiefs who were *ex-officio* members, one per regional authority, only 35% of the remaining chiefs were nominated as members of the T.T.A. by the constituent or regional authority¹²⁷. This was a new democratic tendency compared to the traditional system of government.

In accordance with the new constitutional changes which came into effect on 9 December 1968, the following committee members were appointed on the grounds of availability and personal ability:

Chief L.M. Mangope (Authority Affairs and Finance)

Chief H. Maseloane (Community Affairs)

Chief S.G. Ntuane (Agriculture)

Chief B. Toto (Justice)

Mr M. Setlogelo (Education and Culture)

Mr D.P. Kgotleng (Works)¹²⁸.

¹²⁶Executive Council T.T.A.: Chief Mangope (Chief Councillor), Chief Maseloane, Chief Ntuane, Chief Tolo, D P Kgotleng and M. Setlogelo - two commoners.

¹²⁷Republic of South Africa. Proclamation No. 211/1969. Art. 8(1)(2).

¹²⁸Republiek van Suid Afrika. Hersaamgestelde Tswanagebiedsowerheid: 1968 - Algemene Sessie. Mafikeng. pp.33-34.

4.2.3. Citizenship and urban representation

In terms of the Homeland Citizenship Act (26/1970), Tswana citizenship was conferred on all blacks in South Africa who were born or domiciled in the Tswana Homeland, who spoke Setswana (excluding Setswana speakers from any other black state or area) or identified or associated themselves with the Tswana population by virtue of their cultural or racial background. Such people were to be given Tswana citizenship certificates and would enjoy full political rights in the Tswana Homeland¹²⁹.

Appointed Tswana representatives in the white urban areas were to institute and consolidate several Tswana Councils in black residential and white areas in the cities to improve contact between these Tswana and their homeland. They were also vested with the powers of settling disputes among Tswana in urban areas and finding them suitable employment¹³⁰.

4.2.4. The Tswana Legislative Assembly

It now became apparent to some members of the T.T.A. that, in terms of the amendment of the constitution of the T.T.A. and the reforms of 1968/69, the political power which they had expected had actually been substituted by administrative power and this was a great disappointment to them. Some complained about the white officials who were seconded to the T.T.A. to occupy posts and be in charge of administrative departments as heads¹³¹. It came as no surprise, therefore, when Chief Pilane once more tabled a

¹²⁹The Republic of South Africa. The Black Homeland Citizenship Act (26/1970). Clause 6. J.H. Moolman and G.M.E. Leistner. 1974. Bophuthatswana: Hulpbronne en Ontwikkeling. Deel I. pp.5-6.

¹³⁰Republic of South Africa. The Black Homeland Citizenship Act (26/1970). C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. pp.506-510.

¹³¹Republic of South Africa. Minutes of the 1970 Session of T.T.A. Mafikeng. p.110.

motion during the 1970 session of the T.T.A. asking for self-government by 1973¹³².

Chief Mangope asked that the Executive Council be authorised to negotiate for self-government with the central government as early as possible. He added:

*"We do not say it should be in 1973. Even if it were to be in 1971, if the time is ripe, let it be so."*¹³³

At the request of the T.T.A., the provisions of the Homeland Constitution Act (21/1971) were applied to the Tswana homeland¹³⁴. In terms of the proclamation mentioned, the T.T.A. was superseded by the Tswana Legislative Assembly (T.L.A.). This assembly was empowered to legislate on a wider range of matters including the establishment of new government departments, a government commissioner and a revenue fund. It should, however, be noted that the T.L.A. was not fully autonomous in terms of political powers as no provision was made for this in the act. For example, the homeland could not yet have its own military force and it could not conduct its own foreign relations with other countries or states. Thus, it was partial self-rule.

4.2.4.1. Constitutional changes for self-government

In 1971, a Constitutional Committee was appointed by the homeland government to draft a constitution to be implemented when the territory was granted self-government and to make

¹³²Loc. cit.

¹³³Loc. cit.

¹³⁴Republic of South Africa. Proclamation R87/1971.

recommendations to the T.L.A. on a name and a flag for the homeland¹³⁵.

The Constitutional Committee tabled its report in 1972. After a lengthy discussion an agreement was reached on the name of the territory, a flag and a new constitution. The State President was requested to declare Bophuthatswana a self-governing territory, to be governed in terms of the new constitution. After the granting of self-government on 1 June 1972, the territory was officially known as Bophuthatswana¹³⁶.

4.2.4.2. Elections and nominations

The Executive Council of the T.L.A. was superseded by a cabinet consisting of a chief minister and five other ministers. The chief minister was to be elected by the Legislative Assembly (L.A.) and he would in turn nominate the other members of the cabinet¹³⁷. The Legislative Assembly would consist of 48 members nominated by the regional authorities and 24 elected members — two each from the twelve regions which had been declared electoral constituencies¹³⁸. Each citizen of a particular constituency would have two votes to elect 2 candidates per constituency. The Legislative Assembly would elect a chairman and vice-chairman who would vacate their offices when they lost their seats¹³⁹.

¹³⁵Republic of South Africa. Homeland Constitution Act (21/1971). Art. 3, 5, 6, 13, 16, 4 and 3(2).

