

### EDITORIAL

With the announcement of the official date for South Africa's third multi-party general election by President Thabo Mbeki on 9 February, it is all systems go as political parties begin to jostle for what promises to be a fascinating contest for state power. The official date for the election is now set for 14 April 2004 and past experience suggests that this will be declared a national holiday in order to accord all eligible voters their democratic right to make a meaningful contribution to South Africa's democratic process. Following President Mbeki's announcement of the election date, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) under the able stewardship of Dr. Brigalia Bam and Advocate Pansy Tlakula has also issued out an Election Time Table, which among other things stipulates that:

- Parties must submit their lists to the IEC on 27 February 2004;
- The CEO of the IEC will make available copies of party lists for inspection on 12 and 15 March 2004 between 09h00 and 17h00; and

- The IEC will in turn compile a final list of party candidates by 29 March 2004

This second issue of the *Election Update* chronicles important developments both at the national as well as the provincial levels regarding preparations by political parties in advance of the April election. This second issue is a sequel to the discussion that we began in the first one. It basically sketches the political terrain in which the April election is likely to occur. To this end, we spend some considerable amount of time sharing with our readers, information around the following critical issues:

- Party candidate nominations;
- The campaign process;
- The role parties in a working democracy;
- Party manifestos;
- Key issues that are likely to mark the electoral contest and influence voter preferences; and
- Youth participation in the electoral process.

This issue covers all the provinces bar one, namely the Northern Cape as we are busy trying to get a research associate to cover that part of the country. For any

inquiries please contact Dr. Jackie Kalley at Jackie@eisa.org.za and also visit our website on www.eisa.org.za for the electronic version of the *Election Update*.

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published with the assistance  
of OSF-SA and NORAD

## NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

### THE NOMINATION PROCESSES OF CANDIDATES ON PARTY LISTS

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The processes of nominating national and provincial candidates on party lists have become a critical dimension of South African electoral dynamics. Despite its critical nature, relatively little is publicly known about it and also little is revealed by the parties about their internal procedures. Equally little is also prescribed in formal electoral statutory provisions.

As an essential yardstick of a party's state of internal democracy, the public and electorate will have to insist on more public accountability in this respect. A quick survey of political parties' websites produced nothing substantial in respect of their nomination procedures. Parties also do not stipulate definite procedures in their constitutions and only some of them publish their lists of candidates on their websites or in newspapers closer to the election. Though their final lists are submitted to the IEC's chief electoral officer, they do not form part

of the material available at voting stations for the electorate's perusal. All of these points contribute to the general sense that party lists create an impersonal distance between parties and the electorate.

Before we look at the individual parties, it is important to establish who qualifies as a candidate and what the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) requires in respect of the candidate lists.

Article 47(1) in the Constitution, 1996, stipulates the requirements and disqualifications of a candidate. Firstly, it requires that a potential candidate has to meet all the requirements of a voter entitled to vote for the National Assembly. These qualifications are determined by the Electoral Act, 1998, and its amendments (including No. 34 and No. 40 of 2003). In brief, a voter must be 18 years or older and must be a South African citizen, but is disqualified if she/he is declared a person of unsound mind, mentally disordered or detained under the Mental Health Act, or if the person is not ordinarily resident in the voting district for which the voter applied to be registered, or if the person is deceased. The Amendment Act also deals with potential voters who are outside South

Africa at the time of the election.

The Constitution's Article 47(1) continues to disqualify the following persons as potential candidates: a person who is appointed by, or employed by, the state and who receives remuneration from it, except for the President, Deputy President and members of the cabinet, as well as other officials whose functions can be reconciled with the functions of the National Assembly;

- the permanent provincial delegates to the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), members of provincial legislatures or local authorities;
- an unrehabilitated insolvent;
- a person guilty of an offense committed after 1996 inside or outside South Africa, and sentenced to prison for longer than twelve months without the choice of a fine. This disqualification is rescinded five years after completion of the sentence.

All the registered parties have to submit their candidate lists to the IEC. The date of submission is determined by the Election Timetable published in the Government Gazette. The parties' lists must be accompanied by a prescribed

undertaking, signed by the candidates, binding the party and its candidates to the Electoral Code of Conduct. The documentation should also include a declaration that each of the candidates is qualified to stand for election and that they accept their nominations. In the event of a party's non-compliance with these requirements, the Chief Electoral Officer will have to notify it, and provide it with an opportunity to comply by a date set on the Electoral Timetable. It includes an opportunity to substitute a candidate or to re-order a list as a result of the substitution.

The forthcoming elections are simultaneously for the National Assembly and for the nine provincial legislatures, which in turn will determine the party composition in the NCOP. It implies that at least two types of lists are required from a party contesting the elections in both spheres of government. Some parties, like the ANC and UDM, have chosen to divide it into three types of lists: provincial to provincial lists, provincial to national lists, and a national to national list. Regional parties contesting only the provincial tier of government will have only provincial to provincial lists.

In the following discussion we look at internal processes of a number of parties:

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) received almost 88 percent of its national support in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and an additional nine percent in Gauteng. These are therefore the provinces in which activities will be concentrated. At the end of 2003 the IFP concluded an election agreement, called the 'Coalition for Change' with the Democratic Alliance (DA). This agreement does not influence their respective nomination processes - they remain separate from each other.

The IFP branches started in early November 2003 to draw up their lists of nominations. The next step was to proceed to constituency conferences early in 2004. According to Musa Zondi, the IFP spokesperson, it signalled the beginning of a 'pruning process'. The revised lists will thereafter proceed to various district conferences where the 'pruning' continues. The second last stage is the IFP provincial conferences. In 1999, the IFP contested elections in all nine provinces and in six of them solicited less than one percent of the votes. This tendency is expected to continue in 2004, which implies that all the provinces will be involved in nomination processes. The final stage is finalisation of the lists by the IFP National Council in March.

The IFP is strongly federalist in its ideology but the party leadership style is strongly centralised. Mangosuthu Buthelezi will definitely have a strong influence in the nomination process both at national level and in KZN. After the floor-crossings in 2003, the IFP had 31 seats in the National Assembly and 32 seats in the KZN legislature. An IFP/DA coalition, based on current representation in the legislature, will amount to 38 seats, and an ANC/NNP coalition to 37 seats. Therefore the situation is precariously balanced in the province.

The Democratic Alliance is the second party in the spotlight. At present it is the official opposition in the National Assembly and in the Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Western Cape and Free State legislatures. About 47 percent of its national support is concentrated in Gauteng, followed by 17 percent in KZN and 13.4 percent in the Western Cape. Its internal party structure is decentralised into a federal (almost confederal) structure, though its national leadership is prominent, especially in the persons of the leader Tony Leon, the Federal Executive chairperson James Selfe and the parliamentary chief whip Douglas Gibson. Nominations for candidates at branch level closed on 31 October 2003. Thereafter, party officials started with a

vetting process. Each province completes a list with about three-times the number of candidates required. These lists will then be used by an electoral college to interview the nominees. In the process they will be reduced by about a third. The next, revised lists will start to rank the candidates based on an undisclosed internal party procedure. Apparently (but unconfirmed) one of the criteria for nomination is the financial contributions made to the party. On the provincial lists candidate numbers 3, 7, 14, 21, 28, etc. will be left vacant. On the national list every third one will also be left open. National and provincial leaders can make nominations for those vacancies. They can, however, be vetoed by a two-thirds majority. The DA intends to announce its candidate lists in Durban during the weekend of 13-15 February. Recently it emerged that the Federal Alliance partner in the DA is unhappy with the nomination process. The merger agreement between the FA and DP stated that the FA should receive at least three relatively secure positions for election on the lists. Tony Leon and Louis Luyt are in direct contact to remedy the unhappiness.

