FOREWORD

Mr. S. M. Gabatshwane has once again produced a useful and readable book which should be of considerable interest to a wide public. He has condensed into a few pages the important historical events of the last sixteen years, during which far reaching and vitally important changes took place in the constitutional development of Botswana. As the author points out so clearly, during these critical years of development, Seretse Khama was there; first as a young hereditary Chief loved by his tribe but exiled through the intricate disputes and intrigues following his marriage; and later, as the greatly respected first President of Botswana, shouldering with seeming ease the responsibility of guiding the newly independent Republic into the international arena.
Mr. Gabatshwane, whose home is in Kanye, is a member of the "Botswana Historical Society and has made a special study of the history, traditions and customs of the various tribes during his 17 years of teaching experience in widely scattered areas of Botswana. His previous publications include "Introduction to the Bechuanaland Protectorate History and Administration", (1957), "Chshekedi Khama of Bechuanaland", "Moalosi" A Tswana reader for Standard 7.

Mr. Gabatshwane is fully competent to write this book and much gratitude is due to him for the amount of research he has put into the study.


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PREFACE
An animal has a spine; a piece of music has a theme; a play has a plot; and this short survey (which I started to work on at Serowe, after the Botswana General Election in March, 1965) of the constitutional advance of Botswana in recent years needed a pattern, in order to give shape and clarity to the complex of events which it covers. In short, I needed a guide through the maze. But what more suitable guide could I find than Seretse Khama? The period covered begins in the early 'fifties, when the constitutional position of Bechuanaland was still essentially what it had been half a century before, and finishes in 1965/1966, with the coming of internal self-government and the granting of sovereign independence. For Seretse Khama the same period begins when he is in exile, and finishes with his swearing-in as Prime Minister and later also as President of the Republic of Botswana. I therefore took Seretse Khama for our guide. For him, as for his country, these have been crucial years, and by following him through these pages we will more readily understand and appreciate what has been happening to the territory.

Readers should not expect this to be a biography of Seretse Khama. Many details of his life find mention here, but it is with his political person we are mainly concerned, seeing it against the background of the political events concerned. In this way we can trace the main developments, which have taken place: the formation of political parties, the election of the Legislative Council, constitutional discussions, and the election of the Legislative Assembly in 1965, and further constitutional Conference on the 14th February, 1966, in London on
the Independence of Botswana (30th September, 1966.) These developments include modern system of Local Government introduced on the 1st July, 1966. Acknowledgement: In the compilation of this book, I had the full benefit of reference to official publications, as well as the benefit of consulting the Rev. A. A. F. Lock of the L.M.S., Serowe, who assisted me in the earlier stages of the book; the Hon. Q. K. J. Masire, Deputy Prime Minister; Mr. K. T. Motsete, B.D., M.A.; I am indebted to Mr. B. Steinberg, M.L.A., for allowing me access to some official publications in his possession and for donating towards the typescript; to Mr. E. K. van Schalwyk who also donated towards the typescript; to the Chief Information Officer, Major A. Donald, to Dr. A. M. Merriweather, O.B.E., M.D., M.R.C.P.E., D.T.M., &H., Speaker, the Botswana National Assembly, and Superintending Missionary, Scottish Livingstone Hospital, Molepoloe, for criticisms and consenting to write a Foreword for this booklet. Foremost, I am indebted to Mr. F. Casey, N.R.C. Representative, Lobatsi for revising some of the proofs. For some illustrations used I am indebted to the Botswana Democratic Party; to Mr. K. D. Lebotse, and to "cKutwano", a magazine of the Information Branch of the Botswana Government for allowing me permission to use their photos and blocks. Like Ernest Renan, I am fully convinced that "what constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in common in the past, and the wish to accomplish them in the future". If this publication, which is produced for Independence Celebrations, fosters the spirit of nationhood and contributes to inter-racial co-operation, harmony and justice in the new Republic of Botswana, indeed in Africa as a whole, I shall be most happy. Finally, an apology to those readers who may be irritated by my apparently indiscriminate use of the words "Botswana" and "Bechuanaland" in the text. The book was written when our country was called "Bechuanaland" and will be published on the day it becomes "Botswana". I have tried to follow the rule that in all references to the present and the future, the country is called "Botswana" but wherever past events are concerned it is called "Bechuanaland.

S. M. GABATSHWANE.
Kanye, BOTSWANA.
13th September, 1966.

CHAPTER 1
Seretse Khama - his education and early troubles arising from marriage
On the 1st July 1921 was born Seretse Khama, the grandson of the Great Chief Khama of the Bangwato, the largest tribe in Bechuanaland. Seretse, though born to be a chief, was destined never to be one, but instead to become the first Prime Minister and later also the first President of Botswana. Seretse is a man of no small stature. His robust appearance, his stately and dignified bearing and quiet but eloquent voice all combine to make him one of the most likeable men I have ever met; no small wonder he draws people to him like a magnet.
Seretse Khama did his primary education under the guardianship and guidance of his uncle, Tshekedi Khama, who also had ably acted for him as Regent after the death of his father, chief Sekgoma Khama in 1925. He later did his secondary education at Tiger Kloof and at Lovedale where he matriculated in 1941; thereafter he studied for his B.A, degree at Fort Hare University College. He then proceeded to the University of the Witwatersrand, from whence after a short stay, he went to England and gained admission to Balliol College, Oxford in 1945 where he studied Politics, Philosophy and Economics and later he became a student at the Inner Temple London, where he studied law.

His name first became widely known in 1948 when the world press carried the headlined story of his marriage to an English woman, Ruth Williams in London. As this issue has long been commented upon and caused to be a matter of administrative concern, a summary here is necessary. This marriage caused some sharp differences between Seretse and Tshekedi, who argued that Seretse as future chief had violated Native law and custom by contracting a mixed marriage which had not received the consent of the tribe. Tshekedi tried by all means to dissuade him from this marriage, but without success.

These unfortunate dissensions, over the marriage resulted in the splitting of the tribe into two factions, one for Tshekedi and another for Seretse who had the bigger following. His uncle renounced for himself and his children any claim to the chieftainship and publicly stated that if Ruth came from London, he would go away in order to demonstrate his strongest disapproval of the marriage. The tribe at first rejected Seretse's marriage but a third Kgotla meeting held in June, 1949, decided to accept it and thereafter Tshekedi carried out his threat, left Serowe, and settled at Rametsana in the Bakwena territory under Chief Kgari Sechele. However, before he left Tshekedi had asked that the Government should hold a Judicial Inquiry to advise whether Seretse should be recognised and if so what would be the position of his wife and children. In November, the High Commissioner, Sir Evelyn Baring instructed that a Judicial Inquiry (whose terms of reference were far different from those proposed by Tshekedi) be held to advise on

"(a) whether the Kgotla at Serowe between the 20th June and 25th at which Seretse Khama was designated Chief of the Bangwato tribe was properly convened and assembled and its proceedings conducted in accordance with Native Law and Custom and (b) to report on the question whether, having particular regard to the interests and well-being of the tribe, Seretse Khama is a fit and proper person to discharge the functions of Chief."

This inquiry was held under the Native Administration Proclamation No. 32 of 1943 which laid down that on the occurrence of a vacancy in a chieftainship the successor should be designated by the tribe assembled in the Kgotla according to Native Law and Custom, and that the person so designated could not exercise the functions of Chieftainship until he had been recognised by the High Commissioner and confirmed by the Secretary of State, at their discretion.

On the basis of a Judicial Inquiry, whose findings were never published, the British Labour Government banned both nephew and uncle from entry into the
Bangwato Territory. Seretse Khama was to stay in London. It is interesting to know the treacherous way in which Seretse Khama's ban was arranged. He had been invited to London for talks "on the future administration of the Bangwato", with the then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Noel Baker (and shortly afterwards by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker). To Seretse Khama's amazement while in London he was told if he would renounce his claim to the Chieftainship he would be given an allowance of £1,100 per annum. When Seretse refused to compromise, he was astonished by the sudden announcement in Parliament, by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker that His Majesty's Government "viewed with grave concern the danger which recognition of Seretse as Chief would cause to the unity and well-being of the tribe and for the administration of the Protectorate". In addition to this, the Government arbitrarily ruled that Seretse's recognition would be withheld for five years.

What was Seretse's reaction to this dramatic announcement, void of all forms of British sense of justice and democracy? "The British Government has played me a dirty trick" he said. Seretse further contended that the British Government had been unfair to him as they never gave him a chance to prove his worth and ability as Chief, but had merely prejudged his case. The Union Government under Premier Dr. D. F. Malan and the Southern Rhodesian Government under Godfrey Huggins had hailed the British Government's pronouncement. Dr. Malan had even earlier, following Seretse Khama's marriage to Ruth, ruled that Seretse was prohibited from entering the Union (now the Republic of South Africa), a most fantastic thing when one realises that this ruling had been imposed by a state which until 1961 was a member of the British Commonwealth, upholding the principles of freedom and justice for all in the Commonwealth. And what is more fantastic and incredible is the fact that the British Government, even after the return of Seretse to Bechuanaland in 1956, never attempted to negotiate on the lifting of the ban with the government concerned, to permit Seretse's free entry into the British headquarters of Bechuanaland, which until February 1965 when they were finally removed to Gaberones in the territory, were still outside the territory, at Mafeking, in the Republic of South Africa. And this even though Seretse's services were often in demand by the Bechuanaland Government. It was only in March, 1965, following Seretse's Democratic Party's triumphant victory in the territory's General election that Dr. H. F. Verwoord, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, on his own and perhaps for diplomatic and economic reasons announced the lifting of the ban on Seretse Khama. This is more so as Seretse Khama's Government's policy, though uncompromisingly opposed to the Republican Government's policy of apartheid or separate development, aims at co-operating economically with that country, as Bechuanaland is a poor country, and to launch such economic boycotts as are suggested by the other African states, as a measure to force the Republic of South Africa change its policy, would mean territorial suicide for Botswana.

The British Government's action with regard to both Seretse Khama and Tshekedi Khama, as could be expected, aroused much world criticism. It was regarded in
some quarters as an act of appeasement of white opinion in the neighbouring territories of the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia, under the pretext of maintaining law and order. The appointment of a District Commissioner as Native Authority from whom there could never be an appeal, was seen as a move to impose on the tribe a system of "direct rule" in the place of "indirect rule" through Chiefs, as they had long been accustomed to.

The people were much disturbed, and lawlessness and disorders were inevitable as subsequent events showed.

On the 14th March, 1950, Sir Evelyn Baring the High Commissioner attempted to address the Bangwato on the British government's decisions, but the Bangwato boycotted him in the Kgotla.

In the years since 1950, Tshekedi had busied himself day and night in an attempt to have Seretse's banishment revoked. He enlisted the support of influential parliamentarians like Clement Davies, and others, the Rev. Michael Scott and many of his friends. Though his early attempts were unsuccessful, he never lost heart or slackened his efforts. His own banishment was rescinded in 1952 by Lord Ismay, the then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and he was able to return with his followers to the Bangwato territory, where they founded a village at Pilikwe, near Palapye.

We should at this stage now turn to the position of the tribe, which had deteriorated badly. Two other incidents during the year 1952 are worth mentioning. On March 27th Lord Salisbury who had succeeded Lord Ismay as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, having previously attempted to offer Seretse Khama an official post in Jamaica if he relinquished all claims to the chieftainship (a post which Seretse Khama had declined with humble dignity, as he regarded himself as an African, a Motswana of Bechuanaland, a country whose people he had earnestly hoped to serve, and had even wondered why that post could not be offered a Jamaican) announced in Parliament that Seretse Khama would not be permitted to return to the Bangwato as Chief, and the tribe were to appoint as Chief the next person in line of succession. This announcement was followed by the promulgation of an Order-in-Council which was cited as the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Bangwato Succession) Order-in-Council 1952, which ruled that neither Seretse nor Tshekedi nor their children should be eligible for the position of Chief or Regent or Acting Chief or member of a Council of Regency or to summon the tribe in Egolga for any purpose.

In the same year a deputation of Seretse's supporters headed by Keaboka Kgama went to England to protest against this decision and to negotiate with the Commonwealth Relations Office on the return and recognition of Seretse as Chief. Lord Salisbury, among other things stated to them that Seretse, as future Chief, had violated one of the most sacred and deeply held traditions of the tribe by contracting a marriage without seeking the approval of the tribe, and that 'Alone had been a sign of irresponsibility and a flagrant disregard on the part of a Chief for tribal interests. Lord Salisbury concluded by stating that the decision of Parliament that Seretse would not be Chief was final and permanent and that they should with grace designate as Chief the next person in line of succession (See
Appendix A for the full text of the Reply by Lord Salisbury). The refusal to allow the return and recognition of Seretse as Chief aroused bitterness among the Bangwato towards British Administration. In June, after the return from the United Kingdom of the delegation, Keaboka Kgamane convened a tribal meeting to give the report of their visit. As he had not asked for permission from the District Commissioner (Native Authority) to hold that meeting, which in the official view, had been illegal, the police were called in to disperse the tribe from the Kgotla. The atmosphere was tense and tribal emotions were high and as a result serious rioting occurred: three African policemen were killed and three European Administrative Officers and twelve African police were injured. Police reinforcements poured in from Basutoland, Swaziland and Southern Rhodesia and for some time Serowe became something of a "police state" in Bechuanaland. Despite the persistent tribal demand for the return of Seretse Khama, in whose leadership they had the fullest confidence, the British Government's solution was that "the interests of the tribe demanded that Seretse and his children should for ever be banned from the Chieftainship".

It is interesting to note the similarity of the Kenya British Governor's view (Sir Patrick Renison) in March, 1960, on Jomo Kenyatta (now President of independent Kenya) when the African people of Kenya had solidly demanded his release following his conviction and sentence to seven years of imprisonment at Lokitaung, followed by a restriction to Lodwar, a remote place in Northern Kenya for the alleged management of Mau Mau terrorism. To this demand Sir Patrick Renison had replied: "the release of Jomo Kenyatta would be a danger to security -of Kenya". But under pressure of African demand that reply could not hold for long. For in August 1961 the British Government was obliged to release him and to remove all restrictions on his political activities.

After several attempts by the British Government to force the tribe to elect a new Chief had lamentably failed the Government, in 1953 appointed Rasebolai Kgamane, a cousin of both* Seretse and Tshekedi as African Authority, who in terms of Proclamation No. 30 of 1952, was entitled "to exercise all the rights, powers and obligations conferred upon the Chief of the tribe by any written law or custom, including the right to summon the tribe in Kgotla for any purpose". As Rasebolai Kgamane was not designated by the tribe he could not be clothed with the leopard skin. The Government, however, made it clear that Rasebolai Kgamane "will be clothed with all power and responsibility of office of Sative Authority and in that office, so long as he brings to it his best endeavour, he will enjoy the full support of the government". Rasebolai Kgamane's appointment saw the beginning of gradual improvement in the tribe.

Three years later in 1956, Tshekedi Khama left for London for consultations with the Earl of Home, the then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (Conservative). As a result of these negotiations, Seretse Khama was allowed to come home as a private citizen but free to take part in the political life of the Bangwato. While in London Tshekedi and Seretse had a document signed by both in which they formally renounced for themselves and their children all claims to
chieftainship. Each of them promised to cooperate fully with Rasebolai and further declared that they were in full agreement with the establishment of a representative Tribal Council in the Bangwato territory. The Earl of Home announced this development as follows:

"Her Majesty's Government have accepted their assurance of co-operation and agree that both Seretse Khama and Tshekedi Khama should, on Seretse's return, be free to play their part in the affairs of the Bangwato."