¹³⁶Republic of South Africa. Proclamation R130/1972.

¹³⁷Republic of South Africa. Homeland Constitution Act (21/1971). Art. 13-24.

¹³⁸Loc. cit.

¹³⁹Republic of South Africa. Homeland Constitution Act of 1971. Arts. 25-28.

The constitution also made provision for chiefs to retain their traditional status¹⁴⁰. The old Legislative Assembly was prorogued on 4 October 1971, while the cabinet functioned until 1 November 1972¹⁴¹.

Regional Authorities nominated their 48 representatives and on 2 August 1972, nomination courts were held to accept nominations for the 24 members to be elected into the Legislative Assembly.

4.2.4.3. National symbols and powers of the T.L.A.

In terms of proclamation R87 of 1971, the territory was granted its own flag and a national anthem "Lefatshe la bo rra rona..."¹⁴². Setswana was recognised as the third official language — the other two being English and Afrikaans. The new Legislative Assembly was empowered to amend or repeal any South African legislation which fell within its competence and jurisdiction and applied to Bophuthatswana citizens¹⁴³.

The High Court of Bophuthatswana was to be established to take over all judicial responsibilities from the provincial divisions of the Supreme Court of South Africa whose jurisdiction extended to Bophuthatswana at that time¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴⁰Loc. cit.

¹⁴¹Republic of South Africa. Proclamation No. 163/1972.

¹⁴²Republic of South Africa. Proclamation R87/1971.

¹⁴³Republic of South Africa. Homeland Constitution Act of 1971. Arts. 27 and 28.

¹⁴⁴Republic of South Africa. Homeland Constitution Act (21/1971). Art. 28.

The homeland was, however, still not allowed to have its own military force.

4.2.5. The creation and development of political parties and party issues

The difference in opinion among the members of the homeland government in respect of the political status of the territory led to serious conflict, particularly between Chiefs Mangope and Pilane. This conflict naturally caused the formation of political parties in the territory.

Three political parties, the Seoposengwe Party (S.P.), the Bophuthatswana National Party (B.N.P.) and the Tswana National Party (T.N.P.), were formed. These were the political parties which registered for election in 1972. From the inception of self-government status in 1972, the S.P. and the B.N.P. dominated the politics of the territory. These parties are discussed individually.

4.2.5.1. The Seoposengwe Party (S.P.)

After the establishment of the first Legislative Assembly in 1972, the Pilane faction first considered the formation of a party. These thoughts did not crystallise until 3 June 1972, when a private meeting of Chief Pilane's supporters was held at GaRankuwa, near Pretoria. It was at this meeting that Chief Pilane was asked to form a political party¹⁴⁵.

From 3 June 1972 onwards, the S.P. gradually took shape and the formal establishment took place on 29 July 1972 at Moruleng/Saulspoor, the home of Chief Pilane. The meeting was

¹⁴⁵D.A. Kotzé. 1975. African Politics in South Africa 1964 - 1974 : Parties and Issues. London. pp.49-50.

attended by supporters from various districts of Bophuthatswana and from white urban areas¹⁴⁶.

The aim of the formation of the party was to foster the ideas of the Pilane faction in respect of the political status which they criticised and considered as limited self-government. Undoubtedly, the self-government at that stage was limited — hence Chief Pilane's argument was to change it as quickly as possible.

The S.P. has played a leading role in the politics of the country since its formation in 1972 and it ultimately became the opposition party after the Bophuthatswana National Party became the ruling party. It is not quite clear why Pilane lost influence after he had been instrumental in creating the T.T.A. in 1961. Seemingly, he lost the support of the South African government because of his stand regarding the future status of the Tswana territory. The other possibility is that he was too progressive for the other chiefs in the territory.

4.2.5.2. The Bophuthatswana National Party (B.N.P.)

By 14 July 1972, when the ex-officio members of the Legislative Assembly and certain regional authorities had been established the party had not yet been formed¹⁴⁷. The B.N.P. had still not been established at the time of the nomination of candidates on 2 August 1972 for the first general election scheduled for 4 October 1972.

¹⁴⁶Loc. cit.

C.J. Maritz. 1976. *Op. cit.* pp.539-40.

¹⁴⁷D.A. Kotzé. 1975. *Op. cit.* p.48.

Immediately before nomination Chief Mangope had expressed himself against the establishment of political parties, and so lost the initiative. It was known that a faction of Pilane's supporters had considered forming a party but this knowledge was not treated seriously amongst the Mangope supporters. It was thought that "...they would not have the guts actually to do so, and that a stand by Chief Mangope would effectively detain them"¹⁴⁸.

The establishment of the Seoposengwe Party thus caught the Mangope faction off guard. Certain candidates supporting Chief Mangope were even allowed to oppose one another in several constituencies¹⁴⁹.

The Mangope faction was thus forced to follow the S.P.'s lead, and to canvass and select candidates. The establishment of the B.N.P. only eight days after the establishment of the S.P. suggests, however, that some preparations had been made for an emergency of this nature. Before the establishment of the B.N.P., Chief Mangope had warned that if an opposition party was established, it would have to take the consequences and it would be treated as opposition. The meaning of the warning was not entirely clear, except that it heralded the end of the non-party approach¹⁵⁰.