The New National Party (NNP) is the third candidate for investigation. It has a chequered history over the

past ten years. In 1994 it joined the Government of National Unity with about twenty percent electoral support. In 1996 it left the GNU and became an opposition party. In the 1999 general elections its support dwindled to 7.8 percent. In 2000 it joined the DP in an election agreement for local government elections, and formed the DA. The next year it left the DA and reached a cooperation agreement with the ANC. With the floor-crossings last year, it was the second biggest loser and continued with only 20 MPs.

The NNP's internal party structures were similar to the DA's (i.e. highly decentralised in the hands of the provinces), but lately has assumed a more centralised federal structure. It means that each province can determine its own nomination process. At the federal level they converge into one process.

Given the fact that each province has its own unique characteristics, this discussion will present a generic process with the common denominators of most provinces. It commenced from branch level where prospective candidates take the initiative to muster as many nominations as possible from the branches and party regions within the provinces. The guidelines for nomination of candidates are

federally determined. They include the necessity to have persons with particular expertise on the lists, for example financial and fiscal expertise, those involved in environmental or health issues, and so on. A second guideline prescribes representivity. The NNP does not apply formal quotas (similar to the ANC on gender) but the candidates should be representative in terms of gender and communities. The guidelines also include probity tests, especially with the view to identify at an early stage unsuitable candidates who were involved in corruption, or other criminal and unethical conduct. On the basis of these guidelines each of the provinces can still determine its own formula for composing their lists.

As opposed to the ANC and UDM, the NNP is in the process of compiling only two types of lists: provincial to provincial lists, and provincial to national lists. After the branch-level nominations, the provinces constitute their electoral colleges. They are constituted from each provincial management committee ('dagbestuur') which consists of leaders of party regions, other provincial leaders and groups within the party, such as the youth and women. At this stage all the probity tests are supposed to be completed.

The most common path the process takes hereafter is for the nominations to be tabled at provincial management committee and thereafter at the provincial head council. The final stage is when all the lists will be presented to the NNP's Federal Congress, scheduled for 20-21 February.

The provincial leaders, in consultation with the national leaders, can intervene in about 10-20 percent of the candidatures. They will intervene mainly in the form of moving candidates up or down on the lists, but not so much in removing or adding candidates. Intervention is meant to ensure compliance with the federal guidelines. Provinces have the prerogative to identify themselves the candidates for premiership. It differs from the ANC's presidential prerogative in this respect.

Finally, the ANC is our focus of attention. It has already completed its process of candidate nominations, though the lists are not yet publicly known. The ANC's process received the most media coverage of any party and was therefore quite transparent. In broad terms the process commences with the following steps: nominations are called for at branch level. Aspirant candidates have to be nominated by at least three branches. After the closing date for nominations,

a period for objections to individual nominations is allowed. Due to the fact that internal power struggles and personal feuds can compromise the opportunity to raise objections, the ANC's national leadership was firm in their stance that branches had to clearly point out why a person is unfit to stand as a candidate. At this stage, list committees were formed to verify whether the nominees were in good standing with the ANC and also related matters, such as verifying criminal records, histories of poor discipline, corruption, violation of the ANC's Code of Conduct, and so on.

The next step was to convene Provincial List Conferences in October 2003. Some of them are discussed later on. All the nominees from branch level were consolidated in three lists per province: the provincial to provincial, the provincial to national, and the national to national lists. Most of the provincial conferences conducted secret ballots and the lists were compiled in accordance with the ballot results. Gauteng was an exception in this respect and listed the national-national list in alphabetical order, except for the first two nominations.

After the provincial conferences the National List Conference (21-22 November 2003) was convened where all the

provinces came together to present their lists. Most important in this respect was that they had to consolidate the national list from the nine provincial national-national lists. The Conference divided into nine provincial discussion groups or caucuses where they could discuss the lists. They were expected to return to the plenary after about an hour's discussion with a consensus view. Objections to provincial lists (provincial-provincial and provincial-national) could be raised by other provinces. The Conference was followed by a sitting of the National List Appeal Committee for appeals against decisions of the National List Conference.

The lists discussed by the national conference were afterwards consolidated by the ANC's Secretary General, Kgalema Motlanthe. She personally finalised the lists and presented them to an extended meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) in December 2003 for finalisation. At this meeting the national-national list was adopted with almost no further debate. The provincial lists solicited more discussion, especially in respect of the names close to the anticipated cut-off points (65-68%).

The final step is for the ANC's President, as his

personal prerogative, to announce the candidates for provincial premiers. It emerged that President Mbeki will not announce them until after the election. The Free State candidature in particular, is a complex matter to resolve. The Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Mpumalanga candidatures are no less difficult to determine.

A pertinent characteristic of the ANC's lists is that gender representation is an important guiding principle. Every third candidate is supposed to be female. Other principles also guiding the composition of the lists are regional or geographical representation, race and disability representation.

The Western Cape provincial list conference drew more than the usual share of public attention. Its first conference was postponed due to a leaked report from the National Intelligence Agency that the ANC in the province is divided in three competing factions: the 'unity and continuity' list centred around the provincial leader Ebrahim Rasool, the 'Africanist' list led by the provincial secretary Mcebisi Skatshwa, and the 'Coloured Christian' list led by Marius Fransman. At the rescheduled conference attended by 472 delegates from branches, the Women's and Youth Leagues, the SACP and COSATU, and student organisations, the

divisions were not openly visible. The province listed Thabo Mbeki as their first candidate on the national-national list, followed by Jacob Zuma second, and Cyril Ramaphosa ninth. Later Ramaphosa withdrew his listing.

At the Free State provincial list conference in mid-October 2003 the ballot results produced a major upset. Jacob Zuma received the first place on the national-national list, followed by Thabo Mbeki only in fourth place. A similar pattern emerged at the KZN list conference. Though the lists were never made public, it is suggested that the results for the national-national list were: 1. Jacob Zuma, 2. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, 3. Jeff Radebe and 4. Thabo Mbeki. This hot-potato was referred to the NEC. According to the ANC's provincial spokesperson, the NEC were to determine the top ten candidates in the province by applying the representative principles of gender, race, locality and disability.

The Gauteng conference followed later and clearly wanted to avoid any controversy. It was attended by 245 delegates from 325 branches. On the national-national list, the province placed Mbeki in the top place, followed by Jacob Zuma in second place. The remainder of the candidates were placed in alphabetical

order and not in accordance with the election results. The sentiment was that the National List Conference and the NEC should do the final placings.

Each election presents a moment of change amongst candidates. With this election three provincial premiers have completed two terms of office and cannot be re-elected. Manne Dipico and Ngoako Ramatlhodi are apparently earmarked for national positions. The future of Popo Molefe is uncertain. Two ministers have already announced their retirement: Penuell Maduna and Mohamed Valli Moosa. Dullah Omar and Kader Asmal might also opt for retirement. Ben Ngubane (IFP) was recently appointed as the ambassador to Japan and will therefore not be available as an IFP candidate.

The discussion of internal party processes has clearly demonstrated that each follows its own approach. Though it is legitimate to confine it to party structures and party members, the general public/electorate is equally much affected by the processes but is not well-informed about the processes. It is a moot question as to how much influence party supporters (as opposed to party members) should have in identifying candidates, especially given the fact that

the lists are rigid and voters cannot indicate their individual preferences on the ballot papers. The current nomination processes also remind us of the new possibility of floor-crossing. So far it has not yet emerged that any of the parties introduced new measures in

the nomination process to prevent representatives from crossing the floor in the second or fourth year.

As a general conclusion, parties' nomination processes are possibly still the weakest link in the democratisation of South

African politics - not because the processes are themselves necessarily undemocratic, though leadership interventions are a definite factor - but because in most instances they are not sufficiently transparent.