"It is the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that this settlement will enable the Bangwato to forget their differences and to unite in working for the progress and well-being of the tribe and the whole of Bechuanaland."

Thus a long drawn-out struggle was happily brought to an end, and from then until Tshekedi Khama's death in June 1959, Seretse and Tshekedi remained peacefully reconciled.

Between 1962 and 1963 a series of tribal meetings were held throughout the Bangwato territory to announce Rasebolai Kgamane's pending retirement as African Authority and to ascertain the views of the Bangwato on the succession issue. In the end, the Bangwato overwhelmingly agreed that in view of Seretse Khama's renunciation of the Chieftainship, Tshekedi Khama's eldest son, Leapeetswe Khama was the proper successor to Rasebolai Kgamane as leader of the Bangwato. They added, however, that they did not wish that Seretse Khama's children should be excluded from assuming the Chieftainship, if they wished to do so when they came of age.

The wishes of the tribe were subsequently made known to the Secretary of State, and as a result an amendment was made to the Order-in-Council to allow those wishes to be made effective. The amendment provided that nothing in the Order-in-Council should prevent any person named therein from being appointed to the office of African Authority.

The purpose of that amendment was twofold. While retaining the existing suspension of the office of the Bangwato Chieftainship it did not of course abolish the office. Secondly, it enabled Leapeetswe Khama to succeed Rasebolai Kgamane as African Authority, as he did in 1964.

APPENDIX A

Reply given by Lord Salisbury, the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, to Members of the Bangwato Tribe in London on 28th April, 1952.

1. I have carefully considered what you said at our meeting last Monday and I have asked you to come today in order that I may give you, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, my answer. Before we go any further I would like to point out that both my predecessor and I were already fully aware of your views before we took the decision announced in Parliament on the 27th March, and your speeches to me last week have added nothing to the information which was already in our possession.

2. After the most careful consideration I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing in what you said which would justify any departure from the decision already announced. I wish to make this quite clear. Her Majesty's Government's decision, that Seretse Khama cannot be recognised as chief, is final and
permanent, and I beg you to put out of your minds any lingering hopes which you may have held that the decision may yet be revised.

3. In more than one of your speeches last week you said that, if I could not see my way to vary the decision already made about Seretse, you would welcome a fuller statement of the Government's reasons for it than you had yet had. You argued that a majority of the tribe were in favour of Seretse's appointment and prepared to accept his wife. You suggested that the Government had given no reason why the tribe's wishes over this should not be accepted. I can only assume that you have not grasped the full import of the various statements which have been made on the Government's behalf. The Government's case is already fully set out in documents and I have arranged for you each to be given a set of these papers. They are the original White Paper of 1950 (Command 7913), the statement made in Parliament on the 27th March, 1952 and speeches made in the House of Lords by myself and Lord Ismay on the 31st March.

4. I would like you all to understand that the view of the tribe or a majority of it is only one of the factors that the Government has to take into account in reaching a decision. It is true that over such appointments, as you yourselves remarked, the Government is usually and happily able to concur in the tribe's nominee. But that does not alter the legal position. By law the final decision rests with the Government and on occasion the Government has a right and a duty to exercise its veto. The Bechuanaland law is fully set out in the Native Administration Proclamation of 1943 and its amendments. This quite clearly states that, while the tribe's function is to designate a candidate, recognition rests with the High Commissioner and is subject to the Secretary of State's approval or confirmation. If they think it necessary, they may first arrange for a Judicial Enquiry, as was done in this case: but the decision rests with them. The reasons for these provisions are first, that a chief is not only leader of his people but an important part of the machinery of Government and secondly, 'the ultimate responsibility for the well-being of the Protectorate and its people, in the broadest sense of the term, rests with the Government and not with the tribe.

A chief must therefore be acceptable both to his people and to the Government. If, as some of you have said, a Government official gave the impression during the kgotla in June, 1949, that the final decision rested with the tribe, I deeply regret it. But that does not alter the true legal position, as should have been known both to you and your legal advisers. In this case the Government has had to take a long view and to decide what is best in the real and lasting interests not only of the Bamangwato but of the Protectorate.

5. You have argued that tradition has not required that Seretse should obtain the tribe's consent before his marriage. I know that native law and custom is not static but a fluid and changing thing. But I cannot agree with you that Seretse did not need to consult his people before marrying. The most competent authority of Bechuana custom - Professor Schapera - has stated in his Handbook of Tswana
Law and Custom that, the chief's "great wife" has traditionally to be selected for and betrothed to him during his youth by his parents and the tribal councillors and that his wife, whose children would be first in the line of succession, was drawn from the families either of the Chief's own close relatives or of the chiefs of neighbouring tribes or influential headman of his own tribe. The examples which you quoted in your last interview with me, are, I regret to say, at least, misleading. When Khama III married Semane, he already had an heir to the chieftainship in the son (Sekgoma) of his first and great wife, daughter of Tsukudu. His subsequent marriage to Semane did not therefore directly affect the succession. Your reference to Tshekedi's second marriage does not bear on the present issue. He was not chief nor was he first in line of succession. Nevertheless if you were right and objection was taken to these two marriages, it only goes to show how careful a chief or member of the ruling family must be of tribal susceptibilities and customs in this choice of a wife. If further proof were needed, it lies in the fact that no less than three kgotlas, in November and December, 1948 and June, 1949 were necessary before a majority of opinion veered towards acceptance of Seretse's wife. This is in the Government's view conclusive evidence that Seretse had deeply offended the tribe's sense of what was proper and customary by marrying in England far away from his people and by choosing an Englishwoman for his wife. You have said that there was never at any time dispute regarding Seretse's right to succeed. Yet my information is that at the first of the kgotlas at any rate Seretse was told clearly that he must choose between the chieftainship and standing by his wife. If the tribe had had the right of final decision in November 1948, that would have been the end of the matter, since he said he could never give up his wife. No matter what may be said now, there is no doubt that the bulk of the people were deeply shocked by Seretse's action, which in the view of the Government too, clearly indicated lack of responsibility in a potential ruler, which did not fit him for the chieftainship of the tribe. Nor is there any certainty that the opinion of the tribe, which has already changed once, may not alter again, if not now, at any rate when the question of the succession of Seretse's children arose.

6. You have said that Seretse's return would make the people happy and restore settled conditions. That is not the Government's view. For the reasons I have stated, he has become so controversial a figure that his recognition would not be in the best interest of the Bamangwato or the Protectorate.

7. You have asked what crime Seretse has committed. In answer to this question I would quote the words which I used in the House of Lords on the 31st March, 1952: "In 1948, Seretse Khama, who was not actually the chief of the Bamangwato Tribe, but was first in succession to the chieftainship, announced that he proposed to marry a white girl. There is nothing wicked about that. Had he been a private individual there would have been nothing even blameworthy in it, he had a perfect right to marry the girl of his choice. But he was not a private individual; he was a ruler. And, as we all know - history is full of examples of it, rulers, though extremely fortunate in many ways, are limited in some, and especially in matters of
marriage. For the tribal chief to marry a white girl was contrary to the most deeply held traditions and customs of his tribe. What was not a fault of any kind in any ordinary citizen was a serious fault in a chief, or in an aspiring chief”.

That was the vital difference between the case of Seretse and Tshekedi. And this brings me to the speech made by me in June 1951 on the subject of Tshekedi, to which you referred last week. I was asked why I did not apply what I then said to Seretse also. The answer is to be found in another passage in my speech of 31st March 1952, from which I have already quoted. In it I said:
"The whole point and purpose of the speech which I then made (that is to say the speech last year to which you have referred) was that Tshekedi should not have been banished because he had committed no offence. That view I still strongly hold. Indeed, it is contrary to all ideas of British justice. But Seretse was not a private individual. He was, as I have said, a ruler, or a potential ruler, and, as a potential ruler, he had committed, I do not say a crime or an offence, but a most serious breach of all the tribal customs and traditions. That was the whole charge against him at the earlier kgotlas. He had done one of those things which a private individual might quite properly do, but which a tribal ruler simply must not do; and his marriage was likely to lead to serious future trouble, not only over himself, but even more over his children. The two cases, therefore, in my view are not in the least analogous; I think there is all the difference in the world between them, and that is a matter which Her Majesty's Government must take into account - as in fact the late Government did”.

That is my answer to your question.

8. You have queried the statement in the White Paper that a considerable body of African opinion was against the marriage and Seretse's recognition, and you have sought to make out that in fact the majority of African opinion, especially in the Reserve and the Protectorate, was in favour of Seretse's recognition. That is a statement which I cannot accept. The Government is in possession of a mass of evidence available to its predecessors which indicates that a considerable body of responsible African opinion, not only in the Territories but elsewhere, was and continues to be opposed to Seretse's recognition. This includes chiefs, editors of the vernacular press and leading Africans in many walks of life.

9. And now I would come to the Jamaica offer. You have imputed to the Government ulterior motives in offering Seretse an appointment in Jamaica, and have suggested that it was intended as a bribe. That is certainly not the case. if it had been a bribe, the offer would have been withdrawn when Seretse refused to renounce his claim to the chieftainship. But in fact it remained open for a limited period, and this proves that it was not a bribe but a perfectly sincere offer, made with the object of ensuring that he did not simply fritter his life away. It would have given him scope to perform useful service. It was in this spirit that the Governor and his Executive Council in Jamaica stated that they would warmly welcome Seretse's acceptance of the offer and help him shape a new career.
10. Finally, you have suggested that the Government's decision must be ascribed to racial discrimination and to Union influence. This was categorically denied in the White Paper and again recently by me on behalf of the present Government. I repeat that no representations have been received from the Union Government. We all know of course that in the Union legislation has been passed prohibiting marriage between members of the various races. But at no time in any of the territories for which it is responsible has the United Kingdom Government imposed any such discriminatory prohibition. If Seretse had been an ordinary citizen, no difficulties whatsoever would have arisen over his marriage. But as I have said he is not an ordinary person. He is or was the principal claimant to the chieftainship and the nature and manner of his marriage and subsequent events in the Reserve made it inevitable that the Government should consider most carefully the ultimate effects of his action on the happiness and well-being of the tribe and the other peoples of the Protectorate. The Government's decision is that such controversy has been aroused that Seretse's recognition as chief is out of the question. But the Government has not said that he and his wife must be excluded for ever from Bechuanaland. After a new chief has been firmly established and provided Seretse is prepared to give undertakings similar to those which his uncle has given, the Government does not rule out the possibility that in course of time he may return to the Protectorate as a private citizen. These things must of course take time but the Government's willingness to consider this prospect and their offer, to which I have already referred to appoint Seretse to a Government post in the meantime is surely proof that it is not pursuing a policy of racial discrimination.

11. So much then for the past. I would repeat: the Government's decision about Seretse is final and permanent and the only course is for you to accept it. No further attempts to contest it can be for the good either of Seretse himself or the tribe. It is the Government's intention to implement the decision fully by legislation, probably in the form of an Order-in-Council, at an early date. This legislation will also make clear and binding Tshekedi's renunciation of claim to the chieftainship and his exclusion from any position of authority in the Bamangwato Reserve.

12. The legislation will also provide adequate powers to enable the vacancy which is in this way created in the chieftainship to be filled by someone acceptable both to you and to the Government. I was sorry to hear some of you express doubts whether the full cooperation of the tribe will be secured to this end. I must warn you that the Government is determined to carry out its announced intentions and that any attempt at non-co-operation can only be to the detriment of the people of the Reserve. You yourselves said at the last interview that the Bamangwato need a chief. Over this the Government is completely at one with you. Direct rule by the District Commissioner is a temporary expedient which we want to get rid of as soon as we can. The sooner the tribe turn their minds to selection of a suitable candidate, the sooner will peace, happiness and progress - social, political and economic - be achieved in the Reserve. But as I have said the person appointed must be acceptable not only to the people but to the Government. The Government has no intention of imposing anyone, as chief,
on the tribe. The initiative will rest with you. But the final decision to recognise
must remain with the High Commissioner and with me. I shall therefore expect
the tribe to choose a man whose designation is in accordance with custom and
precedents and one who by his past record and experience is fitted for the
responsibility of the Chieftainship.
13. Finally, I wish to impress on you that there must be now an end to faction
and dissension. That would be disastrous for the prosperity of the tribe, of which
you are loyal members. There must be an end to enmity and ill feeling. You have
claimed to represent the tribe. I am bound to point out that this claim is not
unchallenged. Quite recently, for example, my predecessor received a petition
from five persons of considerable standing living in the Reserve contesting your
right to speak for the tribe and begging the Government to pursue a firm and
decisive policy. The Government's policy has now been clearly enunciated and
the next step is the designation by the tribe of a new chief and his recognition by
the Government. If you have the true interests of your people at heart, you will
courage them to comply with the Government's wishes, to choose a new chief
and give him loyal service.
14. One of you referred to the stationing of additional police in the Reserve. I
would remind you that one of the first duties of a Government is to maintain
peace and good order so that ordinary
people may go about their business without danger of interference. That is the
reason - and the only reason - why the forces of law and order have been
strengthened. 15. This then is the message which I ask you to take back with
you to those whom you claim to represent. First the Government's decision
regarding Seretse is final and permanent. This will be implemented at an early
date by legislation which will also confirm Tshekedi's renunciation of claim to
any office in the Reserve. The Government then wishes the tribe to turn to the
selection and designation of a new chief. The Government has no desire or
intention to impose any individual as chief on the tribe, but the final decision
regarding recognition of the new chief must remain with the Government as is
provided by law. The Government is determined to secure the unity of the tribe
under its new chief. Only then will the progress - social, economic and political -
which is essential to the well-being of the tribe, be achieved: I rely on you all
loyally to carry out the Government's decision.
SALISBURY.
Commonwealth Relations Office,
28th April, 1952.

CHAPTER 2
Seretse Khama - his entry into Bechuanaland Politics
On his return to Bechuanaland, Seretse Khama served as Deputy Chairman and
later also as Secretary of the Ngwato Tribal Council which was formed at the end
of 1957, and became a member of the African Advisory Council and Joint
Advisory Council, whose primary object was to give the inhabitants of
Bechuanaland a reasonable voice in the central government. However modest
these councils were, they indeed set for him a real training ground for a responsible political task he had to shoulder in later years, not as Paramount Chief of the Bangwato, but as Prime Minister and later also as President of Botswana. Seretse Khama, like all other members of the Joint Advisory Council, in 1958, supported a formal motion: "that in the opinion of this Council the time had come when a Legislative Council should be formed and empowered to assist in the government of the territory". He had also in the session of the same Council condemned colour bar or racial discrimination existing in the territory, and finally, on his motion, the Legislative Council was obliged in 1962 to appoint a Select Committee, to which reference will be made later, to investigate the remaining vestiges of racial discrimination in Bechuanaland legislation and practices.