The B.N.P. was established on 6 August 1972, at the initiative of Chief Mangope, who had called a meeting for this purpose. He

¹⁴⁸Loc. cit.
C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. p.540

¹⁴⁹D.A. Kotzé. 1975. Op. cit. p.48.
C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. p.540.

¹⁵⁰D.A. Kotzé. 1975. Op. cit. p.48.
C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. p.540.

declared that for him there was no alternative but to form another party on the condition, however, that its basis be an attempt to unify the Tswana of Bophuthatswana. Immediately after the B.N.P.'s establishment, the party executive, 41 of the appointed members of the Legislative Assembly, and all candidates supporting the party met at Mafikeng to select the official B.N.P. candidates. Some of the candidates who were then dropped, resented these measures even though their deposits were returned. They decided to stand as independents to oppose the official candidates¹⁵¹.

4.2.5.3. The Tswana National Party (T.N.P.) and the Progressive Party (P.P.)

M.N. Tsoke, who on nomination day supported the Mangope faction but was later excluded from the B.N.P. list of candidates, later declared himself as a candidate for the Progressive Party in the Odi constituency. This party, however, existed in name only and after the election disappeared from the scene¹⁵².

The Tswana National Party (T.N.P.) was established by Lloyd Ndaba, a Zulu inhabitant of Soweto, whose house was the headquarters of a number of ethnic political parties, e.g. the Zulu National Party and the Lebowa National party. Most of these so-called parties appeared to be one-man efforts by Ndaba, who professed to support separate development. In the Bophuthatswana general election, Mrs M.R. Modise was at first the only candidate of

¹⁵¹D.A. Kotzé. 1975. Op. cit. p.49.

¹⁵²Loc. cit.

the Tswana National party but was later to be joined by Mrs Tswai¹⁵³.

The T.N.P. was, in fact, the first political party of the three as it had been established in 1968. The initial aim of the party was to mobilize support for certain candidates who sought election to the Bantu Urban Council of Soweto, but the leader of the T.N.P. stated that "*...when in the foreseeable future the government of South Africa orders a general election for a Tswana government, we hope to be right there with the right men and the right attitude*"¹⁵⁴.

The party, however, had a limited urban base and could, therefore, exercise only a marginal influence on the election. None of its candidates was able to secure a seat in the Legislative Assembly¹⁵⁵.

4.2.5.4. Development of political platforms

As the politics of the political parties unfolded, it became clear that they differed in policies, attitudes and approaches towards future political structures, status and development of the homeland.

The most pronounced conflict was between the B.N.P. and S.P. It centred around their approach towards self-government for the Tswana. It must be noted that although both parties were committed to working within the framework of South Africa's policy

¹⁵³ibid. p.50.
C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. p.540.

¹⁵⁴H. Champion. 1977. Bophuthatswana: Where the Tswana meet. Sandton. pp.80-9.

¹⁵⁵Republic of South Africa. Debates: Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly : B.L.A. First Session 30 October to 3 November 1972. pp.14-16.

of multinational development, their leaders differed widely on certain issues.

The two parties differed on the tempo or time scale for achieving self-government. The S.P. maintained that self-government status should be granted as soon as possible whereas the B.N.P. adopted a more cautious approach as they believed that the time was not yet ripe for the Tswana to be granted self-governing status. Oral evidence has it that Chief Pilane was in favour of self-government status as quickly as possible because he commanded support at the time while Chief Mangope, on the other hand, played for time with the hope of mobilizing and gaining additional support, particularly from the chiefs¹⁵⁶.

The S.P. accepted the establishment of self-government in the Tswana territory as a kind of launching pad for the promotion of unity and solidarity amongst all the black peoples of South Africa. Self-government to the S.P. was a platform to be used to speak for all blacks in South Africa and not only for the Tswana as an ethnic group¹⁵⁷. The B.N.P. originally supported the concept of Tswanahood, Tswana nationalism and self-determination for the Tswana nation¹⁵⁸. Later, however, Chief Mangope stated that federation as a solution to South Africa's problems should be more closely examined¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁶Information provided in an interview: This information is from Mr V.T. Sifora, a staunch supporter and Secretary General of the National Seoposengwe Party earlier known as Seoposengwe Party (S.P.).

¹⁵⁷Seoposengwe Party. Seoposengwe Constitution. 1972. Preamble Art. 1 p.4.

¹⁵⁸Bophuthatswana National Party. Bophuthatswana National Party Constitution. 1972. Preamble Art. 1.

¹⁵⁹Republic of Bophuthatswana. Republic of Bophuthatswana. 1977. p.204. P.L. Breutz. 1952. *Op. cit.* pp.440-44.

The S.P. was opposed to traditional leaders, i.e. chiefs and headmen, being admitted to the Legislative Assembly merely by virtue of their office. The S.P. maintained that it was time for the Tswana nation to lay more emphasis on the merits of leadership than to accentuate chieftainship as such. They believed that leadership should be from the best human material¹⁶⁰. The B.N.P., on the other hand, viewed traditional leadership as fundamental to the process of political development in Bophuthatswana. The B.N.P. maintained that chiefs are persons of high status in Tswana tradition, and since the Tswana government was going to operate in Tswana territory which belonged to the chiefs, they must play a significant role. The B.N.P. believed that no form of government in the Tswana territory, no matter what wisdom it commanded, would successfully rule the Tswana unless it was supported by chiefs. According to the B.N.P., the chiefs would have to legislate and not people legislate for the chiefs¹⁶¹.