## **A CASE STUDY: THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NOMINATION PROCESS**

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All registered political parties intending to contest elections in terms of South African Electoral Act, (Act No.73, 1998) are required to nominate candidates and submit a list or lists of such candidates to the IEC (Independent Electoral Commission). The methodology and procedures on how such party lists are to be derived is not prescribed in the Act and are thus regulated by internal party mechanisms. Like most of internal party procedures; the mechanisms for party list compilation are not always a matter of common knowledge or easily available for public scrutiny. Unfortunately, the veil cast over the list nomination procedures deny voters an important opportunity of

judging and of comparing the different parties on the strength of openness or otherwise of their candidate selection process. It is however not difficult to conclude that, the party list mechanisms are as diverse as parties themselves.

The African National Congress (ANC) however, is one party that has since 1994 followed a broadly consultative process which combines the involvement of party branches with political intervention to ensure a balanced and representative outcome.

### **Different List Categories**

The ANC is contesting the National Assembly as well as all nine provincial legislatures. It is therefore required to constitute and submit the following lists:

- A National Assembly list or national to national list comprising 200 candidates for the 200 National Assembly seats;

- A National Assembly list or province to national list comprising of 200 candidates for the remaining 200 National Assembly seats;
- Nine provincial legislature lists or provincial to province lists comprising candidates equalling the number of seats for available in each provincial legislature.

### **The List and Candidate Criteria**

The ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) which is the party's highest decision making body in between national conferences, is responsible for drawing national list guidelines in order to ensure consistency in all its branch and provincial structures. Also contained in the guidelines are two sets of criteria; one for the list composition and the other for individual candidates on the list. The list criteria cover a broad range of principles which are derived from the need to ensure:

- Geographical representativity such that the list reflects the different regional structures of the party;
- A high level or a minimum of 30% of women in order to comply with the Rule 6 of the party's constitution;
- A fair reflection of the South Africa's racial and ethnic groups;
- A balanced representation of current members of parliament or legislatures to ensure continuity;
- Inclusion of members from the COSATU, SACP, SANCO and other ANC sympathetic organisations
- A balanced blend of youth, aged, and people with disabilities;
- An attempt at acquiring appropriate skills and experience especially critical areas such as finance and economic development.

The individual candidate's criteria are aimed at ensuring that candidates are of good standing. The key principles in this regard are that, the candidate should:

- Have no criminal record (excluding politically related crimes committed before 1994)
- Have no history of ill discipline, corruption or involvement in fostering party division and conflict,

- Have no previous breach of party code of conduct
- Be a party member and possessing experience and expertise that will enable the candidate to make constructive contribution in the relevant legislature

### **The List Process Management**

The political management of the list nomination process is the function of nine provincial and the national list committees. These are constituted by high ranking party officials as well as those drawn from the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), South African Communist Party (SACP) and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). The key functions of the provincial list committees are to oversee, screen and consolidate branch nominations, convene provincial list conferences and to arrange the list to reflect the different criteria highlighted above. The national list committee on the other hand is charged with the responsibility of receiving provincial lists, convening the national list conference and ordering the national lists so as to reflect the different criteria set out by the party.

### **Role of Party Branches**

Candidate nominations for all three lists are conducted

at the party branch general meetings which must be attended by 50%+1 of the branch membership. This is an extensive process which involves about three thousand (3000) party branches throughout the country. The branch lists are submitted to the provincial list committee for consolidation. The consolidated lists are voted on at provincial list conferences: 80% of which are comprised of branch delegates. At the provincial conference, branch delegates vote as individuals on the basis of a secret ballot.

### **Role of the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa**

In order to enhance the legitimacy and credibility of the voting process, the list conference voting is administered by an independent technical agency with expertise in electoral administration. Since 1994, the party has acquired the services of the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) for purposes of administering its internal voting procedures. EISA draws up the ballot papers, voting procedures, and administers the voting process. In designing the procedures, EISA takes into account the need for simplicity, efficiency as well levels of literacy among party membership.

## Ordering of Provincial Lists

The outcome of the provincial list conference is submitted to the provincial list committee for further scrutiny and arrangement of order on the list. The procedure followed at this stage entails the consideration of each candidate name against the criteria and decisions are arrived at through consensus. Where consensus cannot be reached, a name is put through a vote by show of hands.

### National List Conference

A national list conference is convened once all provincial conferences have taken place and is comprised of provincial delegates. This conference receives a consolidated list of all national to national lists from the various provinces and proceeds to order the names along the same lines as in provincial list conferences. Provinces have an opportunity to make last minute changes on the list prior to deciding on its order. Candidate names are considered one by one and where no consensus exists, the name is put through a vote by show of hands. Provinces or delegates to the national list conference can object to a name. In this situation, the objecting party is allowed to motivate their objections, the national list committee is accorded the

same opportunity to justify the inclusion of the name with motivations. If, after this process, there is still no agreement, the name will be put through a vote. Once placed in order, a name may only be removed if such a motion is supported by 60% of the delegates. This is to ensure that, a balanced list does not get changed easily.

*Article based on the ANC "List Guidelines":*  
<<http://www.anc.org.za>>

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## THE LAUNCH OF PARTIES' MANIFESTOS AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

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### Introduction

A party manifesto is a declaration of principles, policies, or intentions. As such it constitutes an important instrument for election campaign that parties' use to convince voters why they should for them and for other parties. This article briefly identifies the main issues contained in the ruling party, the IFP and the UDM. The piece refers to the DA manifesto, although not yet launched, but its main lines have already been articulated by its leader in response to the ANC manifesto. The debate in

South Africa where the African National Congress (ANC) is tipped to win with the 2/3 majority according the SABC and Markinor polls, is not on the electoral law or elections administration as it is often observed in many countries of SADC region but on how to ensure that the ruling party does not win all the nine provinces.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the 2004 elections campaign in South Africa has been termed the showdown of manifestos. It will be an elections campaign around ideas and not about individuals.

### Election Date

The surprising launch of the ruling party manifesto created a serious wave of criticism from the opposition. The ANC was criticised for using its incumbency to take advantage in the electoral process. The opposition criticised the President for the delay in announcing the date of the election as tactical move to set a date that would work well for the ANC. However, the delay seemed to have been informed by the registration of voters. The IEC had planned to conduct the last

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<sup>1</sup> A survey Conducted for Business Day in May this year by ACNielsen's customised research division found that the ANC found that the ANC would have won all the nine provinces if elections were held in may.

round of voter registration on 23-24 January 2004. It was technically impossible for the President to announce the election date because it would have meant halting the registration process. The ANC argues that it would have been irresponsible from the President to disenfranchise millions of people who could have been willing to register and vote. The Independent Electoral Commission was aiming at capturing 9, 5 million eligible voters not on the voters' roll during its massive second phase voter registration campaign in which all political parties were asked to participate. Now that the President has announced the 14 April as the day on which voter would judge politicians, parties are now geared to formally launch their election campaign.

### **The ANC Manifesto**

The 32 page ANC manifesto, proudly called “*A People’s Contract to Create Work and Fight Poverty*,” is a build up from the previous manifestos showing the party’s policy consistency. The ANC Manifesto starts with the general reasons that the issuance of the Manifesto is necessary. It describes the state of SA since 1994. In this manifesto the ANC acknowledges both its achievements and failures. It is these same achievements that the President emphasised in his State of

Nation Address in Parliament on the 6 February 2004. Despite having delivered on most of its 1994 promises and that it reiterated in 1999, the party in government recognises that what has been done has not successfully transformed the South African society. A close look into the ANC manifesto shows that the party has not moved away from its objectives set in 1994 - that of alleviating poverty through the provision of primary needs such as clean water, electricity, education and houses. For the next five years, the ANC which is widely tipped to score a fresh victory in the general election is committed to the following objectives:

- To reduce unemployment by half (In its effort to create jobs, the ANC has announced a 100-billion RAND plan to fight unemployment through infrastructure development);
- To reduce poverty by half; provide the necessary skills to the people to be able to intervene efficiently in the economy;
- To ensure that all South African without exception are fully able to exercise their constitutional rights and enjoy the full dignity of freedom
- To massively reduce the cases of TB, diabetes, malnutrition and

maternal death and turn the tide against HIV and AIDS

- To fight crime by deploying more than 150 000 new police.