In 1959, it was reported to the Joint Advisory Council that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations would be happy to consider all proposals for the establishment of a Bechuanaland Legislative Council. The Resident Commissioner, then Mr. Peter Fawcus, was asked to formulate and submit proposals to the then newly appointed High Commissioner for the territory, Sir John Maud, who was later to become the most popular and humorous British Administrator the territory ever had. In his appointment the territory was fortunate to have a man of such great zeal and intelligence, of amazing energy and with a sympathetic understanding of administrative problems of Bechuanaland. As a result the Resident Commissioner held consultations with the Joint Advisory Council and duly sought the views of interested persons in the territory on the proposals for the formation of the Bechuanaland Legislative Council. A constitutional committee under the Chairmanship of the Resident Commissioner was set up, consisting of four Europeans, Messrs. Russell England, J. G. Haskins, H. S. van Gass and G. W. Sim, and four Africans, Chief Bathoen II, Messrs. Seretse Khama, Bogatsu Pilane and Dr. S. M. Molema. The Constitutional Committee whose report was subsequently submitted to the Secretary of State through the High Commissioner, had among other things recommended that the Joint Advisory Council should be reorganised into a Legislative Council and had considered that the time was not yet ripe for the African inhabitants to elect representatives directly to the Legislative Council. In consequence they were to be elected from the African Council (to replace the African Advisory Council) which was to become the electoral college. These were finally agreed to by the British Parliament which conferred a new constitution on the Protectorate by Order-in-Council signed on the 21st December 1960 and made known to the inhabitants of Bechuanaland by publication in the High Commissioner's Gazette Extraordinary No. 3215 dated 3rd February 1961.

Legislative Council 1961:
The first Legislative Council could not be established until June the 20th, when it was officially opened at Lobatsi by Sir John Maud, the High Commissioner. Its constitution provided separate rolls for voters, 10 European representatives elected directly from the constituencies, 10 African representatives elected indirectly from the African Council, and one Asian; in addition to these 7 were nominated official members and 3 ex-officio members. Seretse Khama, who was included in the list of the 1961 Queen's Birthday honours by being awarded the O.B.E., became one of the African elected members of the Legislative Council, representing the northern division of Bechuanaland.

Sir John Maud, paying warm tribute to members of the Constitutional Committee, humorously referred to Seretse Khama as "the old big boy" and on the same occasion stated: "Respect of man for man is the foundation of all human happiness. We have it here, thank God, in Bechuanaland", and the Resident Commissioner (then Mr. Peter Fawcus), in his speech to the inaugural meeting of the Legislative Council had this to say: "No body in this Council believes that a perfect constitution has been evolved; all recognise that the constitutional forms will change in time, and give way to something more advanced, and of course the people of the Protectorate look forward to further political and constitutional development when time is ripe".

Besides serving on the Legislative Council, Seretse Khama became one (Chief Bathoen II was the other) of the two African nominated members of the Executive Council, on which he was the Associate member for Social Services and Labour.

It is worth surveying at this stage the enlightened African opinion on the Constitution of the Legislative Council. Enlightened African opinion, criticising the Legislative Council, pointed out that it was anomalous to hold that time was not ripe for Africans to elect their representatives directly to the Legislative Council. This Legislative Council was, to say the least, considered to be subversive of democratic principles as it was also seen as an attempt to perpetuate the old and unpopular system of representation by Chiefs, who rarely consulted the people they claimed to represent, on the basis of tribalism. Without necessarily abolishing the institution of chieftainship, it was felt that in order to cope with constitutional advances, as elsewhere in Africa, Chiefs should surrender some of their age-old responsibilities to the masses, from which alone dynamic leadership essentially needed today, could emerge, while the Chieftainship remained the symbol of local unity, constituted along the lines of British monarchy.

Against the establishment of the African Council, enlightened African opinion had strongly advocated direct representation, as had been the case with Europeans. Equal representation of the elected Europeans with that of the elected Africans when the latter represented the largest number of population in the territory, also came in for much criticism.
Though that constitution was not wholly satisfactory, as was evident from the volume of public criticism it had, it on the other hand marked a constitutional step forward taken by Bechuanaland after many years of political stagnation. It afforded the Africans the opportunity to have a share in political power and responsibility.

Political Parties:
Bechuanaland could not stand resolute against "the wind of change" and "the tide of nationalism" which was "flowing fast" as observed by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, during his tour of the African continent, including Bechuanaland and the Republic of South Africa (then the Union of South Africa), in that memorable and eventful year, 1960, when he stated: "the wind of change is blowing through this continent, and whether we like it or not this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must accept it as a fact and our national policies must take account of it".

This was the wind of change from the old order of parochialism, tribalism and colonialism, to the recognition of wider issues of political and national consciousness and of a growing demand for African participation in political responsibility and authority. Tidings of political independence through nationalist movements of Africans in former British-ruled territories north and south of the Sahara (Sudan in 1956, Ghana in 1957, Nigeria in 1960, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika in 1961, Uganda in 1962 followed by Zanzibar and Kenya in 1963), had tremendous influence on Bechuanaland.

The first political party to exist in Bechuanaland was the Bechuanaland Federal Party under Mr. L. D. Raditladi. It had come into being in 1959 in the Bangwato Territory, but could hardly hold a meeting outside Ngwato. As it lacked effective and militant leadership, it merely existed in name, partly because its leader soon became a Subordinate African Authority. By the end of 1961 it had dissolved.

The next party to be formed was the Bechuanaland Peoples' Party (B.P.P.) in 1960 under Mr. K. T. Motsete, M.A. (Sociology London), B.D., L.C.P. and L.T.S.C. (London), the most highly educated Motswana of Bechuanaland. This party was ideally constituted as a "competent national liberation movement to lead the people to freedom and national self determination". The party had membership of varying political experience and outlook of A.N.C., P.A.C. and many other parties of the Republic of South Africa. It was the first political party in the territory to advocate the slogan of "One man, one vote" in its campaign of arousing political consciousness among the Batswana. It became popular at first in the territory and abroad, and was accorded recognition by the Organisation of African Unity and had financial support from some African States such as Ghana which in 1962 granted it the sum of R10,000 a sum which afterwards, became a bone of contention among its top officials, each vying and aspiring to have an overall control and use of the party's funds. These internal dissensions over leadership did undermine the authority of the President, and as a result the Party had a split in 1962, after Mr. Motsamai Mpho, Secretary, had been expelled and accused, among other things, of attempts to oust the President with the assistance of the A.N.C.
Thereafter Mr. Mpho formed a party of his own which at first was called B.P.P. (No. 2) until 1964 when its name was changed to Botswana Independence Party (B.I.P.).

In 1962, following an informal meeting in November 1961 with some politically conscious individuals at Lobatsi, Seretse Khama formed a Party called Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP. or "Domkrag").

They had previously felt that what was needed in Bechuanaland was a typically Bechuanaland Party formed for the sole purpose of taking "care of Bechuanaland Problems" and had therefore decided to form such a party - not a poor imitation of any well known party elsewhere in Africa or overseas. A full discussion on the history and activities of the B.D.P. will be made later in the following paragraphs.

In 1964, Mr. Philip Matante, Vice President to Mr. Motsete, broke away and formed his Party which is called Bechuanaland People's Party (B.P.P. - Matante). Its formation followed Mr. Matante's refusal on his return from Cairo to hand in to the President Mr. Motsete and the National Treasury of the Party the donations which he had received for and on behalf of the Party.

Bechuanaland Democratic Party:

Here the writer begs his reader to forgive the detailed discussion of and the emphasis which he lays on the Bechuanaland Democratic Party while the other Nationalist movements in the territory were concisely dealt with. Their brief coverage is by no means an attempt to undervalue their struggle, which indeed forms part of a bigger struggle of a continental revolution for African independence from colonial rule.

In giving the history of this party here, my main purpose is not to make its appraisal, but to indicate how Seretse Khama, the subject of his booklet, came into power by his leadership of the party concerned.

Among other reasons which prompted Seretse Khama and his early supporters to form the B.D.P. was the feeling they all had, that the two parties that existed were not showing any signs of responsibility. "What was worse about one" they observed, "was that it was becoming right wing so that it could hardly justify its existence". These members further felt that the other party had become popular on the strength of its irresponsible statements and therefore it was impossible to think of it ever changing its attitude and any attempt to join it with a view to reforming it, would serve no useful purpose, as some of its leaders were apparently looking at the party as a source of revenue, they were incorrigible as they were brought up in the different mould of African National Congress and Pan African Congress branches in Bechuanaland. "They thought to be a political party a party must necessarily conform to the standards of one or both of those Republican parties".

On the 6th January 1962, those members met at Mahaapye in the Bangwato territory, where it was decided to form a Steering Committee, with Mr. Seretse Khama as Chairman, Mr. A. M. Tsoebebe, Treasurer and Mr. Q. K. J. Masire as Secretary. The second meeting was arranged for Mochudi later that month, but was unsuccessful as the Chief there would not grant them permission on the day
of the meeting.* Thereupon they applied by phone to the then District Commissioner (Gaberones) Mr. Atkinson who permitted them. They conducted their meeting under a big "morula" tree where Messrs. Quett Masire and Seretse Rhama explained the objects and principles of the Party. These objects and principles were 3 years later, early in 1965, consolidated with minor alterations in the Party and Election Manifesto, issued on the eve of General Election.

As a sequel to that meeting new members were registered and office bearers elected as follows:

Mr. Seretse Khama - President
Mr. A. M. Tsoebebe - Vice President
Mr. Q. K. J. Masire - Secretary
Mr. A. M. Dambe - Vice Secretary
Mr. M. A. Maribe - Treasurer (later succeeded by Mr. Ben Steinberg).
Mr. M. P. K. Nwako - Vice Treasurer.

Regional Organisers were also elected.

This meeting marked the birth or origin of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, a moderate party whose members firmly believe in non-racialism and co-operation between all races of Bechuanaland, irrespective of their origin and colour. But, for these beliefs, Seretse and his party members have been personally attacked by rival parties who often allege and publicly declare that he being a royalist and having married a European woman and the fact that his party has the support of some Europeans in the territory are obvious reasons to make the world believe that the B.D.P. is representing the institution of chieftainship and British imperialism. They refer to Seretse as "a Tshombe of Bechuanaland - a puppet No. 1 of British imperialism and colonialism".

The year 1963 saw the first General Conference of the B.D.P. at Francistown in April, attended by 112 delegates. In his Presidential address to the Conference, Seretse Khama inter-alia stated: "The country looks up to the Bechuanaland Democratic Party for leadership and we cannot afford to be irresponsible".

* When political parties were formed, though with the approval and recognition of the central Government in Bechuanaland, they had one common enemy; the strong opposition and snub from most Chiefs who regarded them as a potential threat to their power and influence.

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"We have a constitution which guides our leaders and the followers. We have principles to which our policy must conform ..."

"We believe that having shown the people the direction, having explained to them the object and our principles they will follow us as they are in fact doing, knowing what we really want to do. When we depart from these objects and these principles they will have something against which to judge us".
"We went round telling people what all this political stir up was all about. We told them, inter-alia of (a) pressure of world opinion against all forms of colonialism (b) decolonising policy of the United Kingdom; and (c) the winds of change that are blowing in Africa and elsewhere from which Bechuanaland cannot hope to remain imune for long".

"As these factors combine to spell United Kingdom's readiness to hand over independence to us, our greatest responsibility is to get ourselves ready for this handover. It was in response to this challenge that this party was formed. We have developed what we call the "TRIPOD" policy of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, aiming at:(1) making a united nation of Bechuanaland tribes and various racial communities as our success, as an independent nation, will depend more on this unity or nationhood than on any other single factor.

(2) an education system which should have horizontal and vertical scope, as education is an effective instrument of efficient self-rule and independence.

(3) economic development in the territory as economic independence is the indispensible and the most effective gate way to political independence.

Following this Conference, constructive resolutions by the B.D.P. were submitted to the Bechuanaland Government. For these resolutions see Appendix B and for Government's reply see Appendix C.

In September of the same year the B.D.P. established its newspaper "THERISANYO/CONSULTATION", a monthly publication. It carries news in Setswana and English. Its Editor, Mr. Quett Masire, introducing it then stated that it was a horn "that will blow to call people of Bechuanaland from their tribal hiding places and other racial groups from their racial bigotry to national consultation in frank discussions". It has since its inception gained popularity and wide circulation in the territory and abroad.

It is interesting also to know how the B.D.P. later assumed its twin name "Domkrag", an Afrikaans name for wagon jack. Some old African people unable to pronounce the word "Democratic" instead called it "Domkrag". This also accounts for the Party's slogan: "Tsholetsa Domkrag"! which symbolises the Party's main aim to "lift up" the territory of Botswana.

Between 1964 and until the election in March, 1965, the B.D.P. had stepped up all efforts in the preparation of the mass for selfgovernment. When election results were announced the B.D.P. had won a decisive victory of 28 out 31 seats with 3 seats to the B.P.P. (Matante's Party).

Commenting on the results of the election, the "Sunday Times" Political reporter, Mr. J. H. P. Serfontein had this to say: "For South Africans the elections could have an important psychological effect. Many of the popular theories put forward by South African politicians were upset by the results. The B.D.P. openly fought on a platform of multiracialism of friendship and cooperation between all the
peoples of Bechuanaland irrespective of the colour of their skins and this at a time when it is alleged that multiracialism is doomed to fail in South Africa".

"An interesting situation might arise if the counterpart of the B.D.P. in Basutoland, the moderate Basutoland National Party should gain a surprise victory there."

DEFENCE OF SERETSE KHAMA:
Mr. Seretse Khama, though of royal birth seems never to be conscious of that. His humility is one of his striking features. He associates freely, smiles broadly, chats in a friendly way and shakes hands with all classes of people.

My personal recollection of him was in 1962 when I met him at Mahalapye, where a meeting of his party was to take place. I had of course seen him at a distance on several occasions before, but had lacked the opportunity of meeting him. Fortunately, Mr. Masire, Secretary of the Party, formally introduced me to him, and contrary to my expectation, Mr. Seretse Khama, gave me his hand, notwithstanding the tendency of the Ngwaketse, Kwen and Ngwato tribal Chiefs, never to shake hands with ordinary people.

One may examine the validity of the criticism levelled against Seretse Khama, by some of his political opponents viz, that he is like Moise Tshombe of Katanga, the rich copper mining province in Southern Congo. When the Congo was prematurely granted indeendence by the Belgians in 1960, with Patrice Lumumba as its first Prime Minister (later murdered in Tshombe's dungeons in 1961) Moise Tshombe, with the military assistance and intrigue of the Belgians and their allies, sabotaged and subverted the unity of the independent Congo by the secession of that province. This se-es-ion has since led to unending hostilities and confusion in that country.

"If the territories could enjoy strong, stable government, with a policy of multi-racialism and genuine co-operation, long enough, that might also eventually change the outlook of many white South Africans about co-existence between Black and White" (Sunday Times, 7th March, 1965).

Seretse Khama's B.D.P. with mass support from the various racial groups comprising Bechuanaland stands for a united Bechuanaland and for the formation of a central government capable of exploiting both human and material resources for the territory's development.

* In May, 1965 the Basutoland National Party did win the General Elections.

One might ask: In what respect is Seretse Khama like the former secessionist leader Moise Tshombe? Does Seretse encourage tribalism and secession? The answer is found in Seretse's timely and statesmanlike warning to the white settlers of the Tuli Block and Tati areas of Botswana, who claimed the right of secession in 1963, when they learnt that the British Government were considering proposals for granting self-government to Bechuanaland. He stated that among other things, the policy of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party was to establish in this part of Southern Africa a state in which people of different races, colours, and creeds should be given the opportunity to live and work together. A state which every man may truly and happily regard as his home.

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Mr. K. T. Motsete, founder of Rotswana People'8 Party. Though he suffered a defeat in the General Elections, he won a major victory when his piece: "Fatshe Za Rona" -was selected as a National Anthem... for Independence.

We should here quote Seretse fully: "But despite this noble ideal it would appear that there are certain elements within the country, particularly in the Tati and Tuli Block areas who wish to turn this land into battlefields of racial conflict and hatred, in the Alabama style, by advocating that the areas mentioned should be permitted to secede and become European States". Seretse Khama went on to say that this policy was based on three things, one of which was the idea of national unity which should transcend tribes and races, and generate a spirit of national respect and understanding and a desire to build a healthy and progressive nation unhindered in its attempt to achieve that goal by distracting influences of tribal considerations and racial animosity.