Acquiring more land for the homeland was a platform for both parties, but they differed on the method of acquisition. The S.P. favoured a national convention of all parties concerned with the question of more land for the blacks while the B.N.P. favoured the establishment of a Land Board to investigate all the land requirements of Bophuthatswana and to represent the government in negotiations with the government of South Africa. The basic argument between the two parties was that the S.P. advocated for more land for the blacks in South Africa while the B.N.P. advocated more land for the Tswana¹⁶².

¹⁶⁰Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. 1st session, 1st Assembly, Vol. 1, 21 March - 13 April 1972. p.119.

¹⁶¹Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. 1st Session, 1st Assembly, Vol. 1, 21 March - 13 April 1972, p.130.

¹⁶²Republic of South Africa. Department of Information: 1967. Art. 14(1). pp.12-13.

Both parties agreed that there be compulsory education at primary level. The B.N.P. also had tertiary education as a top priority while the S.P. emphasized adult education¹⁶³.

In 1972, the B.N.P. agreed to and accepted the white authority as their agents to develop the economy of the territory, while the S.P.'s standpoint was that Bophuthatswana should have a final say about who should be approached and allowed to carry out economic activities and, that foreigners would be allowed in Bophuthatswana only until the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (B.N.D.C.) started functioning¹⁶⁴.

Both parties accepted the Separate Development policy for the time being although for different reasons. The B.N.P. accepted separate development because at that time it was the only policy which could put the Tswana in a position to exist equally with the other nations within their own culture¹⁶⁵.

The S.P., however, only accepted Separate Development as a basis for political negotiation concerning the future political status of the territory¹⁶⁶. The S.P. could afford for the time being to appeal to mass emotions for immediate independence without having the necessary experience to carry it through. Chief Pilane experienced real government only when he was involved in the Tswana Territorial Authority at the beginning of the dispensation. So Chief

¹⁶³Republic of South Africa. Minutes: Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly. 1973. Mmabatho. p.110.

¹⁶⁴S.P. 1972. *Op. cit.* p.2.
S.P. Manifesto. 1972. p.2.

¹⁶⁵B.N.P. 1972. *Op. cit.*

¹⁶⁶S.P. 1972. *Op. cit.* p.3.

Pilane used the issue of Separate Development more radically to exploit his political opportunity to get power¹⁶⁷.

4.2.5.5. The structure and organization of the political parties

Similarities and differences between the political parties in respect of structure and organization were also noticeable.

Both the B.N.P. and the S.P. showed broadly the same structure, namely local branches at district level, district councils and a central policy making General Council and Congress respectively which also had an Executive council and Executive committee appointed by General Congress and by the Council respectively¹⁶⁸. Yet one is struck by the fact that there were also organizational and structural differences between the B.N.P. and the S.P.

First of all, on the question of membership, the S.P. opened its membership to Tswana of 16 years and older¹⁶⁹. The B.N.P. on the other hand opened its membership to only Bophuthatswana citizens of 18 years and older¹⁷⁰. In both the B.N.P. and S.P., party affiliation took place through the local party branches¹⁷¹.

The second noteworthy difference pertains to the regional structures. The S.P. consisted of 17 regions, each under a regional council and executive committee composed of delegates from each

¹⁶⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁸C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. pp.657-8.

¹⁶⁹S.P. 1972. Op. cit. Arts. 2 and 6. pp.3-11.

¹⁷⁰B.N.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 2.

¹⁷¹C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. pp.657-658.

branch. The regions consisted of delegates from each branch in the 12 districts of Bophuthatswana, as well as Soweto, East Rand, Vaal Complex and Bloemfontein-Welkom¹⁷². On the other hand, the B.N.P. consisted only of 12 regions which coincided with the 12 districts of Bophuthatswana. Branches which were within the white urban areas were to be affiliated to one of these regions¹⁷³.

So, besides the policy of the B.N.P. which was very much geared to homeland policy, the structure of the B.N.P. was also homeland based.

A third difference was found in the composition of the highest authority, namely the B.N.P. Congress and the S.P.'s General Council. The General Council consisted of the Executive Council plus the delegates of the 17 regions¹⁷⁴. On the other hand the B.N.P. Congress consisted of members of the Executive Council, the leader, the deputy leader, the secretary of each branch and two party members of each regional authority in Bophuthatswana. The composition of this body could be changed by only a two-thirds majority votes, thus it made the position of the leadership safe in terms of the party¹⁷⁵.

A fourth difference was found in the composition of the Executive Council. The S.P. consisted of the Executive Committee plus the chairmen of the regional councils, whereas in the B.N.P. it consisted of the Executive Committee of the party and the Executive

¹⁷²S.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 3. p.5.

¹⁷³B.N.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 2.

¹⁷⁴S.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 3. p.5.

¹⁷⁵B.N.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 4(2).

Committee members of all the regions plus the ministers of Bophuthatswana who were not already members of the Executive Council.