### **The IFP Manifesto**

The IFP was the second in line to launch its manifesto “*Real Development Now: Let Us Make a Difference – Together*” on the 18 January 2004. This is a detailed manifesto focusing on the six big issues: HIV/AIDS, corruption, job creation and economic growth, poverty, crime and foreign policy. To its credit, the IFP goes into detail on how it would deal with each of the issues if voted into government. The IFP promises a Caring, Capable and Clean government. However, a closer look into IFP’s manifesto, it does not constitute an alternative to the ANC. Its critical point is on HIV/AIDS. It is therefore not by mistake that the IFP’s manifesto deals firstly with HIV/AIDS and devotes two and half pages to it. Despite the ANC strong commitment to fight the disease, the IFP argues that it is too late and too little for many South Africans. The IFP refers to its decisive stand to prevent the spread of HIV in KwaZulu-Natal province. The Premier of KwaZulu-Natal ordered the distribution of Nevirapine to all HIV-positive pregnant women in the province and defended his initiative

against the central government in the Constitutional Court. The IFP promises to extend the programme to all provinces if it is voted into power. In terms of the performance of the ANC government, in which the IFP is a partner, the IFP president is of the view that, the government has done quite well and agrees with the government macro-economic policy.

### **The UDM manifesto**

The United Democratic Movement was the third in the queue to present its manifesto to the voters. *Better Future Plan* denounces the failure of the ruling party after 10 years of power. It also refers to the contentious issues of the past five years - the floor-crossing legislation, the arms deal and taxi recapitalisation and the role it played in exposing these to the public. As with the IFP, the UDM does not break new policy ground from that of the ruling party. For example on the macro economic policy, the UDM is critical of government for implementing a policy on which there is no consensus, but fails to propose amendments, additions or an alternative. The ANC, it seems, if it is returned to office would continue with its current policy which it says is working well. The UDM attacks the ANC Black empowerment Policy, which it argues has only served a

small group of people, the new elite, as it calls them and promises to introduce what it calls an Equal Economic Empowerment. Both the IFP and UDM promise a zero tolerance approach towards crime in contrast to the *laissez-faire* approach of the ANC. The UDM and IFP say South Africa is sinking in an ocean of crime and violence, under a system of government that is powerless and impotent, and unable to restore social peace, or law or justice. The UDM and IFP promise a zero-tolerance approach. On HIV/AIDS the party promises to lead a National Plan of Action, including implementation of a comprehensive education and awareness programme. The UDM campaign is largely directed at exposing perceived failures of the ANC.

### **The DA Manifesto**

The most awaited manifesto is that of the main opposition party the Democratic Alliance which is expected on 22 February 2004. The party has however launched its election campaign. The DA is hoping to increase its 10 percent share of the vote it won in 1999 but it is unlikely to test the former liberation movement. The DA has already mentioned that its manifesto would be both its answer to the ANC's mismanagement of the country and a blueprint for how South Africa can be

changed for the better. The DA is convinced that it will present an agenda for real change - for the betterment of all South Africans. There are obvious issues on which the DA will focus. These include: Unemployment, crime, poverty, HIV/AIDS and Zimbabwe.

For Tony Leon, the 2004 election is a choice between a thriving multi-party democracy and a "one-party state." The DA wants to create a real multiparty democracy, to quote their leader at the launch of its election campaign on Saturday, 6 February. He has promised, if voted into power, to create one million jobs in five years time by tripling the growth rate, boosting investment, speeding up privatisation and relaxing exchange control. The ANC with its macro economic policy, GEAR, is also engaged in this same process.

### **Conclusion**

All the Manifestos focus on the six big issues-Poverty, HIV/AIDS, Crime, Corruption, macro-economic policy and foreign policy , especially Zimbabwe in particular. The ruling party which has been criticised for not doing much to deal with HIV/AIDS has promised to fight the disease. On the rest of issues the difference between the parties seems to be of semantic than substance. It seems that there

is agreement that all these issues need urgent attention. All parties have proposed how for example they intend to deal with crime. The first and most important mechanism they all seem to refer to is the increase of the police personnel to create visibility of the police in the street. They opposition parties agree with the ruling party macroeconomic policy although, the UDM and IFP promise a more interventionist state which also seem to be the ruling party new approach in its manifesto. The DA would have much difficulties to convince labour movement on its proposition to speed up privatization process which means less state intervention. On foreign policy, Government foreign policy would also feature as a prominent issue, especially from the main opposition party the DA, focusing on its policy over the Zimbabwean crisis. But this is one issue that might not influence the voting patterns, at least for the black majority.

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## CONFIGURATION OF PARTY POLITICAL CONTEST IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION

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### Introduction

Following the official announcement of the date for South Africa's third democratic election by President Thabo Mbeki, political parties are now set to accelerate their election campaign. Party campaigns will get into full swing between now, particularly following the dissolution of the current Parliament and some days before the actual election date on the basis of the Election Time-Table prepared by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) expected shortly. The date has been set for Wednesday, 14 April 2004 and all party activities between now and that date will focus on how best to win 'the hearts and minds' of voters as the contestation for state power looms large. It is important to note that as parties lock horns in what promises to be an interesting, and yet fierce, contest, they are have to adhere to the Electoral Code of Conduct which forms one of the essential elements of the 1998 Electoral Act. This article sets out to introduce our readers to the essence of

political parties in a working democracy such as South Africa and to suggest the possible configuration of parties that would contest the forthcoming election.

### Significance of Parties in a Working Democracy

Political parties constitute the engine of modern democracies. A properly functioning democracy may not (or should I say cannot) exist without the existence of parties that are able to freely contest state power over time. **Political parties** are organised groups that are formed with a sole purpose of contesting control over state power and government and directing a country's development process in line with their own ideological orientations and their policy frameworks as defined in their manifestos. According to the *Dictionary of Government and Politics*, a political "party is an organised group of people who believe a country should be run in a certain way"<sup>2</sup>. There are basically four (4) characteristics that distinguish political parties from other organised social groups:

- Parties aim to exercise power by winning political office;
- Parties are organised bodies with a formal membership (card carrying);

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<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of Government and Politics*, 1988, p. 148.

- Parties typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy (small parties however may have a single issue focus, thus resembling interest groups); and
- To varying degrees, parties are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity<sup>3</sup>.