Seretse Khuma continued: "We shall not allow the fragmentation of Bechuanaland... We shall not allow any part of it to be excluded from the whole and thus create a Congo situation. Those who are apprehensive of the future solely on the grounds that Bechuanaland will have an African Government soon, can be assured that the Bechuanaland Democratic Party welcomes anybody who wishes to make this country his home and is prepared to work for its social, economic and political advancement".

He concluded by saying "But we shall not subscribe to apartheid by agreeing to a racial zoning of the country. Those who feel that they are too dedicated to racial prejudice to want to live here know where to go; but they will not be allowed to take with them any part of Bechuanaland".

As for the puerile accusation that Seretse, being of royal birth, represents the institution of chieftainship, one may remind his accusers that Seretse has on many occasions, even as recently as 1963, when the Bangwato tribe renewed its wish to make him Chief, renounced the chieftainship.

Also, let us take the case of Chief Albert Lithuli (now restricted by the government of the Republic of South Africa) one of the most highly respected African political leaders, the Nobel Peace Prize winner for 1960 and President of the now banned (1959) African National Congress, who until 1952 had been for seventeen years Chief of the Abase-Makolweni tribe in the valley of Groutville.
In 1952 Chief Albert Lithuli became Chairman of the Natal section of the A.N.C. Because of his part in politics, the Secretary of the Ministry of Native Affairs summoned Lithuli to Pretoria and presented him with an ultimatum: the Chieftainship or politics. When Chief Lithuli replied that he saw no essential contradiction in the dual leadership of his people he was dismissed as Chief. Although dismissed from the position of Chieftainship, his people, out of sheer respect for him continue to refer to him as "Chief" Lithuli, in the same way as they do to Seretse - "Kgosi" Seretse.

One may therefore ask if Lithuli's leadership of his party, before it was banned was representative of the institution of Chieftainship. Surely, the answer is "No" and this emphatic "No" applies also to Seretse Khama's leadership of the B.D.P.

Equally puerile and dismissable as sheer nonsense, is the accusation that the European membership of the BD.P. points to the fact that the B.D.P. is a puppet of British imperialism and colonialism. If European support for an African political party is indicative of pro-imperialism and colonialism, many of the African nationalist political organisations such as the United National Independence Party (U.N.I.P.), now the ruling government party under President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia, with the backing of some whites, will have to be branded in the same way.

CHAPTER 3
Seretse Khama - Preparation for Self Government - Racial Discrimination

It was stated in the preceding Chapter that Seretse Khama as a member of the Legislative Council condemned racial discrimination prevalent in the territory. We shall here deal with the measures the government adopted in solving this problem in a British Protectorate wishing to attain self-government and commanding a loyalty transcending racial differences, in a society where a man's colour makes no difference to his right to equal opportunity in service to the country, or to his treatment by his fellow men.

Following Seretse Khama's motion in the Legislative Council, the Bechuanaland government appointed in 1962 a Select Committee on racial discrimination with Seretse as one of its members. The Select Committee's terms of reference were:

"(1) To examine the laws of the Bechuanaland Protectorate with a view to determining which of the laws are racially discriminatory.

(2) To make recommendations as to whether such laws should be amended or repealed to remove such discrimination, and the nature of such amendments as may be proposed.

(3) To examine all practices which distinguish between persons according to race, and to make recommendations in particular.

(4) To consider whether all schools maintained from public funds should become either English medium schools or Tswana medium schools, open to children of all races subject to certain conditions, and if so to make recommendations regarding the manner in which this proposal should be carried out, especially in regard to
(a) the date on which it should be implemented (b) the conditions to be attached to admission to schools (c) the financial, administrative and other implications”.

It would be very difficult for me here to do justice to all the Select Committee's deliberations and recommendations as given in their report, but the following summary may be of interest as it affords an understanding of the policy of Bechuanaland under Black rule.

The evidence heard by the Committee dealt with many and varied aspects of discrimination. The Committee observed that much of the evidence bore no direct relation to the matter of racial discrimination and some concerned events which occurred several years ago. Being satisfied that racial discrimination did in fact exist to a greater or lesser extent in public and private spheres of activity in Bechuanaland, the Committee was mainly concerned with recommending remedies rather than with determining instances of racial discrimination. The Committee made three broad recommenda-

tions in that report, designed in its opinion to ensure that racial discrimination where it might exist in legislation, in the civil service and in public places should be abolished.

Throughout its deliberations the Committee had recognised the fact that the existence of two or more different racial groups each with different languages, customs and heritage had produced different communities which only in recent years had begun to merge economically and politically. The Committee considered that the process of merging must, in the interests of building a nation in Bechuanaland be guided by the principle of equal opportunity.

As the basis of its enquiry the Committee defined racial discrimination as meaning "the affording of different treatment to different persons attributable wholly or mainly to their respective description by race whereby persons of such description are subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of another such description are not made subject or are accorded privileges or advantages which are not accorded to persons of another such description".

The Committee recommended that a definition of that kind be adopted by Government as a means of eliminating racial discrimination in every walk of life in Bechuanaland; that legislation based on such a definition should be introduced removing racial discrimination in existing laws and that positive legislation prohibiting racial discrimination should be framed.

On the legal and judicial system, evidence before the Committee drew attention to the dissatisfaction with the existence of two such legal and judicial systems. The Committee noted for example, that Europeans might not be brought before African Courts either as complainants or defendants or witnesses regardless of the nature or place of the dispute or crime. Some witnesses complained that Africans did not have the right to make use of lawyers in their own courts. The Committee generally supported the view that while the existence of the two systems might continue to be necessary for some time to come, for practical reasons and because there would be natural reluctance on the part of any community to forsake its traditional and personal laws, the eventual aim should be one legal and judicial system for all persons regardless of race.
With that in mind, the Committee considered that the existence of different courts with jurisdiction over different races was due to the existence of different legal systems; that, that was not not in itself discriminatory, but that steps should be taken to remove the racial barriers between the systems.
On the existence of tribal systems with authority over Africans only, the Committee had noted that the Government was considering a non-racial system of local government for introduction in tribal areas as soon as practicable.
On Taxation the Committee observed that there were two quite different forms of taxation used to levy taxes on Africans and non-Africans. The effect was that an African with an income of R10,000 (E5,000) per annum paid a yearly tax of R54 (L27), whereas a nonAfrican with a similar income paid a yearly tax of R2,158 (11,079).

As far as the Africans were concerned the position was further complicated by the fact that rates of Graded Tax varied from tribe to tribe. In consequence the Committee recommended a common form of taxation.
With regard to the civil service the Committee noted that it was Government's policy that appointments to and promotions within the civil service should be determined by the qualifications and merits of candidates and serving officers, irrespective of race, and
Her Majesty's Commissioner, Sir Hugh Norman-Walker, C.M.G., O.B.E. (1965,66) that preference be given to local officers in making appointments. To obviate misunderstandings between European Officers and their African subordinates, the Committee recommended that Government should take additional steps to ensure that, at all levels of the service, policy regarding appointments, promotions, conditions of service, and relations between members of the service was fully understood and observed.

On education several witnesses had expressed their dissatisfaction with the fact that the education system of Bechuanaland was racially discriminatory because separate schools were provided for the different racial groups in the territory. In paragraph 46 the report says: "It became apparent during the Committee's deliberations and as a result of the evidence heard, that the main concern of the European community was that the standard of education provided at any of the schools should in no way suffer as the result of any change. The Committee fully agrees with this point of view. It was also apparent that a section of the European community appeared to be opposed to any change in the present system and the Committee concludes, in this respect, that this section of the community is out of step with the majority of the inhabitants of Bechuanaland which desires the abolition of racial discrimination. The Committee was therefore unable to sympathise with this point of view. In following its desire for a non-racial system of education the Committee summarised its recommendations as follows:(1) "that all schools primary -and secondary, maintained wholly or in part from public funds should be either English Language or Setswana Language medium schools;
(2) that this policy should be implemented in respect of both day and boarding schools with effect from the 1st January, 1964;
(3) that present standards in English language medium schools should not be lowered;
(4) that all children now or in the future who would by present practice be entitled to admission to either an English Language or a Setswana Language medium school should continue to be so entitled, but that additional admission to any school to the optimum of enrolment as laid down would be open to children of any race;
(5) that the only essential condition which should attach to the admission of a child, not automatically so entitled to any given school should be that the child should be of an appropriate age;
(6) that while a knowledge of the language medium of the school to which admission is sought would be an additional argument for admitting a child, this should not be a condition of admission, and a child not knowing the language could be admitted, although only at sub A level;
(7) that it would be invidious to expect of one man, the Headmaster, that he be responsible for deciding on admission or rejection, and that this responsibility should be that of a local committee whose guiding principle should be that of the welfare of the child irrespective of its race;
(8) that until such time as the law in respect of education has been revised, the composition of such local committees should be determined by the Director of Education".

The Committee also noted that the possible financial implications of that policy would be small; no more than

(a) the part-time employment of a Setswana Teacher in an English Language medium school - say R1,500 (E750) per annum.
(b) the additional cost of maintaining present boarding establishments at full enrolment figures - say R3,000 (E1,500) per annum.

APPENDIX B
B.D.P. NATIONAL CONGREB RE.SOLUTIONS:
1. In view of the country's great need for trained personnel resulting from inadequate training facilities and lack of trained staff in the Territory, the Democratic Party urges Government to grant scholarships to all students who have passed Matric or its equivalent and wish to further their studies to pursue academic, professional and technical training overseas and elsewhere.
2. That in view of scarcity of suitably qualified local teachers, Government should make all efforts to recruit teachers from overseas and elsewhere for high schools and teacher training colleges in the Territory.
3. That all Mineral rights in Bechuanaland should be vested in the Central Government.
4. That Government should take all the necessary steps to conserve surface water and to utilise all available water supplies in the territory for the purpose of Agricultural and Pastoral developments and further that an approach should be made to International Agencies for technical and other assistance.
5. In view of the widespread dissatisfaction about cattle prices indicating that there is something wrong with the B.P. Abattoir Ltd., and the unhygienic conditions at the Abattoir Compound, the Bechuanaland Democratic Party urges Government to take steps to appoint a Commission of inquiry to investigate: (i) Beef price structure at the B.P. Abattoir Ltd. 
(ii) Conditions of service of African employees especially the following: (a) Unhygienic conditions in the Compound arising chiefly from the open sewerage and dirt.
(b) Localization in the C.D.C. and ECCO.
(c) Wage structure.
6. That the Policy of the localization be extended to all departments up to the Secretariat.
7. In view of the fact that we hope it is the intention of the United Kingdom Government to grant Self-Government to the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the United Kingdom Government be requested to grant the Bechuanaland Protectorate a sum of not less than £30 million for development in the next five years so that she may be economically viable when she ultimately attains independence.

5. The Bechuanaland Democratic Party views with great regret the apparent reluctance of the United Kingdom Government in effecting the removal of the B.P. Government Headquarters from foreign soil into the Territory and it makes the Party doubtful as to the United Kingdom Government's willingness to grant the Territory self-rule as self-rule cannot be contemplated with a country's capital outside the territory.

APPENDIX C

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO B.D.P. NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS:

I am directed to refer to your letter of the 15th April, 1963, enclosing the resolutions of the National Congress of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party and to say that these have been carefully studied. I am to make the following observations on the resolutions seriatim.

1. Government fully shares your party's views regarding the provision of facilities for higher education, and despite shortage of funds will endeavour to ensure that nobody with the necessary education is denied opportunities for advancement. Strenuous efforts are being made to find the necessary funds and approval has recently been received for all bursary requirements for 1963/65 at a total cost of £40,000. The following information may be of interest:

Scholarships During the last two years 18 Bechuanaland students have been placed at universities and other institutions for higher training. In addition places have been
found for 16 other students who will shortly be admitted. Scholarships tenable outside the Bechuanaland Protectorate are: (a) specifically designed to train persons for appointment to the Public Service or for promotion to higher posts within the Public Service. (b) linked to the teaching service, and (c) at this stage to a very limited extent linked to the requirements of the private sector.

The number of scholarships are restricted: (a) to the requirements at (a), (b) and (c) above; (b) because of the very limited funds available; (c) because of the limited output of suitable candidates mainly from the schools. Scholarships are open not only to suitable matriculants but also to suitable candidates with lower qualifications, for courses at a university (or equivalent level) or for specific sub-professional training.

2. Government is making every effort to recruit teachers from overseas and elsewhere, on contract, to improve our standards of teaching. We will, of course, always accept a local teacher before an outside recruit if he has the necessary qualifications.

3. Government is still going to give further consideration to the question of mineral rights.

4. Government is very conscious of the need to conserve surface water and to utilise all available water supplies in the Territory for the purpose of agricultural and pastoral development and proposals have been included in the 1963/61 draft development plan to conduct water surveys, construct stock dams and provide loans through the National Development Bank for general water development. Applications for assistance in the field of water surveys have already been submitted to the Food and Agricultural Organisation and the United Nations Special Fund and these are at present under examination.

5. (i) Government has announced its intention to appoint a commission of enquiry into the livestock industry to examine and report on the organisation, operation, economic position and prospects of the meat industry and is at present arranging with the Food and Agricultural Organisation, who have agreed to make a contribution of $10,000 towards the costs of the enquiry, for the appointment of the members who will serve on the commission.

(ii) Conditions of service of employees will not be within the scope of the enquiry, but labour conditions generally are the concern of the new Labour Branch which will be carrying out inspections concerned particularly with health and safety in premises belonging to the employer. The Wages Board set up by
government last year is expected shortly to make recommendations regarding minimum wages and conditions at the abattoir and cannery (partly as a result of the Board's examination of these matters, it is understood that consultative machinery has been set up and four posts localised in the salaried section of the industry).

6. Under government’s localisation policy where suitably qualified and experienced officers are available they are being appointed or promoted. For example, there is now a Crown Counsel, and Assistant Clerk to Legislative Council, an Assistant Establishment Officer; whilst local officers have recently been appointed at a lower level in Secretariat registries and further appointments are likely within a year. The localisation plans made by government last year are being reviewed in the light of the latest possibilities of obtaining aid for training from external sources, in the form of expert advice and finance. The territorial development plan will make provision for the expansion of secondary education which must be the foundation of successful localisation.

7. Government is convinced that the United Kingdom will continue to supply aid to the Bechuanaland Protectorate and government is wholly sympathetic with the desire to achieve early economic viability.

8. Her Majesty's Government and the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government accept without reservation that the transfer of headquarters to the Territory is essential and should be carried out as soon as possible. As the Bechuanaland Democratic Party observe, self-government would be impossible otherwise. There is no reason to think that the necessary funds will not be provided, and since the resolution under reference was passed, progress has been made in preparing the area of the new town at Gaberones and work has started on the dam which will provide its water supply. Detailed planning is up to schedule and it is expected that headquarters will be moved to Gaberones in 1965 as originally anticipated.

CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS3 196$: It soon became necessary to change the 1961 constitution for a better one of self government leading to complete independence. Thus in 1963 the Resident Commissioner (later Her Majesty's Commissioner) having consulted Commonwealth Relations Office, held a series of meetings at Lobatsi with political leaders and representatives of important groups and representatives of Chiefs to discuss arrangements for the review of the constitution. At a later date also a special meeting was held under the Chairmanship of the Attorney General (Mr. Tilbury) to consider the protection of fundamental human rights. The Constitutional Conference unanimously decided that the time had come to move directly to a form of self-government which provided for a ministerial system leading to independence. It was also felt that the composition of the legislative Chamber should be such as would produce an assembly in which a clear parliamentary majority capable of forming a government, would emerge. It was evident that such arrangements should be fundamentally democratic. In these circumstances, and having regard to the general desire of the Conference to avoid interim and possibly short-term constitutional stages, it was felt that the legislature should be constituted
on a basis of adult suffrage and that, apart from the "specially elected" members of the legislature should be elected in a single set of constituencies, each with a common roll of registered voters.

The Constitutional Conference recognised that the traditional political and administrative institutions in Bechuanaland retain great significance for a large proportion of the population. The need for a harmonious relationship between these institutions and an evolving central government was felt to be correspondingly great, and the Conference felt that special arrangements were necessary to meet that need. It was therefore considered that a House of Chiefs should be established to examine certain draft Bills affecting customary law before their introduction in the Legislative Assembly.

It was also considered that it was essential for the maintenance of democracy in any state that there should exist respect for the dignity and fundamental rights and freedom of the individual. It was noted that the enumeration of such rights, with power of enforcement vested in an independent judiciary, was a feature of many modern constitutions and the conference considered that the new Constitution for the territory should contain provisions of that nature. These provisions would not only be a guarantee to all the people of Bechuanaland that civilized standards would be preserved, but would demonstrate to the world at large that this country respects those basic principles which find widespread acceptance among democratic nations.

A most significant political development in the territory was the change later in 1963 of the designation and powers of the Resident Commissioner. During the same year "Resident Commissioner" was redesignated "Her Majesty's Commissioner" who became directly responsible to the Colonial Office and not to the Commonwealth Relations Office in London, even though authority to intervene in the affairs of the territory was still reserved to the High Commissioner. Since 1963 it had become apparent that there was no need to retain the High Commissioner's powers of intervention, and consequently the office of High Commissioner which had existed since 1910 ceased to exist on 1st August, 1964. The arrangement had the effect of conferring the status of Governor on Her Majesty's Commissioner.

The first administrator to hold this responsible office was Sir Peter Fawcus, K.B.E., C.M.G., who retired in May 1965, having served the Bechuanaland Government for a little over ten years; first as Government Secretary and then as Resident Commissioner. It was during his tenure of office that most territorial developments, political, economic, social and educational took place and to which by his diplomatic and liberal approach he contributed so much.

Sir Peter Fawcus was succeeded by Sir Hugh Norman-Walker, C.M.G., O.B.E., who assumed office in July, 1965. Sir Hugh, a former Secretary to the Treasury of Malawi, relinquished his appointment upon the independence of Botswana after a short term in office as Her Majesty's Commissioner. He can feel proud of having performed his onerous duty of leading and guiding the Batswana people in the final stages of their march to the goal of independence.
CHAPTER 4
Seretse Khama - On the eve of Self-Government

Changes in Education: In 1962 the Bechuanaland Education Department together with those of her sister territories of Basutoland and Swaziland withdrew the Junior and Senior Certificates of the Republic of South Africa, and adopted the Cambridge School Certificate syllabus, with an Examination Council's headquarters at Maseru, in Basutoland. The membership of the Examination Council comprises the Vice-Chancellor of the former University of Roma, now the University of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, the Director of Education in each of the three territories, representatives of Teacher Training College, of Secondary Schools in the three territories, representatives of School education U.L.B.S. and representative of University Senate and Examination Officer.

In 1963, on the invitation of the Israel Government, through their Embassy at Johannesburg, Seretse Khama, as member of the Bechuanaland government Executive Council and leader of the largest political party, flew to Israel, among other things for talks on the possibilities of Israel scholarships for refresher courses in Agriculture to meet the needs of Bechuanaland.

University. Botswana shares in the University with the other two territories. It was constituted by Royal Charter at Roma, Basutoland, in January, 1964, when Seretse Khama, as one of the distinguished guests had the honour of planting a tree there. The new University is an autonomous body granting its own degrees and diplomas with standards assured by liaison with the InterUniversity Council for Higher Education Overseas.

Primary. Following the findings and recommendations of the Legislative Council Select Committee on racial discrimination of which Seretse Khama was a member an important change was effected early in 1964 in the system of primary education when the Bechuanaland Education Department (under the late Mr. Charles J. Hunter) desegregated schools in the territory and reduced the primary school course from 8 to 7 years.

By this change the Government hopes that the number of those who complete the primary course will increase, that those who complete the 7-year course will be a year younger than they are at the end of an 8-year course, and that it will therefore, be more economical to staff a seven-year-course instead of an eight-year course.

The B.DP.'s newspaper, "Therisanyo" of February, 1964 welcoming the government's move to integrate schools, stated:

'It rests with the various racial groups to make certain that desegregation of public schools will be a success. We are all agreed, one hopes, that multi-racialism is our ideal for Bechuanaland, but ideals are not to be achieved by merely talking about them, positive action is needed to prove that we mean all that we profess, and we could not have chosen a better test for sincerity on the part of the various racial groups".

"Besides, if we really mean to build a nation, then there is no better means than making certain that, at the earliest age, the children of the various racial groups shall be brought up together in the country's schools, sharing the same desks, the
same playgrounds, learning each other's language, appreciating each other's traditions, and in that way building up mutual respect”.

Chief Bathoen II, C.B.E., of the Bangwaketse tribe.

This integration of schools met with strong opposition and resentment from the Afrikaner farming community of Ghanzi, in western Bechuanaland, who have since abandoned and caused the closure of the school by sending their children to schools either in the Republic of South Africa or in South West Africa.

Before they abandoned the school, the Farmers Association at Ghanzi had in 1963, addressed the following telegram to the Legislative Council:

"This community is shocked by your school policy. At all times we have done our share towards building this country which is our home. This policy is being enforced far too soon with no regard at all for our feelings. It is carried through undemocratically and a very large minority ignored. We have been doing our best to promote goodwill. Now Government is attempting to undo all we have achieved in years, in only one day. We wish the Chief Secretary and the Director of Education to be at our meeting here on November 30th at 9.30 a.m.”.

This telegram was followed by a motion by the Chief Secretary, Mr. A. J. A. Douglas, in the Legislative Council, that the report of the Select Committee on Racial Discrimination be accepted. The Ghanzi Farmer's representative, Mr. R. Vize had, among other things stated that the school had been built some years ago and that a very considerable sum of money had been raised by the European community towards the building of the school, the swimming pool with a filtration plant, tennis courts and towards the purchase of a projector and towards the purchase of lighting plants and in various other ways. He stated further that the change-over had been done at short notice, and for that reason the Government should maintain the status quo until 1st January, 1965, to ensure that the White children's education might not suffer.

Some points raised by some members against Mr. Vize's statement are interesting. For instance, Mr. Allison, the Administration Secretary stated:

"I do think that after 18 months of time to think, of the knowledge of what is happening throughout this Territory, of the knowledge of what is happening throughout the rest of the world, that 18 months has been a very significant length of time to allow people to consider, to allow people to anticipate what the probable outcome of the meetings of our Select Committee on Racial Discrimination would result in. If people have failed to anticipate it then I think the fault is on their own door step. They have had plenty of opportunity. It must be obvious that the world cannot stand still, and that what has happened in other territories must necessarily happen in this Territory too, necessarily if this Territory is to advance as we hope. In those circumstances . . . I find it very difficult indeed to consider that there should be any further delay; presuming of course that Hon. Members of this Council adopt the Report, that there should be a further delay of a year”.

And of Chief Bathoen II:
"I think this fear that our friends have about the lowering of education should be dispelled as it most unnecessary. The people who should worry are really the Africans. They have a very wide and important decision to make on behalf of their children. Whether our children can, at the lower levels - Sub A or Standard I attend school with European children and benefit by that education. Will the child be comfortable during playtime when his colleagues speak a foreign language which he does not understand ... The European child will still be where he is and where his elder brother and sister were taught last year and years before".

Chief Bathoen II went on to explain that when doors opened for the Africans to partake of liquor (1961) in the hotels the proprietors there opened doors as wide as they could. He added that even up to that day when one entered a bar he would find Africans on their own, sitting there having their drinks - nobody told them to sit there but they felt they could enjoy their drinks - converse in their language. Those who felt otherwise went outside and sat beside the white people and spoke in English. So they had the same choice in bars as it would be in schools. Chief Bathoen II went on to say that when the Lobatsi Hotel was built, it was built exclusively to accommodate Europeans. He continued, "A few yards below here we have a new Cumberland Hotel. The proprietor of that hotel built in this year under the present day circumstances when there is no discrimination".

Chief Bathoen stated he was saying that, because the hon. Mr. Vize had given the example of the school at Ghanzi that it had been built ten years before for the Europeans. He went on to say that if one picked up any education report one would read about the Ghanzi European school. Then when one picked up any development plan it would speak of the Gabexones Trades School, built ten years after the Ghanzi School to accommodate Black and White. He thought that the hon. Mr. Vize should go back and tell the Ghanzi people that their school was ten years behind the times and that their ideas of education were also ten years behind the times. Chief Bathoen then concluded his remarks, "They should come forward. They should come to Gaberones and they will find the Black man accommodated there and will be accommodated just as they would accommodate a Black person, if he goes to Ghanzi".

Except for this fuss, which points to the fact that there are still some White people who oppose multi-racialism, the other all-White schools, few in number, in Bechuanaland were successfully desegregated.

3 years prior to this change-over the Education Department appointed a Syllabus Committee to produce a non-racial primary school syllabus whose first draft was experimented with during 1962. It was further revised in 1964 by Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, a British education expert sent out by the Department of Technical Cooperation.

In June, 1964 following an appeal to international bodies for financial assistance, a UNESCO team of four visited Bechuanaland to assist in the detailed working out of pre-independence educational plans. The team consisted of Dr. John Fielding, an Agricultural expert sent by the Food and Agricultural Organisation, Mr. John Brooksbank, Deputy Chief of Education, Birmingham, Mr. Dutra
Forenseca, a Brazilian Community Development expert and Mr. Elie de Chambure a French Economic and Demographic expert. Their terms of reference were:

(a) To assess the existing educational system, its administration and finance, and the development plans for the future, particularly for secondary education.
(b) To make projections of school enrolment irrespective of commitments and universal free education at the various levels, to suit the future demands on the educational system

With the setting up of District Councils in July, 1966, the Barolong and the Bangwaketse Territories were for administrative purposes merged into one District Council, with its headquarters at Kanye, in the Bangwaketse Territory. The Chief of the Barolong lives in the Mafeking area of the Cape Province, Republic of South Africa, where the majority of the Barolong tribesmen reside, and he still exercises traditional rights, for example, where allocation of land is concerned, and he still presides over the Barolong Appeal Court.

DELIMITATION COMMISSION AND REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

A Delimitation Commission was appointed in 1964 with the following membership: Sir Alistair Forbes, a former Chairman of the Delimitation Commission in North Rhodesia (now Zambia) in 1962-1963, as chairman, Mr. C. Powell Cotton, the former Minister of Security and External Relations in Uganda, Mr. Rasebolai Kgamane, former African Authority of the Bangwato and Mr. Bogatsu Pilane of the Bakgatla.

In their report, they stated that in the course of their tour it became evident that tribal loyalty was still a major factor in Bechuanaland. There was strong opposition to any division of tribal territories which would result in part of the territory of one tribe being linked with a part of the territory of another. In general, the idea of a delimitation which cut across tribal territory boundaries was evidently distasteful.

The Commission felt that this attitude was of considerable importance, particularly as the elections to be held would be the first of their kind in Bechuanaland.

The consensus of opinion was that the scheme of delimitation which was based on district and tribal territory boundaries was preferable at this stage of political development.

The Commission, however recommended that in the event of any future review of the delimitation, the Commission then carrying out the review should be empowered to increase the number of constituencies to 32 if considered desirable. This recommendation was based on the consideration that feeling against the division of tribal territories was likely to decrease when Legislative Assembly elections were better understood.

With the above factors in mind the Commission whose mandate was to divide Bechuanaland into not substantially more nor less than 32 constituencies, reduced their number to single member constituencies on the basis of a population quota of 17,473 per constituency.

Registration of Voters:
Between September 21st and October 3rd, 1964 the people, mostly Africans as some Europeans had preferred to retain their South African nationality, came to register as voters at polling stations (mainly school buildings) conveniently situated within the 31 constituencies. For this work the services of teachers were enlisted to serve as registration clerks. Altogether 189,532 people registered as voters. The following were conditions of Franchise:

of the Government Service, and the private sector of the territory's economy; such projections to be tailored to the population census figures to be made available in August or September 1964,
(c) To advise on priorities among the various levels and types of education.
(d) To advise on the number of educational institutions of various types required for the territory's development, with specific reference to the functions of the University of Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, particularly in respect of agriculture.
(e) To advise on the content of education in the territory.
(f) To estimate capital and recurrent expenditure required for the implementation of the Mission's recommendations, and to advise on the financing of such expenditure.
CENSUS: In order to prepare the country for self-government it became necessary to hold a census in 1964, the object of which was to obtain more accurate information on the size, composition, growth and distribution of the population and manpower of the territory, which would facilitate the planning of further economic development. The last complete census had been taken in 1946, (when the population was estimated at 300,000) and was followed by a sample census in 1956, but the information was considered inadequate for the purposes for which it was needed: viz. applications for assistance from international agencies, allocations of scholarships etc. It was considered necessary to be able to state with accuracy the population of the Protectorate, the conditions in which people live, as well as being able to determine the limits of the various constituencies as constitutional advance took place.
For this purpose, Bechuanaland secured the services of Mr. A. Campbell, District Officer, as Census Officer, and a United Nations expert, Mr. V. O. Kannisto of Finland. The work started early in 1964. The results of the 1964 census have since given the population of Bechuanaland as:- 543,105, comprising 535,275 Africans, 3,921 Europeans 3,489 persons of mixed race, 382 Asians and 38 others, the main centres of population being concentrated in the following African towns: Kanye (34,045); Serowe (34,182); Molepolole (29,625); Mochudi (17,712).
The principal tribes of Botswana are the Bangwato (201,007), who occupy 44,310 square miles in the east; the Bakwena (73,088) occupy 14,719 square miles and have a common border with the Bangwakete (71,289), who occupy 10,113 square miles; the Batawana (42,399) occupy 35,082 square miles in Ngamiland, bordering on South West Africa; the Bakgatla (32,118) occupy 2,798 square miles in the south east; the Batlokwa (3,735) occupy 6,759 square miles in the south
east; and the Bamalete (13,848) occupy 167 square miles in the south east. The eighth is the Barolong (10,688) who occupy 433 square miles of land known as the Barolong Farms (41 in number) in the south.

A person would qualify for registration as a voter if he or she was a British subject or British protected person who had attained the age of 21 years and who (1) had resided in Bechuanaland for a continuous period of twelve months immediately preceding the date on which he made application for registration; or (2) was born in Bechuanaland and was domiciled in Bechuanaland on the date on which he made such application. A registered voter was to vote in the constituency where he/she had registered. A Disqualification for franchise was allegiance, obedience or adherence to a foreign power or state, or being under sentence of death or imprisonment exceeding six months for any offence which is a criminal offence under the laws of Bechuanaland.