The last notable point of difference refers to the authority which was placed in the hands of the respective party leaders: "The leader of the B.N.P. shall solely have the right to interpret and/or proclaim party policy"¹⁷⁶. Here one sees an unmistakable sign of traditional political structure. Just as the tribal chief has the final say in the tribe, so the leader had the same power in the political party. In the S.P., power and authority were in the hands of the Executive Council¹⁷⁷.

4.2.5.6. The attitude of the Tswana towards the political parties

It appears that the attitude of the Tswana towards political parties differed from region to region and from tribal council to tribal council.

According to Maritz¹⁷⁸ 66% of the Tswana were in favour of the existence of political parties, 13% were against and 21% were undecided. One would imagine that in regions where Chief Mangope as the leader of the B.N.P. was preferred to Chief Pilane, Tswana would support the B.N.P. and those who preferred Chief Pilane would support the S.P.

¹⁷⁶B.N.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 4F.

¹⁷⁷S.P. 1972. Op. cit. Art. 3. p5.

¹⁷⁸C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. p.661.

The Tswana who were undecided were those who were uncertain about the policies of these parties¹⁷⁹.

The preference given could, however, be correlated with the number of votes which were recorded for official B.N.P. and S.P. candidates namely 241712 against 145376. In other words 62,3% for the B.N.P. and 37,7% for the S.P. These figures seem to suggest that there was a B.N.P. preference, and therefore, were in line with the figures shown during the elections of 1972¹⁸⁰. The T.N.P. attracted only 1,5% of the total number of votes and, therefore, was not really a factor to be taken into account¹⁸¹.

The S.P. received relatively more support in the white urban areas than in the white rural areas while the situation was the opposite with the B.N.P. The reason for this was probably that white employers on the platteland, particularly in rural areas, and who were overwhelmingly in favour of what they saw as a moderate B.N.P., exerted influence on their workers with regard to the choice of candidates than they could have done in urban areas. In the urban areas, the English language black orientated press, which gave more prominence to the S.P., exerted an influence¹⁸².

In so far as the policy of the two parties was concerned, it was obvious that there was some uncertainty among the Tswana.

¹⁷⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁰Loc. cit.

¹⁸¹Loc. cit.

¹⁸²Loc. cit.

The most general objection against the S.P. as given by the B.N.P. supporters or members, was that it believed in violence and direct confrontation — it housed leftist elements and therefore *"...it is a continuation of the old A.N.C"*¹⁸³. The B.N.P., on the other hand, was not supported by S.P. supporters because it put too much emphasis on tribal affiliations and chieftainship and did not look after the aspirations of the ordinary man. This was the point that Chief Pilane repeatedly made during his election campaign¹⁸⁴.

As far as the parties in general were concerned, there was a wide spectrum of opinions within each. From the B.N.P. circle there had already been declarations issued which were in line with the S.P. policy while S.P. leadership some times adopted an attitude which precisely agreed with the B.N.P.¹⁸⁵. The parties had "built in" opposition within their own ranks.

One could also add that there was little general appreciation within the B.N.P. ranks for the existence at all of an opposition party. During the special session of the end of 1974, the chief minister commented that *"...in central government, permission is given for the formation of different political parties although one cannot really see what advantages they hold for everybody"*¹⁸⁶.

From the above, it ought to be obvious that political parties came into existence to compete for authority in Bophuthatswana and that

¹⁸³C.J. Maritz. 1976. *Op. cit.* p.665.

¹⁸⁴*Loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁵*Loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁶Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. 3 December 1974. p.67.

these parties cut across primary divisions such as tribal affiliation, as well as those between the homeland and in urban areas.

It must be noted that, in areas such as Soweto, there was as much interest in the B.N.P. and S.P. in 1972-1973 as in the Soweto based T.N.P.¹⁸⁷.

4.2.5.7. 1972 Bophuthatswana elections

The election campaign was well publicised in the press and through the media. A series of rallies and meetings were organised by both parties. The results were made known and showed that between 40% and 50% of eligible voters went to the polls although there was no voting in four areas. The results further indicated that the S.P. got more votes in white areas both in and out of Bophuthatswana than the B.N.P. Nevertheless the S.P. won only in two eastern constituencies of Odi and Moretele while the other contested seats were won either by the B.N.P. candidates or Independent candidates who sided with the B.N.P.¹⁸⁸.

The B.N.P. got most of its support from the tribal areas. Thus it became clear that the tribal chiefs played an important role in the 1972 elections.

The relative strength of the parties was reflected once more in the election of the chief minister¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁷C.J. Maritz. 1976. Op. cit. p.666.

¹⁸⁸Ibid. pp.542-543.

¹⁸⁹Ibid. p.543.

In a special session of the Legislative Assembly on 30 October 1972, Chief Mangope was elected Chief Minister of the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly by 60 votes against Chief Pilane's eight. Two papers were spoiled¹⁹⁰. On 1 November 1972, the Cabinet was announced.

Chief Minister: Chief L.M. Mangope (Authority Affairs and Finance)

Ministers: Chief H. Maseloane (Internal Affairs)
 Chief V.A.T. Makapan (Justice)
 Chief J.B. Toto (Works)
 Chief T.M. Molathwa (Agriculture) and
 Mr M. Setlogelo (Education)¹⁹¹.