Parties are among the most important organisations in modern democracies; “students of political parties have commonly associated them with democracy itself. Democracy, it is argued, is a system of competitive political parties. The competitive electoral context, in which several political parties organise the alternatives that face voters, is what identifies contemporary democracy” (The Encyclopaedia of Democracy, 1995: 924). Their specific roles and effectiveness in a democracy is essentially determined by (a) the nature of the party system in place in a country; (b) the nature of the electoral system in place in a country; and (c) equally important, the effectiveness of a parliament in a given country. Obviously, in the case of South Africa, a multiparty arrangement marked by a dominant party syndrome influences the way parties organise themselves and position themselves

during elections. The proportional representation electoral model that South Africa has adopted since its first democratic election of 1994 also has an impact on manner in which contestation over state power during election is structured. Furthermore, the proportional representation electoral system which essentially determines how valid votes cast are translated into parliamentary seats shapes the nature of representation of parties in the legislature. It is the party political configuration of the legislature which, *inter alia*, determines the efficacy and effectiveness of a parliament. The functions of parties in a democracy are many and varied. However, it is worth our while to single out the major six (6) as follows:

- Integrative function: parties enhance socio-political integration of society;
- Legitimising function: party competition of election accords requisite legitimacy of government both nationally and internationally;
- Policy function: both ruling and opposition parties play direct and indirect role in policy formulation and execution;
- Mobilisation and reconciliation function: parties play an important role in social mobilisation of society for development and as

mediators of conflict situation;

- Patronage function: through manifestos, parties make certain promises in return for electoral support by the electorate; and
- Political education and communication function: parties also play an important role in civic and voter education for the citizenry and facilitate political communication within a given society<sup>4</sup>

There is no doubt that the information provided above regarding the essence and functions of parties apply to the South African situation. It is important that we share this basic information around the nature and role of parties at this juncture when all spotlights will focus on these organisations in the context of elections and electioneering.

#### **Basic Information on Political Parties in South Africa**

Political parties can contest elections only if they have registered with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in accord with the 1998 IEC Regulations for the Registration of Political Parties. For a political party to register, it has to provide the following information to the IEC:

- Name of the party;

<sup>3</sup> (Dlamini, 2004: 6)

<sup>4</sup> See Tordoff, 1991.

- Symbol or logo of the party;
- Abbreviation of the name; and
- The party constitution.

Parties pay a nominal fee of R500.00 for registration and upon registration a party is then issued with a registration certificate by the Chief Elections Officer of the IEC and the necessary details of such registration are published in a Government Gazette. Further more, if a political party intends to contest elections, then it has to pay a deposit of R100 000.00 for national legislative elections and R20 000.00 for the provincial legislative elections (Lodge, 1999). A party is entitled to a refund of the deposit provided it wins one or more seats in the legislature. When a party registers with the IEC for contestation of elections, it also has to present a list of its candidates for both national and provincial elections and such a list is not subject to changes once submitted. What is abundantly vivid from the basic information above is that it is fairly easy for parties to register with the IEC. However, parties need resources to register for elections and much more so for national, compared to provincial, legislative elections. Thus, the whole issue around use of state resources by parties during elections becomes extremely pertinent. It is worth noting, though, that with a view to addressing the problem of

scarce resources for parties especially in respect of participation in elections, parties represented in the South Africa legislature are entitled to public funding a process governed by the 1998 *Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act*. Such public funding is provided on the basis of equity and proportionality and is essentially meant for the following purposes:

- To develop the political will of the people;
- To promote parties' influence on public opinion;
- To enhance political education;
- To strengthen links between people and organs of the state<sup>5</sup>

Of course, besides public funding, parties mobilise their own private funds from various sources both for their sustenance and effective participation in the electoral process. Information around this aspect is rather scanty as this element of resource mobilisation by parties is not subject to IEC or any other regulations at the present moment and parties are not bound by law to disclose either sources or amounts of such private funding.

<sup>5</sup> EISA, 1999, p.29

### Prediction on the Party Political Contest in April 2004

In 1999, about 50 political parties registered with the IEC. However, of these only fifteen (15) contested the National Assembly election. In the end, only thirteen (13) parties won seats in the 400-member parliament as shown in the table below.

**Party Representation in Parliament following the 1999 election**

Party	Votes (no.& %)	Seats
African National Congress (ANC)	10 601 330 (66.35)	266
Democratic Party (DP)	1 527 337 (9.56)	38
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1 371 477 (8.58)	34
New National Party (NNP)	1 098 215 (6.87)	28
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	546 790 (3.42)	14
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	228 975 (1.43)	6
Freedom Front (FF/VF)	127 217 (0.8)	3
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	125 280 (0.71)	3
Pan-African Congress of Azania (PAC)	113 125 (0.71)	3
Federal Alliance (FA)	86 704 (0.54)	2
Minority Front (MF)	48 277 (0.3)	1
Afrikaner Eenheidsbewiging (AEB)	46 292 (0.29)	1
Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO)	27 257 (0.17)	1
Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party (AITUP)	10 611 (0.07)	0
Government by the People Green Party (GPGP)	9 193 (0.06)	0
Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA)	9 062 (0.06)	0
Total	15 977 142 (100)	400

It is abundantly evident that the main players in South Africa's political landscape are mainly five (5) parties namely the *social democratic* ANC enjoying an overwhelming political support hence its dominance within the legislature as demonstrated above; the *liberalist* Democratic Party (DP) or the Democratic Alliance (DA) which is the official opposition in Parliament, the *tribalist* Inkatha Freedom Party which has taken tight grip of the Kwazulu-Natal Province exploiting the ideology of traditionalism and at times pushing its campaign on the borders of irredentism; the *conservative* NNP whose political clout has increasingly shifted to the DP or DA over time; the *populist* UDM whose political fortunes have been concentrated more and more in the Eastern Cape Province.

On the whole, this configuration of the balance of power with the South African political system in general and the Parliament in particular is unlikely to change radically following the 2004 election. Reports from the IEC indicate that a total of 144 political parties have registered, although it is not yet clear as to how many will in fact contest the national election (EISA, 2004). Be that as it may, it is highly unlikely that all the 144 registered parties will contest the national election on 14 April 2004. The newly

registered parties include those that emerged as a result of recent constitutional amendment allowing Members of Parliament to cross the floor and leave their parties and either join existing parties or form new ones. Six (6) of the new parties emerged during the mid 2003 as a result of this amendment and these are the Independent African Movement (IAM), led by former IFP member Theresa Millin, MPL-KZN; the Alliance for Democracy and Prosperity (ADP) led by former UDM member Nelson Ramodike, MPL-Limpopo; Independent Democrats led by former PAC member Patricia de Lille, MP; the Peace and Justice Congress (PJC) led by former IFP member Muhammed Rashad Khan; the Peace and Development Party (PDP) led by former IFP Member of Parliament, Jan Hendrick Slabbert-MPL-KZN; and the New Labour Party (NLP) led by the former NNP Member of Parliament Petrus Jacobus Marais, MP-WC. Of all the six, plausible predictions are that de Lille's party is likely to make some dent on the current political landscape. However, time as well as the election outcome will tell.

### Conclusion

Political parties play an important role in any working democracy. This statement is as true in a developed democracy such the United States of America (USA) as it is in an emerging democracy

such as the one in South Africa. Coincidentally, both countries will hold their general elections this year and in both cases parties constitute the heart of the matter for electoral contests. It then goes without saying that all democracy watchers would have to pay particular attention to the nature and role of political parties as they observe South Africa's 2004 election. There is also no gainsaying that although there are many political parties that have registered with IEC, it is possible that not all the 144 parties will contest the national legislative election as some of them are small and localised parties that may opt to contest for provincial legislative and/or local government/municipal elections for instance. It is also possible that the configuration of the contest is still going to be shaped by about five (5) main players namely the ANC, DA, NNP, IFP and UDM. Judging by the table above, the political dominance of the ruling ANC is surely unquestionable and much of the opposition contest would not so much aim at winning state power, but rather on how to reduce the margin of the ANC dominance. It is also possible that the new Independent Democrats led by de Lille could become one of the new entrants in the 400-member Parliament of South Africa. All we can say for now is: on your marks; ready; and go and let the fittest contestant

win the race come the 14<sup>th</sup>  
April 2004.

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## NEWS FLASH!

### PRISONERS' VOTING APPLICATION DELAYED

Disenfranchised prisoners who last week brought an application in the Cape High Court for the right to vote will have to wait for a decision from the Constitutional Court before their case is taken further.