The year was also marked by Seretse Khama's visit to the United States of America, where as a Member of the Executive Council he signed on behalf of the Bechuanaland Government an agreement for a grant of R2,570,000 (£E1,285,000) with the International Development Association (an affiliate of the World Bank) in Washington. This loan is for 50 years at 1%, repayment starting at the end of the first ten years. The Bechuanaland Government used the loan for construction of a new road from Francistown to Maun and for improvement to the gravel standard of the main road from the Rhodesian border to Ramatlhabama, the southern border between Bechuanaland and the Republic of South Africa.

APPENDIX D
B.D.P. ELECTION MANIFESTO

I. Democracy:
The Bechuanaland Democratic Party pledges itself to uphold a democratic form of government and democratic institutions. Under its regime all elections to local councils and to the National Assembly will be carried out on a one-man-one-vote basis, and the making of all laws and the amending of such laws shall be carried out by popular will in the Legislative Assembly. Further the party pledges itself to safeguard the liberty of the individual by the maintenance of law and order, and guarantees every individual citizen the basic rights of man as defined in the Constitution.

II. Party's Stand on Non-Racialism:
It logically follows from the foregoing paragraph that the Bechuanaland Democratic Party shall not allow any form of discrimination, whether political, social or economic, against any minority racial group in the country, as this will not be in conformity with the Party's basic principle - Democracy. Neither shall the laws of the country recognise any preferential considerations of a political, economic or social nature for any tribal or racial group in Bechuanaland.

Under the B.D.P. the laws of the country will not, on the other hand, destroy any communal associations or bonds based on such common interests as religion,
language, culture, etc., as long as these associations or bonds do not undermine the unity and progress of the state.

III. The Administration of Justice
Under the regime of the judiciary shall be independent
Bechuanaland Democratic Party, the of the Executive and shall be free to
Mr. Seretse Khama and Mr. J. Burke Knapp, Vie-President of the I.D.A. signing
at Washington the R2.5 million Road Development Loan for Botswana, 1964.
administer the laws of the land, to maintain the rule of law, and to deal out justice impartially without fear or interference from any quarter.
All men shall be equal before the law. The junior courts under the local administrations shall re-organised along modern lines, to ensure that tradition did not interfere with the administration of justice.

IV The B.D.P. aMd a Multi-Party State:
The Bechuanaland Democratic Party believes in a multi-party state with a responsible parliamentary opposition that will operate within the framework of the Constitution, and within that framework only.

V. Bechuanaland and Independent Status:
The party stands and works for the independence of Bechuanaland within the shortest possible time, and shall use the oncoming period of self-government as a preparatory stage towards the attainment of independence.

VI. Membership of the Commonwealth and Other International Organisatiow:
If given the mandate to govern we would keep Bechuanaland within the Commonwealth of Nations, with the British monarch as the head of state till such time as the 13atswana themselves would wish to have another type of titular head other than the British monarch. This would however, have to be decided upon by popular vote, and not by whims of anyone political leader.
We would, as soon as the Country reached the status of full independence, also seek membership of such international bodies as United Nations, The African Unity Organisation, and others.

VII World Alignment:
When we become an independent state we do not propose to align ourselves with any of the existing world political camps. The state of our economy as a country, our geographical position, as well as our size as a nation, calls for a policy of maintaining friendly relations with as many countries of the world as are well-disposed towards us. To our neighbours our policy will be one of good neighbourliness, except that in all matters of international relations our policy shall always be that of placing the interests and welfare of Bechuanaland first, and yet allow reason, not sentiment, and a sense of justice and of fair play to determine our attitude and conduct towards other nations.

VIII. (a) The B.D.P. and The Territory & Tribal Structure:
The Bechuanaland Democratic Party stands for a gradual but sure evolution of a national state in Bechuanaland, to which the tribal groups will, while they remain in existence, take a secondary place. This is an unavoidable development, an evolutionary law to which we must yield to survive, or resist and disappear as a people. Except in very vital issues such as the investing of mineral rights in the
Central Government, the party does not, however, intend to force the pace in the process of subjecting local and tribal interests to national ones. The evolution of democratic institutions and practices in tribal administrations must however, be maintained, and where possible the rate of their development must be accelerated. Likewise all moves towards closer inter-tribal co-operation will be encouraged, such, for instance, as the organisation of tribal and other groups into local councils, into which smaller tribal units will be absorbed for their own economic benefit, even if they retained a small measure of tribal identity.

(b) Land Tenure Policy.
Under the government of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, the individual and communal rights of ownership of land will be respected. Our government would, however, formulate progressive and enlightened policies of land utilisation; which should, amongst other things, achieve the following: (i) raise the agricultural output of the land, and serve to increase the production of grain for local consumption;

(ii) accelerate the change over from subsistence to economy farming;
(iii) provide employment for several Batswana who cannot, under the present system, make a living on the land through lack of means to provide for themselves the necessary agricultural equipment; and
(iv) introduce diversification of occupation which is the basis of all fully-developed economies.

(c) The Country's Mineral Rights:
If discovered in good quantities and exploited to the full, minerals should ultimately serve to boost up the economy of Bechuanaland and take precedence over all other national products. Consequently leaving mineral rights vested in tribal authorities and private companies must necessarily result in uneven growth of the country's economy, as well as deprive the Central Government of an important source of revenue for developing the country. With this in view it will be the policy of the B.D.P. government to negotiate with all parties concerned the take over of the country's mineral rights by the Central Government, and subsequently expand the present mining operations and step up prospecting activities throughout the Territory.

IX. The Country's Economy:
The party will undertake to do all in its power to place Bechuanaland on the way to economic viability as soon as this can possibly be achieved, by giving special attention to the following: (a) Cattle Industry: Operating within some of the terms of the 1963/68 Development Plan, we would, if elected, try to improve the cattle industry.
(i) by carrying out extensive surveys of underground and surface water resources and potentials over a large part of the country, with a view to providing water in all potential pasture areas, to make it possible for these to accommodate more of
the cattle population of the country, and in this way lessen crowding and over-
grazing in the existing better-watered areas;
(ii) by carrying out experiments with different cattle breeds
with a view to selecting and popularising with the farmers and cattle producers
such breeds as thrive best under our pasture conditions, and give better returns
within a short
time;
(iii) by encouraging beef production through making available
better types of bulls, and by exploring better channels of
beef marketing;
(iv) by negotiating for higher beef prices as an incentive to
cattle producers;
(v) by accelerating the process of turning the Bechuanaland
Abattoirs into a statutory corporation in order to give the
cattle producers a bigger say in its affairs;

(vi) by introducing better methods of pasture control as recommended in the
Purnell Report;
(vii) by giving special attention to the ever-recurring menace
of foot-and-mouth disease, and by tackling all other diseases.
(b) Agriculture:
In order of priority our goals in agricultural development will be:
(i) to step up the yield of all crops that are normally produced
for food, so that we may ultimately produce locally all the crop yield needed for
local consumption, and in that way cut down the country's quota of imports, and
improve the export-import balance. This we shall attempt by extending the pupil-
farmer scheme that has so far been carried out successfully in several parts of the
country;
(ii) to organise a system of storage and marketing of grain
locally. We are convinced that much of the food shortage in the country is the
result of the absence of a system of storing grain, so that a year's crop is sent out
of the territory after harvesting, and soon after imported at exorbitant prices.
Some form of storage and a system of local marketing should improve this
situation, and ensure that the yield of a good year will carry over into at least the
first half of the next year. To this end we shall promote the organisation of co-
operatives for the marketing of crops, some profits from which will be ploughed
back
into the land in the form of loans to farmers.
(iii) to raise the country's crop production from a subsistence
to a market economy. Only 500,000 of the country's arable eight million acres are
said to be under cultivation. We are satisfied that with her comparatively low
population, if more land were brought under cultivation, if the number of field
officers were increased, with a view to expanding the pupil farmer scheme and
carrying on some extension work on a large scale, if more research were made
into the type of seeds more suited to our climate conditions if the people generally
were brought to appreciate the fact that crop farming was a twelve months'
occupation, Bechuanaland could produce grain far in excess of her consumption requirements, and have a large surplus for export;
(iv) to introduce or accelerate the introduction of cash crops either by irrigation wherever water is available, or by dry-land farming methods;
(v) to explore the possibilities of exploiting the waters of the Okovango Swamps and of any other surface water supplies for irrigation purposes.
(c) Industrial Development, Finance and, Taxation:
The development of secondary industries must necessarily follow the exploitation of mineral resources; and as agriculture develops too, secondary industries for processing agricultural products must arise. The Bechuanaland Democratic Party will do all in its power to accelerate this development and bring the vast potential of the country to productivity. A special economic development and planning body will be instituted to plan the economic growth of the country.
To find capital for industries a finance corporation will be created. Moderate taxation will be imposed to stimulate the economy and boost revenue-earning projects while additional revenue sources are explored and developed. Loans for expansion and development will be made more readily available at low rates of interest.
Where additional capital to finance industries is needed external investors will naturally be invited from whatever country they can be found, provided:
(i) that as far as conditions will permit local labour will be trained and used for all industries;
(ii) that all industries will operate in accordance with the labour laws of the country regulating industrial labour relations, wages, labour hours and labour conditions generally, where such laws exist, or as they are passed from time to time.
(d) Wages
Our wage policy is that of EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK, for equal qualifications, and what is more important for equal productivity. Further we shall do all in our power to raise the country's per capita income, which is the only sound basis for raising wages generally, and other forms of earnings and consequently improving the general standard of living.
X. Water Conservation.
Recognising the importance of water for a low rainfall country like Bechuanaland, the Democratic Party would, if elected to power, institute a programme of water conservation by constructing dams, which could be used for irrigation, besides watering stock. Conserving rain water should also serve to replenish underground streams, and raise the water table considerably, resulting in shallower, and consequently less expensive boreholes.
Our government would also foster the formation of borehole syndicates which might apply for assistance from the Land Development Bank by way of long term loans at low rates of interest. XI. Roads and Communications.
Further we recognise the importance of roads and communications for the development of the country, for the more effective exploitation of its natural resources, for encouraging trade and tourism, as well as for fostering a national feeling by making all parts of the country accessible, and in that way breaking down tribal and local isolationist tendencies. To this end our policy shall be:
(i) the construction of good all-weather roads and bridges;
(ii) extending and strengthening our system of communications, e.g. telephonic and radio;
(iii) creating attractive conditions, e.g. reservation of game and building of camping sites, organisation of safaris with controlled shooting, which should encourage the tourist trade.
XII. Manpower Requirements and Social Services.
We are aware that the country's poor manpower resources are going to be a drag on its progress. Professional men and technicians of all types and classes will be required to implement all programmes of development outlined in the first paragraph of this memorandum. The demand on our slender manpower resources will become more acute with the advent of independence, when many of the expatriate government officers and technicians may, or will have to be replaced by local officers.
To meet the country's manpower requirements the Bechuanaland Democratic Party would, if elected, devote its attention and a good percentage of the country's financial resources to the training of the necessary manpower. To this end the following steps would be followed:
(a) Surveys of Manpower Requirements must be given priority, and should give a general picture of the country's requirements in manpower, of requirements for the various departments of the Government and the various branches of industry. It will also be determined what requirements will be given priority in the training programme.
(b) Bursary Scheme. In the light of the findings of surveys referred to above we would organise a bursary scheme:
(i) to provide the sorely needed post-primary teachers, the majority of whom we would have trained in the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland;
(ii) to train such technicians as are urgently needed for the country's vital services, including doctors, veterinary surgeons and agricultural officers. Some of these might be trained in such overseas countries as will give us spaces in their training institutions, but we shall endeavour to find training ground in as many African countries as are in a position to assist us by providing us with training facilities;
(iii) to provide the training of selected scholars, with special aptitude, who should return to serve as instructors in the country's technical schools.
The 3rd group above would be drafted into positions of instructors in the Bechuanaland Training Centre, the facilities of which would be extended both in standard and variety, and if numbers and circumstances warranted it, another technical college would have to be opened elsewhere. The rest of this category of trainees would be drafted into positions of foremen and inspectors of works under the Public Works Department, but as many as possible would

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standard and variety, and if numbers and circumstances warranted it, another technical college would have to be opened elsewhere. The rest of this category of trainees would be drafted into positions of foremen and inspectors of works under the Public Works Department, but as many as possible would be encouraged to set up on their own as artisans. We are satisfied that there should be no want of employment for technicians under group (ii) above, who should all be absorbed into industry, both in the public and private sectors.

(c) Formal Education.
We are conscious of the fact that none of the envisaged schemes to develop manpower would be of any avail without a virile system of formal education, and if we were elected we would undertake to improve the country's system of education, by aiming in broad outline, at

(i) getting all primary teachers trained through increasing the output of the country's Teacher Training Colleges and by providing more in-service training for the untrained teachers already in employment;

(ii) making the Junior Certificate the minimum requisite qualification for teacher training as soon as the Secondary Schools are able to produce sufficient numbers of JC graduates;

(iii) introducing some measure of compulsory education as soon as facilities permit it, for at least the first four or five years of primary schooling. Such measures should serve to lay a sure foundation for secondary, technical and university education.

(d) University Education.
For University Education the policy of our government will be to support the new university of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, both by using all the facilities it can and will provide from time to time, and by giving it all the financial backing within our means,

As more faculties become available we would advocate a policy of decentralising the university, with a view to locating some of its departments in the other two countries; for example, it would be to advantage to have the veterinary science and agriculture departments allocated to Bechuanaland and Swaziland respectively. Such a development should also serve to make the peoples of these two countries feel that they have a stake in this institution.

Medical Service:
Our government will step up medical and health services by erecting more clinics and siting these at points where they would be accessible to the largest number of the rural population. The clinics will, as now, be under the supervision of, and be visited regularly by Medical Officers from neighbouring hospitals. To cater for remote areas a mobile dispensary service will be introduced, medicines and modern drugs will be made available at reasonable cost. An effort would be made to recruit more doctors, and train more nurses and dispensers to staff the hospitals, rural clinics and mobile dispensaries.
We shall see to it too that they are given training comparable with that available in neighbouring countries to remove all excuses for denying them just recognition for their services.

XIII. Community Development:
The development of townships and the opening of industries must, as it has always done, draw more and more people away from the land to urban or semi-urban areas, with the consequent depopulation of the rural areas. This development always has the detrimental effect of robbing the vital farming activities of the necessary manpower, and of building up such problems as unemployment, housing shortage, crime, lawlessness and delinquency in urban areas. The policy of the Democratic Party would be to make provision for the solution of this problem in the over-all development and not by the remedial measures when its social and economic effects begin to make themselves felt. We would tackle the problem not by negative measures of restricting movement and entry into urban areas, but positively by community development programmes which shall aim at: (i) developing agriculture to the extent that it may pay by providing the rural population with both food and cash and in that way curb the movement to urban areas to earn money for every day requirements; (ii) making rural community life attractive, by providing a variety of diversions and communal occupations, by planning the layout of villages, providing such amenities as water taps at convenient points in the villages, and by organising market places in all rural settlements where produce can be brought for disposal, for the convenience of both producers and buyers. To achieve our aim we would make provision for training Community Development Officers under the bursary schemes proposed under paragraph IX (b) above.

CHAPTER 5
Seretse Khama - Self-Government is won
Following the constitutional talks of 1963, on the 2nd June, 1964 the British Government in Command 2378 made an announcement in the House of Commons of its acceptance, without amendment, of the draft constitution for
internal self-government, providing for a ministerial system designed to lead Bechuanaland to full independence.

Sef-Government Constitution:
The constitution came into effect in March, 1965. At the general elections on 1st March, the Bechuanaland Democratic Party under Seretse Khama, with 113,168 votes out of 140,789 votes cast emerged as the strongest party, winning 28 of the 31 seats.