On the same day, the new cabinet was sworn in and on the next day the State President of South Africa, Mr B.J. Vorster, opened the first session of the first generally elected Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly¹⁹².

4.2.5.8. Opposition to Chief Mangope

Despite its position after the election of 1972, the B.N.P. soon experienced internal strife. The problems started in July 1973 when the chief minister dismissed Chief Maseloane and the secretary of the B.N.P.¹⁹³. They remained members of the B.L.A.

¹⁹⁰Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. 1st Session - 1st L.A. 30 October - 3 November 1972. pp.4-5.

¹⁹¹Ibid. p.8.

¹⁹²Ibid. pp.10-43.

¹⁹³Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. 2nd Session. Vol 3. 1973. p.720.

Political clouds gathered further in March 1974, when a vote of no-confidence in the chief minister was proposed in the B.L.A. Supporting the vote were two cabinet ministers, Chief H.R.T. Maseloane and Chief J.B. Toto. The motion was moved by Chief E.R. Lencoe, a leading member of the B.N.P. and vice-chairman of the Assembly. From the opposition party, however, only Mr S.J.J. Lesolang spoke in support of the motions¹⁹⁴.

The no-confidence motion was, however, withdrawn after three weeks of debate and consultation with the Commissioner-General, Mr G.R. Wessels. The two cabinet ministers, Chief Maseloane and Chief Toto were expelled from the B.N.P.¹⁹⁵.

Following this, an attempt to expel Chief Mangope from his party was made by the two cabinet ministers, Chief Maseloane and Chief Toto. The matter was taken to the South African Supreme Court and resulted in an order in favour of the Chief Minister¹⁹⁶. Chief Mangope then resigned from the B.N.P. and formed the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party (B.D.P.) which meant that within the cabinet there were now ministers of two different parties¹⁹⁷.

On 3 December 1974, Chief Mangope obtained a clear vote of confidence from the special session. In a motion by Mr N.J. Matseke, supporter of the newly formed party, the chief minister was requested by the assembly to petition the State

¹⁹⁴Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. 2nd Session, March 1974. pp.250.

¹⁹⁵*ibid.* p.256.

¹⁹⁶N.B. Smith. 1977. *The Republic of Bophuthatswana*. pp.140-50. The Star 26 November 1974.

¹⁹⁷N.B. Smith. 1977. *Op. cit.* pp.140-50.

President to cause the removal of Chief Maseloane and Chief Toto from their positions as cabinet ministers because they were interfering with the carrying out of duties by their actions. The motion was carried by 35 votes for and 23 against¹⁹⁸.

The fourth session of the B.L.A. was opened on 11 March 1975, by the South African Prime Minister whose arrival, according to newspaper reports, was greeted by dozens of placards. Among other placards carried slogans such as "We want elections", "We demand a change of government" and "Up with Maseloane and Toto"¹⁹⁹.

On the following day, Chief Pilane called for an immediate general election on the grounds that there were two government parties and that this confused the house. The motion was, however, defeated by 41 votes to 24²⁰⁰.

The penultimate step in the dispute was taken on 20 March 1975, when Chief Mangope gave notice of a motion to be put before the Assembly that the Bophuthatswana Constitution be amended so as to provide the chief minister with additional authority, to dismiss a minister or ministers from his or their positions when circumstances warranted such an action, with prior reference to the State President²⁰¹. This motion was not opposed. This does not differ much from the existing practice except that the chief minister

¹⁹⁸Republic of South Africa. Debates: Special Session of B.L.A. 3 December 1974, p.57.

¹⁹⁹Republic of South Africa. Debates: 4th Session of B.L.A. 11 March 1975. p.32.
The Star 12 March 1975.
The Mafikeng Mail 12 March 1975.

²⁰⁰Republic of South Africa. Debates: 4th session 11 March to 16 April 1975. pp.187-188.
The Mafikeng Mail 12 March 1975.

²⁰¹Republic of South Africa. Debates: B.L.A. Session 20 March 1975. p.188.

(President) does not have to refer to the State President of South Africa.

After Chief Mangope had resigned from the B.N.P. and formed the new B.D.P., Chief Maseloane remained the leader of the B.N.P. In February 1974, the B.N.P. and S.P. merged and became the Bophuthatswana National Seoposengwe Party (B.N.S.P.) under the leadership of Chief Maseloane. This party became the official opposition party during the pre-independence election of 24 August 1977²⁰².

4.3. The Creation of the B.D.P. and its policy

As we have seen, because of the internal strife and misunderstanding within the B.N.P. and the attempts to expel Chief Mangope from the B.N.P. and as chief minister, Chief Mangope resigned from the B.N.P. and formed the B.D.P. in November 1974.

A close look at the policy of the B.D.P. is necessary at this stage. The B.D.P. believed that it had an obligation and duty to state clearly where it stood on certain issues that affected their policy — hence the issuing of an outlined policy statement. The policy addressed several issues:

4.3.1. Race relations and human rights

With regard to race relations and human rights, the B.D.P. maintained that Tswana society should be built on respect for existing traditions and authority but with equal opportunities for all, equitable distribution of wealth, and a recognition of the worth of every man. The dignity and rights of all should be respected by all authorities in South Africa wherever such men may reside,

²⁰² ibid. p.188.

either permanently or in the course of employment. All forms of discrimination were deplored and a demand for the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex was made²⁰³.