Judge Jolyan Knoll granted an application by counsel for the government to stay the case pending a decision by the Constitutional Court on whether it would grant direct access to the prisoners' right-to-vote application.

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (Nicro), backed by two Pollsmoor prisoners, launched their application on 23 December last year.

They challenged the constitutionality of the Electoral Amendment Act

.  
The legislation, which came into force a week before the application, took away the vote from all prisoners who were sentenced without the option of a fine and denies them the right to register as voters.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Home Affairs Minister, opposed the application.  
*This Day 16 February 2004*

## PROVINCIAL ROUNDUP

### GAUTENG

#### YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN THE 2004 GENERAL ELECTIONS A BASH WITH A DIFFERENCE FOR THE YOUTH OF GAUTENG!

*Sydney Letsholo*  
Electoral Institute of Southern Africa

The date for South Africa's general elections has been set for 14 April 2004. Contrary to media reports, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has released encouraging statistics for the youth of Gauteng that have registered to vote in the 2004 elections.

As of the 10 February 2004, youth registration statistics for Gauteng were:

Ages	Female	Male
16-17	104	98
18-19	55 700	49 528
20-29	595 243	611 982
30-39	689 820	720 598

Source: [www.elections.org.za/elections](http://www.elections.org.za/elections)

In contrast to the 1999 general elections, the statistics were as follows:

Ages	Female	Male
18-20	67 762	65 126
20-30	585 631	634 795
30-40	568 734	585 275

Source: 1999 IEC Elections Atlas

A great deal of energy has been concentrated in getting the youth of the province to register for the 2004 general elections. Youth organisations, churches, media, political parties, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and various other stakeholders have been instrumental in encouraging the youth to register. In 2003, the targeted dates for registration were the 8 and 9 November. However, given various difficulties that will become evident as the paper continues, the IEC announced that the dates for the second round of registration would be the 24 and 25 January 2004. Since the IEC has declared both the first and second rounds of voter registration a major success, the real challenge now is to encourage the youth that have registered to vote in the 2004 elections to come out in large numbers.

Given the above expose, it is somehow unfair to label the youth of Gauteng as being apathetic. Be that as it may, numerous factors affected youth turnout during the registration of 8-9 November 2003. First, the registration period coincided with the matriculation exams for would-be first time voters. Second, the issue of identity documents constantly proves to be a headache for the

youth because of problems beyond their control. Potential first-time voters have often cited poor service at the hands of the Department of Home Affairs' personnel<sup>6</sup>. The *Sowetan* of 13 February 2004 reports that a young Daveyton, East Rand woman (18 years old), who wanted to vote for the first time this year had her hopes dashed when her new identity document revealed that she was a white person. This, one might add, is not an isolated case. Third, the Gauteng province is a home to an influx of illegal informal settlements. Through court interdicts, people are more often than not forced to move from one area to another. The situation makes it practically impossible for people to register at a given registration station. Inevitably, would-be first time voters and average youth are affected by the situation.

However, all is not lost as some positive measures have been taken to engage the youth that have not been affected by all the above mentioned problems. In an effort to encourage the youth of Gauteng to register for the 2004 general elections,

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.s-and-t.co.za>

President Thabo Mbeki took to the streets of Carletonville during the weekend of 24 January 2004<sup>7</sup>. An assertion by the All Africa News has it that Mbeki did this in his capacity as the President of the African National Congress (ANC). Worth mentioning about this visit is the fact that the gathered masses, predominately the youth, were never given a mandate to vote for any specific political party, voter registration was the issue. Mbeki was quoted as saying, "We were careful not to talk about registering in order to vote for the ANC. We particularly wanted them to ensure that they are registered. As to what party they will vote for, that will come later after they have thought about it"<sup>8</sup>. Mbeki's initiative was commended by the Chief Electoral Officer of the IEC, Advocate Pansy Tlakula.

The experience of young people as voiceless citizens within society has disadvantaged them, and continues to marginalise them in negotiating their realities within the new political regime<sup>9</sup>. It is rather surprising that the youth are alleged to be apathetic when political parties become visible *mostly* during the

election period. Youth branches of Gauteng's different political parties do not help matters either, as the problem lies with the internal structures of these political parties rather than would-be first time voters and the average youth. While to some extent it is true that the youth tend to be disinterested in political activism, political parties in the province need to constantly engage the youth throughout the process rather than waiting until it is that time of year to make the crucial cross! Realising the importance of the youth in South Africa, former State President, Nelson Mandela is quoted as saying that: "*Young people are capable, when aroused, of bringing down the towers of oppression and raising the banners of freedom*"<sup>10</sup>

Inevitably, political parties in the province will come to a painful realisation that youth involvement in politics is critical, not only because it is the youth's democratic right to vote, but also because the youth in South Africa constitute the largest population in the country. The onus is now on political parties to attract the youth. For the youth of Gauteng that have registered to vote, the time has come to translate the lessons of voter education and come out in numbers to make that ultimate cross (X) for the

future. So 14 April 2004 will be a party with a difference where entrance is free, provided one has a bar-coded ID. *Ziyawa masoja! Re tla kopana ko teng! It's on!!!*

**CALLING ON ALL THE YOUTH OF GAUTENG TO ULTIMATE BASH!**

**DATE: 14 APRIL 2004**

**OCCASION: MAKING A CROSS (X) FOR THE FUTURE**

**ENTRANCE: FREE BUT CARRY WITH YOU YOUR IDENTITY DOCUMENT  
ATTITUDE: POSITIVE**

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<sup>7</sup> [http:// www.allafrica.com/stories](http://www.allafrica.com/stories)

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*

<sup>9</sup> Everatt, D.2000. "From urban warriors to market segment? Youth in South Africa 1990-2000. *Development Update*, Vol. 3. No. 2

<sup>10</sup>Crwys-Williams, J. 1997. In the Words of Nelson Mandela. Penguin Books, Cape Town.

## NORTH WEST PROVINCE

### SAME OLD, SAME OLD?

*Michael O'Donovan*  
*Freelance Consultant*

In many ways the 2004 election in North West province is set to be a replay of the 1999 election in which the overwhelming dominance of the ANC was ameliorated slightly by the UCDP and DP. Few noteworthy players are entering the fray and those that have are set to contest the election along the same policy prescriptions of 1999. The ANC, for example, has assured all that there will be no radical changes in policy and that the fundamentals of GEAR, focus on service delivery and the like remain firmly in position. Similarly opposition parties are keeping to past formulae. For example, the PAC launched its national drive to capture an increasing proportion of the vote – hoping to increase its share of the national vote ten-fold to twenty percent. The PAC's policies remain firmly focussed – as they were in 1999 – on the “land question”. One noticeable change is its promise that events in Zimbabwe will look like a “picnic” if land redistribution is not urgently addressed. It is not clear as to what the promise refers to – the appropriation of

commercial farms, the gross abuse of state power and human rights or the economic collapse of the country. Nevertheless the PAC, with its policy emphasis of land reform is unlikely to attract many more votes in a region which had relatively secure tenure and is currently experiencing rapid urbanisation. Moreover the party is unlikely to convince many voters that the ANC's current land redistribution programme (which will be almost certainly be accelerated and dressed up in the run up to April 14) is a less viable option than what they present.

As elsewhere in the country the Democratic Alliance (DA) appears set to take on an increasing share of alienated NNP votes. NNP policies seem unnecessarily at odds with their “traditional” support base of farmers in the North West. For example, just as the NNP was endorsing the amendments to the Land Reform Act and denouncing detractors as “negative” the Transvaal Agriculture Union and AgriSA were expressing farmers' concerns that their lands could now be appropriated by bureaucratic fiat. Whether or not the farmers concerns are justified is largely irrelevant as the perceived threat is unlikely to encourage them

to rally behind the NNP. While the NNP stance may endear itself to the ANC it is not likely to enhance the election prospects of this, the most racially diverse political party. Voter support for NNP is likely to continue the downward slide seen in 1999 when its share dropped to 2% of the vote from 10% in 1994.