Executive Council:
Under self government constitution, the executive government of Bechuanaland was controlled by a Cabinet with a Prime Minister, whose meetings were presided over by Her Majesty's Commissioner, who exercised his powers in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet. He retained a general reserve executive power. He was also responsible for external affairs, defence and security but in exercising these responsibilities he acted wherever possible in consultation with the Prime Minister. He was also responsible for the making of appointments to the Public Service and for the promotion, disciplinary control and dismissal of officers in the service. In exercising these latter functions he was assisted by an advisory, non-political Public Service Commission.
The Cabinet had the following ministries:

HOME AFFAIRS:
General: (1) External affairs, defence, internal security (2) The Police Force (3) constitutional matters (4) Race relations (5) Information services (6) Legal affairs of Government: Law reform courts and procedures, legal practitioners (7) Registries Office, J.P.
(a) companies registration
(b) Deeds registration and conveyancing, Births and Deaths
(c) Copyright; trade marks, brands, patents; designs
(8) insolvency (9) deceased estates (10) Inquests (11) Crown lands, lease or sale
(12) Survey-General, Justices of Peace (a) Survey
(b) town planning (13) Prisons and related institutions (14) Firearms and explosives (15) liquor (16) Archives and public records
(17) immigration (18) census (19) sociological surveys (20) Betting and gaming
(21) dangerous drugs (22) miscellaneous matters:
(a) cabinet (b) establishment branches.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT:
(1) District Administration (2) Tribal administration (3) Local government (4) Local Courts (5) Elections (6) Community Development (7) national and local housing.

WORKS AND COMMUNICATIONS:
(1) Public works (2) Roads and road transport (3) Railways and rail transport (4) Civil aviation (5) Posts and Telegraphs (6) Meteorology.

LABOUR AND SOCIAL SERVICES:
(1) Employment (2) Industrial welfare, including factories; regulations and enforcement (3) Industrial relations (4) Industrial training (5) Education (6) Public
Health (7) Medical services (8) Religious and charitable organisations (9) Famine relief (10) Insurance and pensions schemes.

AGRICULTURE:
(1) Agriculture (2) Veterinary (3) Cattle industry (including dairy) (4) Tsetse fly control (6) Fauna (7) Fisheries (8) Cooperative societies (9) Land settlement.

MINES, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY:
(1) Mining (2) Geological Survey (3) Industries (4) Trade and Commerce (5) Tourism including safaris.

FINANCE:

Under and subject to the general direction and control of the Minister is a Permanent Secretary who supervises the general affairs of the ministry.

Legislative Assembly: from which the cabinet was drawn consisted of 37 members excluding the Speaker of whom 31 were elected members, 4 were specially elected members of the Assembly, one was the Attorney-General, who though he took part in the deliberations, had no right to vote in the Assembly, and one was the Financial Secretary for so long as he was ex-officio Minister of Finance. The Financial Secretary ceased to hold this office on 1st November, 1965 when an elected member of the Legislative Assembly was appointed.

The House of Chiefs:
The constitution made provision for the House of Chiefs. It consisted of the Chiefs of the eight principal tribes of Bechuanaland (Bakwena, Bangwato, Bangwaketse, Barolong, Bamelete, Batlokwa, Bakgatla and Batawana) as permanent ex-officio members and four other members elected and from among sub-Chiefs in the Chobe, Francistown, Ghanzi and Kgalagadi Districts.

The House of Chiefs is a body which advises Government in the exercise of its responsibilities, and in addition the constitution made provision that the Legislative Assembly may not proceed with any bill which specifically affects a defined range of subjects in relation to matters of tribal concern, unless a draft of it had been referred to the House of Chiefs for consideration at least thirty days before hand, or Her Majesty's Commissioner in his discretion had certified that the Bill was so urgent that it was not in the public interest to delay its introduction in the Assembly until a draft had been referred to the House of Chiefs, in which case a copy of the Bill should immediately be sent to the House of Chiefs.

Subjects relating to matters of tribal concern include:
(a) the designation, recognition, removal and powers of Chiefs, sub-Chiefs and Headmen,

The three young Botswana Chiefs: Leapeetswe (a cousin of Dr. Khama) of the Bangwato, Letaholathebe of the Bafawana; and Linchwe II of the Bakgatla.

(b) the constitution, appointment, removal and powers of African Authorities and Subordinate African Authorities,

(c) the organisation, powers and administration of African
Courts,
(d) customary law or
(e) tribal organisation or tribal property.
In addition, the House of Chiefs was entitled to discuss and make representations to the Prime Minister or through the Prime Minister to the Cabinet, on any matter within the executive and legislative authority of Bechuanaland which the House of Chiefs considered it desirable to take cognisance of in the interests of the tribes and tribal organisations they represent.

With the introduction in 1965 of a ministerial system of government, leading naturally to independence, the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued a Ministerial Conduct No. 75 which gave guidance to ministers in their day-to-day official duties. The full text of this dispatch is given in Appendix E below.

APPENDIX E
Ministerial Conduct - Text of a Dispatch No. 75 from the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Sir,
I have the honour to refer to the provision included in the recently approved constitutional instruments for Bechuanaland relating to the introduction of a Ministerial form of Government. The approval of these instruments provides me with a suitable opportunity of addressing you on matters relating to Ministerial conduct, a proper appreciation of which I regard as of fundamental importance at this particular time to the people of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

2. In the first place, I must emphasise that those who accept office as Ministers will be required to accept collective responsibility for Government policy, to support and vote with it in the Legislative Assembly, and to support that policy both in public and private; and that they will also be expected to devote all their time to Ministerial work and to dispose of any private interests which are, in Her Majesty's Commissioner's opinion likely to conflict with their official duties and obligations. I comment on this further below. Ministers will each be responsible for the administration of such department of the Government as may be allocated to them. In the course of their Ministerial duties they will be called upon, both individually and collectively, to deal with and be executively responsible for the implementation of Government policy over its whole field, touching all aspects of the life of the community; and in the policy decisions which are taken and in the administrative actions taken within that policy, they must expect not only to receive from, but also to give to each of their fellow-members of the Cabinet their fullest support before the country.

Every Minister in charge of a Ministry must regard himself as responsible for the administration of that Ministry, whether in discharge of statutory powers conferred upon him by law or In the exercise of his administrative discretion. A Minister is not only responsible for subjects which fall within his own portfolio; in addition he shares in the formulation of Government policy on all subjects.
This privilege, which is exercisable through the advice which all members of the
Cabinet are entitled to give Her Majesty's Commissioner, carries with it the obligation to defend in public the policy adopted. Subject to what follows in the third paragraph of this dispatch, a Minister is not exempted from the fulfilment of this obligation by the fact that he was not present at the meeting at which the policy in question was adopted, or that he was present and either gave no advice or advised in a sense not in accordance with the final decision reached.

3. A Minister who, having accepted office, finds himself unable to fulfil his obligations in this regard, has open to him the course of resigning his office; at which time it is also open to him, subject to the consent of Her Majesty's Commissioner, to make in the Legislative Assembly a personal explanation of the reasons which caused him to conclude that he could no longer subscribe to the particular policy decision which caused his resignation.

4. The wide variety of subjects dealt with by Ministers in the course of the discussions of the Cabinet will almost certainly lead from time to time to situations where a Minister finds that his public duties are liable to affect or even conflict with his personal or private interests. The most obvious contributory factor to this would be the nature and extent of the Minister's private business activities, his financial interest in particular companies or schemes, or his activities and interests in some external body such as a trade union or co-operative society. When a Minister is appointed he therefore should, before assuming office, disclose to Her Majesty's Commissioner in confidence a full list of his holding of stocks or shares in all companies operating within the territory, whether they are or are not at the time parties to Government contracts. In addition he should use the strictest discretion in deciding, in circumstances where his private interest and his public duty may conflict, whether he can properly continue to hold such stocks or shares.

5. Since Ministers are to receive remuneration from public funds, I consider it reasonable that they should also be called upon, at the time of their appointment, to divest themselves, for the period of office, of any outside interests which might conflict with their public responsibilities. So far as private businesses and professional practices are concerned, this ruling should in my view be interpreted as requiring a severance of active connection.

6. At the same time, while I feel strongly that the rules should be adhered to without any relaxation wherever possible, I recognise that in the circumstances of Bechuanaland it may be difficult to insist upon their being applied wholly without exception. I accept, therefore, that there may be cases where some relaxation of the rules could in certain cases be permitted at the discretion of Her Majesty's Commissioner, provided that the nature and extent of the interests concerned were frankly disclosed to him and that he was satisfied that their retention was not contrary to the interest.

7. I feel that it may be of assistance in the working of the constitution to draw your attention to the definite rules governing Ministerial conduct which have been laid down in the United Kingdom as a result of a very long experience. In the
United Kingdom (as well as in the Colonies generally) certain easily identifiable forms of misconduct, e.g., disclosure of official secrets and corruption generally, are the subject of legislation. In addition there is a code of ethics prescribed by rules which have been laid down by successive governments over a long period. These rules are based on custom and usage of the constitution and any serious infringement of them, even though not punishable by law, would incur the drastic penalty of dismissal from office. The following is a summary of the more important rules which govern Ministerial conduct in the United Kingdom:

(a) All directorships held by Ministers must be resigned except honorary directorships, directorships in connection with philanthropic undertakings and directorships in private companies which deal wholly or mainly with family affairs or interests and are not primarily engaged in trading.

(b) On assuming office, Ministers should cease to hold paid official positions in trade unions and co-operative societies, and should cease from active full-time participation in their affairs.

(c) Ministers ought not to enter into any transactions whereby their private pecuniary interest might, even conceivably, come into conflict with their public duty.

(d) No Minister is justified in any circumstances in using official information that comes to him as a Minister for his own private profit or for that of his friends.

(e) No Minister ought to put himself, or allow himself to be put, in a position to be tempted to use his official influence in support of any scheme or in furtherance of any contract in regard to which he has an undisclosed private interest.

(f) No Minister should use his official influence to support the candidature of any person for admission to or promotion within the Civil Service except that, when a candidate for first appointment is known to him personally, there would be no objection to a Minister giving him a written testimonial.

(g) No Minister ought to accept any kind of favour from persons who are in negotiation with, or seeking to enter into contractual or proprietary or pecuniary relations with the Government.

(h) Ministers should scrupulously avoid speculative investments in securities as to which, from their position and their special means of early or confidential information, they have, or may have, an advantage over other people in anticipating market changes.

(i) Ministers should not broadcast or practice journalism while holding office. This prohibition does not, however, extend to broadcasts on behalf of the Government, or writing of a literary, historical, scientific, philosophical or romantic character.

8. The above rules are by no means exhaustive, but they serve
to illustrate the manner in which, in the United Kingdom, the holders of high public office in the service of the Crown are expected and required to conduct themselves; and they may be regarded as "rules of obligation". There are, in addition, certain "rules of prudence" which have never been formulated and which it would be very difficult to formulate in precise or universal terms. One of these rules, however, is that Ministers should carefully avoid all transactions such as the acceptance of gifts of substantial value from members of the public which can give colour or countenance to the belief that they are doing anything which the "rules of obligation" forbid.

9. Finally I would ask that the considerations set out in this dispatch be brought to the notice of members of the Legislative Assembly who come under consideration for Ministerial appointment; and I shall be obliged if you will cause this despatch to be published.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

EIRENE WHITE
(For the Secretary of State.)

CHAPTER 6
TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The transitional period was the busiest time for all Government Ministers, who apart from their ministerial duties were obliged to improve the conditions of the people by appealing to International bodies and other states for financial assistance in launching development projects which provided employment for the people. Such projects included famine relief measures, agricultural projects; crop marketing, water development programme for the drilling of boreholes in the various places in the territory.

Famine Relief: Owing to the long years of severe drought since 1962, resulting in the failure of crops and the death of about 200,000 head of cattle with an estimated value of R12 million, the Government initiated large-scale famine and drought relief schemes in 1965. The World Food Programme of the United Nations donated famine relief foodstuffs valued at R1,657,000 by 31st March, 1966; Great Britain donated R552,000 (1276,000) towards famine relief in 1965; while other contributions from such charitable organisations as Oxfam; War on Want, World Council of Churches etc amounted to R159,016 (179,508) by 31st March, 1966. But under the new "Food for Work" programme introduced in July, 1966, the system of giving food free to all able-bodied destitutes was changed to that of working for food. It was felt that if people were given the opportunity to work for food, it would raise the morale of the country from the human point of view, and from the material point of view it would enable important developments to be undertaken; priorities being on such things as building of classrooms, teachers’ quarters, work on water and soil conservation projects, and
also on projects in urban areas, such as roads improvements, drainage and sanitation.

The period under review is marked by the award of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree to Seretse Khama by the Fordham University in New York, United States of America. In awarding the honorary degree to the Prime Minister, the University President, Father Leo Mclaughlin, referred to Seretse Khama as having set an example for the Americans in how to achieve equality, justice, and most precious of all, the recognition of God-given human dignity.

In accepting the award, Seretse Khama reiterated his ideal of establishing in Bechuanaland a Democratic state which must also be completely non-racial and unified. Among other things, he stated: "I cannot contemplate a future for Bechuanaland with separate representation for different racial groups, for with second class citizenship and unbalanced representation one cannot provide fully for the rights and interests of all sections of the community. Not by such a system could be created a unified nation in Bechuanaland".

Whilst in the United States, he addressed the annual meeting of the African Students Association in Philadelphia, He explained that the geographical position of Bechuanaland forced it to remain within the economic sphere of South Africa. He said that a number

of factors made it at present impossible for Bechuanaland to provide for its domestic needs, creating a dependence which had given concern to well-intentioned friends and to the United Nations. He also expressed sympathy with "the states north of us," whose goals, he said "were the same as ours". In conclusion, he stated that Bechuanaland might some day form a bridge between North and South Africa which is now so much divided.

Localisation Commission:

In an effort to remove the oft repeated complaint by Africans that all the top posts in the Civil Service were held by white officials or expatriates, whose salaries were two or three times those of their African counterparts, holding the same qualifications, and the complaint about the slowness of localisation and of training of local Africans to take over in due course, the Government appointed in October, 1965 Mr. T. C. Luke, O.B.E., an African of Sierra Leone, to under-take a review of the Bechuanaland Civil Service in January 1966. He was formerly chief Establishment Officer of Sierra Leone and later also chairman of the 1962 Uganda Commission of Africanisation. His terms of reference were (a) to review the progress so far made in the appointment of local officers to posts in the Bechuanaland civil service; (b) to review the basic qualifications for appointment
to such posts and to consider how and to what extent, if any, these qualifications may be modified to suit the requirements of a local service having regard to the maintenance of acceptable standards of efficiency; (c) to review the training facilities currently available or likely to be available in the immediate future whereby local persons can qualify for appointment to more responsible posts; (d) to consider in what cadres and in what numbers there is continued need to recruit or retain expatriate staff; (e) to make recommendations for the purpose of achieving the localisation of the Public Service as soon as possible having regard to the maintenance of acceptable standards of efficiency.

In his report, whose recommendations are hailed by many Africans as the most constructive of all civil service commission reports in Bechuanaland, Mr. Luke inter-alia recommends that the future recruitment policy should be that existing vacancies, vacancies occurring in the future, should be filled by local candidates. Where a suitably qualified local candidate was not available and it was considered essential that the vacancy should be filled, an expatriate might be recruited on contract terms, the length of contract being determined by the time it was estimated that a local candidate would become available or could be trained to qualify for appointment. Mr. Luke explains that, this arrangement was, of course, subject to the proviso that no contract should exceed a period of five years more or less. He further explains that this was due to the pace of change in Africa being so fast that it was impossible to predict the course of future events beyond that term. If necessary any such contract might be renewed when it lapsed, and when the Government would be in a better position to forecast developments in the next five years. Contracts for more than five years more or less would tie the hand of the Government unduly, while at the same time they would create a feeling of frustration among local civil servants and the citizenry, who would think that a Government which would commit itself beyond that period was not really keen on localisation. "Indeed", he pointed out, "that was the feeling in the territory at the moment".