The policy further stated that the urban and rural Bophuthatswana citizens were one people and that all had a role to play in the development of their country²⁰⁴.

4.3.2. Land consolidation and separate development

In their Manifesto, the B.D.P. maintained that land consolidation was not only of paramount importance but also fundamental to the policy of separate development. The South African Black Trust and Land Act of 1936 was totally rejected as a basis for permanent determination of the boundaries of the homelands, although the B.D.P. had no quarrel with the equitable distribution of land amongst its people, without mass removals — which they vehemently opposed²⁰⁵.

Aspects of separate development were accepted in so far as the positive factors were concerned. The B.D.P. demanded to see the implementation of the policy as enunciated by its exponents with emphasis on equality and development, rather than on separatism. The B.D.P., in accordance with their beliefs, demanded respect for human dignity of all people, equality of

²⁰³Bophuthatswana Democratic Party (B.D.P.) Manifesto. 1974.
H. Champion. 1977. Op. cit. pp.90-98.

²⁰⁴B.D.P. 1974. Op. cit.
H. Champion. 1977. Op. cit. pp.90-98.

²⁰⁵L.M. Mangope. 1977. Op. cit. pp.100-6.
B.D.P. 1974. Op. cit.

opportunities for all and a fair share in the decision making machinery in all matters that affected them²⁰⁶.

The B.D.P. stated that they were eager to be independent and free and that they fully realised that for independence to be effective, it was vital that their territory be a single geographical unit. The B.D.P. believed that the advantages of independence, as compared to their present situation, were immense. Therefore if the South African government refused to consolidate their area in a manner which they considered satisfactory, the B.D.P. was prepared to negotiate for independence and continue to press for a unified homeland, satisfactory interim arrangements in regard to transit and custom arrangements, aid to ensure economic viability of their independence and labour treaties²⁰⁷.

4.3.3. Labour and migratory labour

On the question of labour the manifesto of the B.D.P. acknowledged that blacks were part of the labour force of South Africa. However, the policy of the B.D.P. deplored the then existing industrial legislation. They claimed the same industrial rights as other racial groups; rejected the work committee system and also rejected job reservation. It was to the advantage of South Africa to redress labour bargaining weaknesses and to enter into treaties with homeland governments to work out a mutually acceptable bargaining power formula. The Manifesto further expressed its belief in equal pay for equal work²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁶L.M. Mangope. 1977. Op. cit. pp.100-6.
B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

²⁰⁷L.M. Mangope. 1978. A Place for All. Pretoria. pp.30-40.

²⁰⁸L.M. Mangope. 1978. Op. cit. pp.30-40.
B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.
F.W. Francis. 1972. Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969. Cambridge.

The B.D.P. also required that when blacks were trained and qualified, they be advanced to jobs formerly held by whites and that the basic salary for the job be given. Fringe benefits such as pension schemes, medical aid schemes and other benefits enjoyed by other race groups should be extended to black workers²⁰⁹.

Total opposition was expressed to migratory labour. It was felt by the B.D.P. that it must be phased out by providing accommodation on a family basis whenever possible, and by creating job opportunities in the homelands. All homeland governments were urged to negotiate with the South African government for the amelioration of working conditions for farm workers²¹⁰.

4.3.4. South Africa as an economic unit

The B.D.P. accepted South Africa as an economic unit and further accepted and recognised its interdependence with South Africa's population in general. Viewing the rapid industrialization of the homelands as vital, the B.D.P., whilst appreciating that border industries had created job opportunities for their people, would like to have seen job reservation in such industries completely eliminated as these industries were established solely for creating jobs for their people²¹¹.

4.3.5. Education, agriculture and the Land Bank

The B.D.P. envisaged compulsory education up to the age of 18; the promotion of adult education; technical education; in-service training; the creation of apprenticeship facilities for technically trained people; a well

²⁰⁹B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.
J.R. Butler *et al.* 1977. Op. cit. pp.105-125.

²¹⁰J.R. Butler *et al.* 1977. Op. cit. pp.105-125.

²¹¹B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

qualified teaching profession and sources of financial assistance to university students²¹².

Agriculture was described as the basis of the economy and it was stated that a leading role in matters such as consideration of the land tenure system was expected from the chiefs²¹³.

A call was made for the establishment of a Land Bank to give financial assistance to farmers²¹⁴.

4.3.6. Public service and citizenship

The B.D.P. strove for the creation of an efficient public service and for the maintenance of law and order. Although the B.D.P. appreciated the services of seconded white officials, they stressed that the localization of the public service be viewed as a matter of urgency.

In opposition to some cardinal provisions of the Homeland Citizenship Act, the B.D.P. made the suggestion that citizenship be given on merit — regardless of race.

²¹²B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

E.P. Lekhela. 1972. A Survey of the Development of Education among the Batswana of Bophuthatswana. Mafikeng. pp.100-141.

²¹³B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

E.P. Lekhela. 1972. Op. cit. pp.100-141.

F. de Clerqo. 1984. Education and the Development in Bophuthatswana: Education Research Monograph 3. Mafikeng.

²¹⁴B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

E.P. Lekhela. 1972. Op. cit. pp.100-141.