The province seems to be off the radar screen as far as Patricia de Lille's Independent Democrats or the UDM are concerned, leaving few parties other than the DA and UCDP in a position to capitalise on the NNP's decline. Like the other political parties, the UCDP, is re-offering its 1994 manifesto which promises “Christian leadership” as an alternative to the current “communist” and corrupt ANC rule.

The rather staid position of the parties indicates that the battle on April 14 will be less about inspiring voters to “defect” to their party than attempting to mobilise existing supporters to vote. Consequently, as there is little doubt that the ANC's substantial majority (they captured 79% of the votes in 1999) will be threatened, the turnout rate will be of greater interest than the actual result.

Despite the minimal movement in parties

manifestos and support bases there are significant changes afoot within ANC provincial structures. These changes centre on a reshuffle within the party as a replacement for Premier Popo Molefe is found. Just as there is a two term restriction on the State Presidents term there is a two term limit on provincial premiers stay in office. The current premier's second term expires with the election and a replacement for him is being sought. Despite the inevitable jockeying for the position campaign managers may well be relieved about Molefe's departure. He has recently been embroiled in a number of embarrassing incidents including being accused by his ex-wife of sexually molesting an pre-teen family member and on-going violations of traffic regulations. Moreover the efficiency of the provincial government has recently been brought into question. It, for example, has been unable to spend all but a fraction of its capital allocation for housing - suggesting that housing delivery in the province is increasingly lagging behind demand.

So far there have been few hints as to the preferred contenders for Molefe's post. Names being touted include two women, the long serving Umkhonto weSizwe veteran Thandi Modise and North West MEC for Agriculture, Edna Molewa. Earlier Darky

Africa was believed to be a strong contender for the premiership, he however is the MEC for Developmental Local Government and Housing and may well be called to account for the poor performance of the department. It remains to be seen whether the designated successor is viewed by voters as an inspiring alternative to abstaining from voting.

## **NEWS FLASH!**

### **ANC-NNP Coalition is to stay**

The coalition between the New National Party and the African National Congress would continue the election, NNP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday.

"We have agreed that the two of us will govern together... after the election," he said at the launch of his party's 92 election manifesto for the province.

"We have not yet agreed on some details. We are discussing that with each other."

The manifesto, titled the "Cape Plan" proposes eliminating the province's housing backlog by 2019, creating a nett 140 000 new jobs, halving the crime rate by 2010 and boosting the provinces's education standards.

Van Schalkwyk said it was precisely because of the knowledge that the coalition would remain that the NNP was able to propose implementable plans, unlike the "pie in the sky promises" made by other parties.

He said there had been no consultation with the ANC on the manifesto.

*This Day 16 February 2004*

## KWAZULU-NATAL

### **BREAD AND CIRCUSES EARLY ELECTIONEERING IN KZN**

*Dr Laurence Piper  
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Bread and butter issues are the dominant ones in the early stages of electioneering in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). In order of appearance these are: unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS, crime, and social services such as education, social grants, water and electricity. Notably, these issues are the common concern of the IFP, ANC and DA. No major party is fighting the election in identity terms at this time.

This shared focus on issues of substance rather than identity heightens the chances of a free and fair election in the province. The fact that the contest is a tight one means that, at the moment anyway, both the ANC and IFP have an interest in a legitimate result. No party wants to win on compromised terms.

While this is all positive, the style of electioneering seems more 'American' than ever. This is reflected in the nature of the mass rallies held by the major parties where, in

contrast to 1994, supporters are increasingly treated like consumers of entertainment rather than participants in a political event. It is also reflected in the use of the media and the attitude of many voters to politics. In sum, ten years have seen significant shifts in party styles: bread and circuses for political consumers is replacing violent turf conflict for party control.

#### **Party Substance**

The ANC formally began electioneering in KZN with the launch of its campaign on 11 January 2004 in Pietermaritzburg. The major theme of the manifesto, 'A People's Contract to Create Work and Fight Poverty', sums up the ANC's focus on socio-economic issues as the key ones.

Three of its four major promises for the next 10 years are socio-economic. These are (i) to reduce unemployment by half, (ii) to reduce poverty by half and (iii) to provide the skills required by the economy. The message of the manifesto was consistently reinforced by Mbeki in his tour of the province in January. For examples see the 'Letter from the President' in *ANC Today* 4(5).

A very similar message is articulated by the IFP in its

manifesto. Launched in Durban on 18 January the major theme is 'Real Development Now'. Like the ANC the party identifies job creation, economic growth, corruption and poverty as the major issues. In place of the ANC's emphasis on 'security' the IFP talks about 'crime', and in the place of a more general discussion of health the party prioritises 'HIV/AIDS'. Indeed the IFP and DA look to be targeting AIDS as a key delivery issue not properly addressed by the ANC.

However, the real difference between the IFP and ANC is less about what issues matter to South Africans and more about how to address them. Thus in a speech in Richards Bay on 7 February, Buthelezi chose AIDS as the number one issue that the ANC has 'denied and ignored' while affirming the IFP's 'excellent' record of delivery. He argued that the IFP had done 'wonders' with KwaZulu-Natal and wanted voter support to 'shift into a higher degree of service delivery', presenting the IFP as the only party 'Caring, Capable and Clean' enough to do this.

A similar point applies to the DA. The difference with the ANC is less over which issues are important than over how to tackle them. Thus at the DA campaign launch in Cape Town on the

7 February Tony Leon spoke about unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS, corruption and crime, arguing that DA is the only alternative government to the ANC.

In doing this Leon marked a change from the more defensive strategies of the past aimed at consolidating the opposition vote to a more offensive approach aimed at contesting power. Thus later in his speech Leon talked about the DA's desire to win the western Cape and co-govern in KwaZulu-Natal.

This oblique reference to the 'coalition' with the IFP reflects the DA's official understanding that, unless the ANC wins more than 50% in KZN, the DA will govern the province as a junior partner in a coalition with the IFP. However, there is some concern in DA circles as to whether the IFP will honour this deal or return to the ANC – a concern fed by the silence in IFP media briefing about the relationship with the DA.

It seems to me that while the IFP might be important to the DA's strategy of projecting itself as a party that can begin to contest ANC power, the IFP is more concerned about protecting its leading position in the eyes of both voters and the ANC. This brings us to party styles.

### Party Style

To begin, a general point should be made. Parties seem more removed from ordinary people than ever. Mass political events have changed significantly in KZN since 1994 when IFP and especially ANC rallies were far more participatory events.

In 1994 ordinary people had a chance of meeting national leadership or occasionally making it up onto the stage to address the crowd. Nowadays though, the physical distance between party leadership and ordinary supporters is significant. At the ANC manifesto launch the leadership were cordoned off from the masses at some distance, with a special VIP section for luminaries, guests and the media. Three or four different security forces were present, and their main aim seemed to be to keep the masses behind the fence and well-behaved.

Along with this greater policing of a greater physical distance comes a greater social distance reflected in the changed role of the ordinary party member. At the ANC manifesto launch in 2004 the crowd was not expected to sing political songs or toyi-toy but rather it was to be entertained by some of South Africa's leading musicians. Passivity had replaced participation.

In the place of a gathering of activists culturally affirming a common political project, the rally has become a form of entertainment aimed at the party member as political consumer. In my view, these changing formats reflect changes in the political system where political movements like the UDF or Inkatha have been transformed into professional political parties like the ANC and IFP.