In November 1965 Mr. Masire, Deputy Prime Minister, reviewed progress made by Government in localisation as 204 local officers at the super-scale, administrative, professional, technical and executive levels, compared with 140 in 1964. While noting the limiting factors (very limited facilities for education and practical training and the shortage of money) to speedy localisation in Bechuanaland, Mr. Luke recommends that "initiative should be taken by Government to explore possibilities of additional external aid (apart from that of the British Government) for the general education and training facilities". He believed that Governments of independent members of the Commonwealth and the Governments of such countries as the United States of America, Japan, West Germany, Israel, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone etc. could respond to requests for help for considered and realistic plans for training or for the award of scholarship and, training bursaries.
Mr. Luke further points out that there are certain sensitive "key" posts - political and security which politics and national pride demand should be filled with locals as rapidly as possible. Such high-ranking or policy making posts include: Head of the Civil Service, Secretary to the Cabinet, all staff of the Ministry of External Affairs, all Permanent Secretaries, all heads of the Departments, Chief of the Police, Clerk of the National Assembly, Immigration Officers, the Attorney-General's department and the Public Service Commission etc. Mr. Luke says that embarrassing situations are often faced with newly-independent nations when some expatriate officer is the principal negotiator in a trade, etc., agreement with a citizen of a rival advanced territory who might not be willing to confide his business intentions to a person whose parent country might have rival interests. "Moreover". Mr. Luke continues, "the local officer can be expected to be more in tune with local psychology, character and attitudes and, therefore, after training and experience should be more effective in conducting negotiations with other states".

Concerning Permanent Secretaries, Mr. Luke recommended that immediate steps should be taken to select potential candidates for posts of Permanent Secretary level, and to get them off, if necessary at once, to some course of training or to get them to understudy Permanent Secretaries or their local equivalents. He suggests Tanzania (University College, Dar-es-Salaam) and Kenya as places where short term courses varying from 1 month to 3 months duration are run.

In paragraph 58, Mr. Luke, inter-alia, goes on to explain that with Independence and compensation schemes, experience in Malaya, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and many others, has proved that many expatriates left because of an understandable feeling of insecurity and for other reasons. It was for that reason that early steps should be taken to ensure that there were sufficient local officers in place to prevent a breakdown in services in the event of expatriates leaving in substantial numbers. His feeling was that expatriates and others should be welcome but as friends, counsellors and helpers not as controlling agents.

Finally, Mr. Luke offers constructive suggestions for strengthening the educational system in Bechuanaland, as a pool of candidates from which public and other services are to be staffed in future.

CHAPTER 7
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
In 1963, the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Fawcus, initiated an inquiry into local government by appointing a committee to advise on the future development of local government in areas outside the townships with particular reference to:
(a) the relationship of local government to tribal administration, and
The need for reform of local government was prompted by a number of considerations, the chief of which was the general feeling that the authority of the chief could not be the sole source of services which are today in demand by a modern society; nor could a chief, however enlightened and hardworking, be expected to win popular support and active co-operation in carrying out policies which were ultimately of his own and not of the people's making. It was however generally felt by the educated Batswana that the change to a modern and democratic system of local government should be based on the foundation laid by the tribal administrations and that the great work of the chieftainship should not be lost but be continued in a new form.

Its basic recommendation was the creation of a non-racial, representative and responsible system as a natural development from the existing tribal administration.

The Committee's report on local government was submitted in 1964; a Local Government Bill was drafted and has since become law which enabled the conducting of Local Government District Council elections on the 13th June, 1966 followed by the immediate establishment of District Councils on the 1st July of the same year.

For local government purposes, Botswana is divided into nine districts and three township areas, the latter at Gaberones, Lobatsi and Francistown. The Town Councils are responsible for services similar to those provided for country districts.

See Appendix 'G' below:

**APPENDIX F. SHOWING THE NINE DISTRICT COUNCILS AND THE THREE TOWN COUNCILS AND SIZE OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Council</th>
<th>Size in membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ghanzi (Gantsi)</td>
<td>10 elected and 2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kweneng</td>
<td>17 elected and 4 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ngwaketse (Ngwaketse, Barolong Farms)</td>
<td>24 elected and 4 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. South-East</td>
<td>13 elected and 1 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. North-West</td>
<td>13 elected and 3 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Central (Ngwato, Tuli, Block, and Nata Crownlands)</td>
<td>32 elected and 5 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kgalagadi</td>
<td>14 elected and 4 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kgalagadi</td>
<td>11 elected and 2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. North-East</td>
<td>7 elected and 3 nominated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the three Town Councils of Francistown, Gaberones and Lobatsi has 8 elected and 4: nominated members.

District Councils: These bodies have replaced the former Tribal Administrations but are established on a non-racial pattern. In some cases, particularly in tribal areas, the chief is Chairman of the Council and also the Council's senior Executive Officer while in other areas the Chairman is elected by the Council.
Other Council Officials are a Treasurer, Secretary, Education Officer, Tax Collector and Assistant Collectors. Administrative officers of the central government continue to play an important part as links between central government and local government and as advisors. District Councils receive certain powers from the central government which they exercise over their own areas. Their main function is the collection of local taxes which are used to finance local council undertakings. A District Council has a general duty to exercise its powers so as to secure and promote the health, order and good government of its area, and for this reason, and for carrying out its general functions, it has the power to make by-laws. In this way the work of the central government is, to some extent, decentralized, and local authorities, as representatives of the people, have more say in the administration of their areas and in the spending of taxes collected there. Within a District Council are sub-committees to cover certain fields of activity, such as education, water supplies and health. These formulate policies which, after being passed by the whole Council, are implemented by the permanent staff as in the case of central government.

The general Functions of a District Council: Generally the work of a District Council is (1) to provide primary schools and other educational services in relation to primary education, (2) to provide sanitary services for the removal and destruction of, or for otherwise dealing with, night soil and refuse (3) to take steps in addition to those taken by any other authority to safeguard and promote public health and prevent the occurrence of or to deal with any outbreak or prevalence of any disease (4) to make, alter and maintain public roads, other than those maintained by the central government (5) to provide public water supplies outside any area for which a Water Authority has been appointed by law, (6) to establish, maintain and control markets, (7) to collect and dispose of any stray livestock or other domestic animals, (8) to establish, maintain and control recreation grounds, parks and other public places, including cemeteries and burial grounds, (9) to provide services or to assist in the provision of services giving relief from or attempting to avert any natural calamity, (10) to assist associations existing for the promotion of recreation and sport, arts and crafts or for the welfare of children or young persons or for the relief and support of blind, infirm, indigent, aged or destitute persons, (11) to enter into contracts or concessions for the sale of land or premises or for any interest therein.

Councils' Revenue and New Taxation. Each council draws its income from a new system of taxation which is common to all races, and which replaced the former African basic tax, Graded tax and non-African poll tax. The Central Government provides a fixed sum for distribution by the Minister of Local Government as deficiency, incentive or improvement grants. The new tax replaces all but the income tax, which is a central government tax. It is also based on income and, with a few exceptions, payable by all men over the age of eighteen years, and all women over eighteen who are in paid employment. The minimum payable is R3.00 (£1.10.), and this is paid by all persons with an annual income up to but not exceeding R84.00 (£42.). By means of a graduated
scale the tax reaches a maximum of R48. (£24) payable on an annual income of above R660.00 (1330.) Because the income of many persons is not in the form of a salary it has been found necessary to assess the yearly income derived from stock. For this purpose it is said that a person can expect one beast or seven sheep or goats to yield an income of R4.00 (£2.) per year. This means that if a man owns ten head of cattle his income is considered to be R40.00 (£20.) yearly. As this does not exceed the minimum grade of R84.00 (£42.) he would only pay R3.00 (£1.10) tax a year. Those taxpayers who have high incomes pay not only the maximum Local Government Tax, but also Income Tax, which is payable to Central Government.

The tax may be paid in a lump sum in the case of all unemployed persons, or by instalments. Certain categories of employees are automatically paying by instalments, the money being deducted month by month from their salaries by their employers. Persons who fall into this category are Government employees, who are not daily paid, Council employees and certain workers in various industrial groupings. This system is known as "Pay as you earn" or "P.A.Y.E."

4PPRNDIX G: SHOWING THE NEW TAXES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Local Gov. Tax</th>
<th>Income Tax</th>
<th>Total Tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>24.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600.00</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>57.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>90.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2400.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>190.00</td>
<td>238.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>562.00</td>
<td>610.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>2458.00</td>
<td>2506.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persons who pay income tax are those with an income exceeding R612.00 per annum. The above examples are for a single man, a married man receives a rebate on his income tax only.

Francistown, June 14, 1964. Mr. Seretse Khama with a miorophone in his left hand, a clenched right while he hammers points into place as they drop from his lips. On his left hand stands Mr. L. Seretse, Seated on chairs are (left to right) Messrs. S. Molotsi, Q. Masire, M. Tsoebebe, M. Smith (squating) and J. Anderson (writing).
In October 1965, the British Government announced that it had agreed that Bechuanaland should attain independence on the 30th September, 1966, and that the 14th February 1966 was the date on which negotiations between the Bechuanaland Government and Her Majesty's Government should start on the form of the Country's Independence Constitution. As a result, on the 13th December 1965, Dr. Seretse Khama presented a Legislative Assembly Paper No. 21 of 1965/66 to the Legislative Assembly.* This paper set out proposals for an Independence Constitution. These proposals were subsequently also referred to the House of Chiefs for its views. The House of Chiefs accepted the proposals as a satisfactory basis for the attainment of independence but made a motion which urged that the constitution of the House of Chiefs be modified before independence so that in lieu of the four elected members referred to in section 84 of the constitution, there should be five specially elected members (replacing the five sub-Chiefs from the Crownlands - an amendment which caused a great deal of resentment from those sub-Chiefs affected) elected by the eight chiefs who are ex-officio members of the House. The amendment had been necessitated by the feeling expressed by some members in the previous meeting of the House of Chiefs that very few people took part in the debates of that House, mostly on account of illiteracy. The amendment made it clear that the five specially elected members could come from anywhere in the territory if they were capable of assisting the discussion in the House of Chiefs. In that way, the Government would be better advised by people who could read, write and understand the papers which had to be discussed. That necessity did not rule out the election of anyone qualified in the Crownlands. Chief Bathoen who had moved the amendment, caused laughter when he remarked: "At present, the House of Chiefs is just called Chief Bathoen's bunch of illiterates."

Constitutional Talks in London: In pursuance of the decision reached on the proposals by both the Legislative Assembly and the House of Chiefs, the Bechuanaland Government delegation comprising Sir Hugh Norman-Walker, Her Majesty Commissioner; Dr. Seretse Khama, Prime Minister; Mr. Q. K. J. Masire, Deputy Prime Minister; Chief Bathoen II, representative of the House of Chiefs; Mr. P. G. Matante, Leader of the Opposition and a number of Government officials left for the Independence Conference which opened in London at Marlborough House on the 14th February, 1966. The Conference held nine plenary sessions between the 14th February and 21st February. Lord Longford, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was in the chair for the opening and closing sessions, all other sessions being held under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eirene White, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

* To mark the attainment of Independence the Legislative Assembly is re-named the National Assembly.

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The official report on the Bechuanaland Independence Conference in London, records that Mr. Matante, Leader of the Opposition in Bechuanaland expressed resentment that there had been inadequate consultation with the people of
Bechuanaland over the proposals which had been put forward for the Independence constitution and asserted that the ruling party in Bechuanaland had no mandate to carry the country into independence. He proposed that consideration of the proposals which had been put forward by the Bechuanaland Government should be postponed until further consultation had been carried out with the Chiefs and the people of Bechuanaland through the appointment of a Commission consisting of representatives of all political parties, the Chiefs, the British Government and the Bechuanaland Government, and that before independence was attained there should be a further General Election. When the other delegates invalidated that argument, Mr. Matante walked out of the Conference and never attended the concluding sessions of the Conference. This resentment did not affect the proceedings of the Conference in any way. The Independence proposals were with little amendment approved. Some of the fundamental features of the Independence Constitution are: that Bechuanaland was to be a Republic of Botswana as follows: that Bechuanaland was to be a Republic of Botswana within the Commonwealth, not a monarchy. It was felt that the people of the territory would wish to have their own Head of State, rather than have their working leader responsible to a Governor representing the British monarchy. It was also felt that the President should be a working, executive President, because the people would wish their executive leader to be vested also with the formal and ceremonial status of the President. The Order establishing the Independence constitution ruled that the first President should be the person holding office as Prime Minister immediately before Independence Day. Similarly, the first members of the National Assembly should be members of the Legislative Assembly holding office before Independence Day.

The Executive: The constitution provides that the executive power of Botswana should vest in the President, who is also head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The President, under the Independence constitution would not be able to continue in office after he had lost the confidence of the National Assembly (Parliament.) The President, like the Government would have to relinquish office and seek re-election or be replaced as President by the leader of the party next returned to power. The constitution provides also for the office of a Vice President, which would be that of a minister.

Cabinet Ministers:
The other provisions in the constitution are that the Cabinet of six (as was the number in the self-government constitution) the President and the Vice President should be the principal instrument of policy. The President should normally preside over the Cabinet and should control its business. The President should normally con-

sult the Ministers in Cabinet in the formulation of policy and the exercise of his other functions but he should not be obliged to act in accordance with the advice tendered by the ministers.
The office of Parliamentary Secretary should be re-named Assistant-Minister.

House of Chiefs:
The constitution provides that the membership of this House be enlarged by the inclusion of three specially elected members, elected by ex-officio members and elected members of the House of Chiefs. These specially elected members of the House of Chiefs should be drawn from among persons who are not and have not been for five years actively engaged in politics. This increased membership of three specially elected persons, has the effects of retaining the membership of the Crownlands Sub-Chiefs.

A modification to the procedure relating to the House of Chiefs, under which the Assembly and not the Government will refer bills to the House of Chiefs, was agreed.

It is further provided that the House of Chiefs should not be set out in a separate chapter of the constitution, as was the arrangement under responsible self-government, but be included as a House of the Legislature.

Citizenship: The constitution prohibits dual citizenship and outlines the various qualifications for the acquisition of Botswana citizenship.

Public Service Commission under the new constitution should assume executive responsibility for the appointment, promotions, dismissals and disciplinary control of officers in the public service. However, officers who have been dismissed or who have been subjected to other punishment should have a right of appeal to the President, who too is vested with special powers to call on any non-local officer to retire to facilitate the appointment of local person.

The 30th September, 1966 was agreed as a target date for Britain to abandon her exclusive administrative control of the territory which she had assumed since 1885 when she commissioned Sir Charles Warren to declare the extension of protection over the Batswana Chiefs: Khama III of the B3angwato, Sebele I of the Bakwena and Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse. This followed the historic Conference held at Berlin 1884/1885 when the European powers planned their strategy in the scramble for Africa.

And so after her long history as a British Protectorate, the new country of Botswana steps out into international affairs, a fully independent adult nation, and the Batswana people face with confidence the unknown future following the leadership of Seretse Khama, a chief by birth and a President by the people's choice.