F. de Clerqo. 1984. Op. cit.

Republic of Bophuthatswana. Bophuthatswana National Commission, 1978: Report of the Bophuthatswana National Education Commission (Popagano). Mmabatho.

4.3.7. The idea of federation and Black unity

In October 1972, Chief Lucas Mangope rejected the idea of black federation²¹⁵. He was opposed by Chief Pilane, the leader of the S.P. who called for the federation of black states²¹⁶. The rejection of the federation of black peoples of South Africa was B.D.P.'s policy. Chief Mangope maintained that his rejection of the idea of a federation of the black peoples was based on the fear that other nations, such as the Zulu and Xhosa, were numerically superior and feared that they could dominate the Tswana nation in a federation²¹⁷.

In March 1973, the Bophuthatswana National Congress, then the ruling party, rejected the idea of black unity which was espoused by Chief Pilane.

*"We should see federation for what it is, and each nation can decide for itself who it wants to federate with. We can choose to federate with Botswana and any other country beyond our borders, not necessarily with Transkei and Kwazulu"*²¹⁸.

In January 1974, Chief Mangope outlined his federal proposals. He stressed that if there could not be a "one man, one vote" system in South Africa, then there remained no logical alternative to that of federation. He was reported to have heavily underlined his belief that the homelands were now a reality and that they could not be abolished. He felt that the position was that no

²¹⁵Campion maintains that the idea of black federation was initiated by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Councillor of KwaZulu and Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima, Prime Minister of the Republic of Transkei.

²¹⁶Republic of South Africa. Debates. B.L.A. 1972.

²¹⁷B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

²¹⁸Bophuthatswana National Party. Minutes: Bophuthatswana National Congress. March 1973. Mafikeng.

political party in South Africa, white or black, had any chance at the polls if it based its approach on the abolition of the homelands²¹⁹.

He said that sooner or later the homelands would have to federate with South Africa and the other states in Southern Africa. Giving details, he said that the federal structure would obviously start off on a rather loose and limited scale and in a narrow range of fields²²⁰.

It was because of this attitude, that the B.D.P. manifesto opted for:

- An economic federation as the most effective safeguard for peace and neighbourliness. This could be based on the European Economic Community but terms would have to be thrashed out to suit the situation.
- A security federation which would serve as a bulwark against aggression, terrorism and infiltration.
- An educational and cultural federation which could achieve much in promoting higher training standards and a spirit of good will²²¹.

The federal proposals were taken further in November 1973, when at the end of a summit meeting in Umtata, Transkei, the leaders of all six homelands (i.e. Transkei, Gazankulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa and Kwazulu) unanimously agreed in principle to go all out to foster a federation of the homelands, with a view to building up black solidarity²²². However, Chief Mangope then advocated his own federation system which allowed for

²¹⁹Republic of South Africa. Minutes: B.D.P., Annual General Meeting University of Cape Town, January 1974. B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.

²²⁰Loc. cit.
L. Mangope. 1973. *Op. cit.* pp.51-54.

²²¹B.D.P. Manifesto. 1974.
L.M. Mangope. 1977. *Op. cit.* pp.4-7.

²²²N.M. Stultz. 1980. *Transkei's Half Loaf: Race Separatism in South Africa*. Cape Town.

freedom of choice when coming to the state with which one preferred to federate.²²³

In the B.L.A. on 12 March 1976, Chief Mangope said:

*"I personally believe that in the end the land of South Africa will be a federation of all states on equal basis. I am aware that the central government is against this view but this is my independent thought. I have a full belief that in the end this land of South Africa should be ruled by a federation of states, which are equal"*²²⁴.

4.4. Conclusion

The chapter has looked at the implementation of the Black Authority System structures as applied in the Tswana homeland, in particular, the territorial authority and how it eventually became the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly.

This chapter has also addressed the road of the Tswana to self-rule by looking at the issues of constitutional and political development among the Tswana; the creation and development of political parties and party issues, including the establishment of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party and its policy.

Two main threads, structural and dynamic, are evident. The structural refers to the creation of institutions and their judicial composition, like the T.T.A., the T.L.A and the B.L.A., and their empowerment. The dynamic aspect refers to the dynamics of politics within these structures, i.e. leadership differences, efforts to remove Mangope, his efforts to resist, efforts to remove Maseloane and Toto from the cabinet, the role of chiefs and other personalities, the effect of party politics as a new dimension in the

²²³L.M. Mangope. 1977. *Op. cit.* p.7.

²²⁴Republic of Bophuthatswana. Debates: B.L.A. March 1976, pp.111-112.
L.M. Mangope. 1977. *Op. cit.* pp.4-7.

Tswana tribal tradition and the attitude of some cabinet ministers vis-à-vis other leaders in South Africa on the issue of federation and confederation.

Underlying these aspects are the growing empowerment structures: there are growing powers of decision making, a rising self-esteem, and the assimilation of values from two worlds within a new dispensation. In all, the psychological transformation from apartheid rule by taking positive aspects to create a unique dispensation, albeit not without growing pains, is dominant.

The next chapter will examine how the Tswana homeland ultimately attained sovereign political independence and how this was received by the people.