Perhaps I have overstated the case, Mbeki did conduct a few *imbizos* for instance, but I do think the American media-orientated style is on the rise in South African politics. Moreover, this is not a recent phenomenon. I recall as early as the KZN local government elections of 1996 being struck by the idea that the greatest difference at party rallies was not between parties but between the people on the stage and the people listening politely on the floor. Not only were rallies increasingly about politicians selling and party members buying, but the differences between the party messages, especially the ANCs and IFPs, were few.

It might well be an inevitable consequence of the liberal-democratic system that parties become more removed from ordinary members than are political movements. However, it is a dangerous side-effect for it weakens voter loyalty, and there is some evidence that

voter loyalty is waning in KZN. Key ANC electoral gains at the expense of the IFP since 1994 have all been in rural areas. Moreover, they have been on the back of campaigns that sell the ANC as the party of delivery.

Conversely key ANC losses since 1994 have been in urban areas. The best instance of this was the 2000 local government elections. Anecdotal evidence suggests that delivery – in this case disenchantment at the lack of delivery – was an important reason for voters staying at home.

If this is correct, two points flow from it. First, socio-economic issues are critical, as confirmed by the party messages. Second both the IFP and ANC are vulnerable on the delivery issue amongst their core constituencies. This somewhat paradoxical insight makes the ANC/IFP rivalry in 2004 more of a squabble of waning giants than a clash of the titans. This is good news for the

DA in 2009 if the ANC fails to deliver over the next 5 years. It also makes 2004 hard to predict.

What it does mean is that reaching out to voters through well-organised campaigns is critical.

### **Party Lists**

Election campaigning is still getting into full stride in KZN.

Of the three main parties in KwaZulu Natal, the IFP is probably the least prepared at the moment, although the ANC is not far ahead. Somewhat surprisingly the two main parties seem a little disorganised at this stage. In respect of the party list, IFP insiders did suggest that the party will reward loyalty after the recent trouble with floor-crossing when several members fled to the ANC. This means that there will be few surprises on the provincial list.

In contrast the ANC is more bullish about its prospects to take KwaZulu-Natal,

although some insiders expressed concern over internal rivalries and levels of organisation and competence. More evidence for a ‘squabble of waning giants’ than a ‘clash of the titans’ follows. It is already a matter of public record that the ANC will feature many prominent defectors on its party lists and there will probably be little changed from the list made public before the conference.

Of the three parties, the DA list is the most advanced in its preparations, although its campaign is more modest and thus more manageable than either the ANC’s or IFP’s. The final list comes up for ratification shortly. Unlike in Gauteng, there has not been too much trouble with the unseating of incumbents although Graham McIntosh will not be re-elected.

In sum, early electioneering in KZN is pretty much ‘bread and circuses’ amongst ‘waning giants’.

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## **CAMPAIGNING IN KWAZULU-NATAL**

*Shauna Mottiar*  
*Independent Political Analyst*

Election campaigning is a vital component of free and fair elections. It guarantees

not only freedom of expression but also associational autonomy. Just as citizens have the right to express their views through the party of their choice at elections, so do various political parties have the right to assemble and contest for political office. Ideally political parties should

utilise the campaign process to introduce voters to their goals and consequently secure votes on this basis. Unfortunately though, campaign processes are usually more about the attainment of power than about providing alternatives. Nowhere has this been more obvious in the early stages of

campaigning for the 2004 elections than in KwaZulu-Natal.

The African National Congress (ANC) launched its election manifesto in Kwazulu-Natal after having stated its intention of contesting the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) for power in the province. This is predictable enough in the light of the 2003 floor crossing legislation which could have led to the ANC taking control of the province before the national election. Analysts suggest that the campaign launch in the KwaZulu-Natal province could be an effort by the ANC to consolidate its power base there. Twenty or so members of the ANC National Executive Committee lead by Thabo Mbeki began canvassing in the Durban area in the second week of January. It became clear that the ANC was trying to expand its support base among Indians in KwaZulu-Natal when the Minister of Safety and Security visited the large Indian township of Phoenix to discuss the crime rate with local residents. In the past the ANC has had to form a relationship with the Minority Front (MF) in order to draw on the Indian vote.

The ANC manifesto entitled “A People’s Contract to Create Work and Fight

Poverty”<sup>11</sup> immediately draws attention to two of the country’s biggest challenges unemployment and unalleviated poverty. It is interesting to note however, that the ANC refers to ‘work’ rather than ‘jobs’ and that it views poverty as a ‘fight’. The idea of this challenge being a ‘contract’ implies that not only is the ruling party including ordinary citizens in its plans but also that its promises are binding.

The manifesto refers generously to ANC achievements in the last decade with references to the ‘millions’ of homes having been built and ‘millions’ of water and electricity connections as well as the removal of various forms of discrimination. Aside from promising to reduce unemployment and poverty, the ANC manifesto also deals with crime and broadening access to constitutional rights. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is made mention of pertaining to health issues but only appears at the end of a list following “malnutrition, TB, malaria and other diseases”. Thabo Mbeki’s commitment to politics in the region and on the continent is also highlighted by a reference to intensifying efforts “hand in hand with our brothers and sisters on the continent” to consolidate peace, security

and development. The manifesto also speaks of positioning South Africa as an effective force in global relations.

The IFP wasted no time publishing its critique of the ANC manifesto calling it “remarkably content free and characterised by timidity”<sup>12</sup> The IFP took the view that the manifesto lacked clear proposals to deal with key issues such as HIV/AIDS, job creation, economic growth, crime prevention and corruption. The IFP launched its own manifesto in Durban a week later.

The IFP manifesto commences with a distinct flavour of negative campaigning. It claims that the IFP is not “the kind of party that remembers the electorate three months before election day, making wild promises that are soon forgotten”.<sup>13</sup> It adds that South Africans are going to be bombarded with election propaganda which reflects not “right or wrong” but rather “an inequality of financial resources amongst political parties”. Aside from constant moral references to “right” and “wrong”, the manifesto also invokes god and religion, “may god bless our country and give South Africans the necessary strength and inspiration to

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<sup>11</sup> ANC Election Manifesto 2004, [www.anc.org.za](http://www.anc.org.za)

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<sup>12</sup> Musa Zondi IFP National Spokesperson, Press Statement, January 11 2004, Durban

<sup>13</sup> IFP Election Manifesto 2004, [www.ifp.org.za](http://www.ifp.org.za)

save our democracy". There is also an emotive element where the manifesto appeals to "the hearts and minds" of citizens.

The manifesto is fairly extensive in its attack of the ruling party citing HIV/AIDS, crime, corruption, unemployment and insufficient economic growth. According to the IFP not only have these challenges been unresolved by the ANC but they have actually become impounded and this warrants a change in leadership. Bitterness over the floor-crossing legislation is also voiced in the manifesto with a reference to "the immoral and self serving constitutional amendment which allowed elective representatives to cross the floor and steal away their parties seats and votes". The manifesto goes on to add that South Africa is witnessing the emergence of an 'embryonic one party state' and that the battle for the long term survival of democracy is being fought in KwaZulu-Natal (a reference to possible ANC victory in the province).

Attacks and promises notwithstanding, both Thabo Mbeki and Mangosuthu Buthelezi appealed for peace during elections. Clearly, opposing parties, in spite of contesting quite fiercely for power in the province appear to be committed to achieving it within democratic bounds. This is particularly

heartening amidst reports of possible politically related violence flaring up in the province.

Alongside election campaigning, the submitting of candidate lists by political parties is another preliminary to elections. The only party to publish its provisional candidate lists so far is the ANC. Notably absent from both KwaZulu-Natal lists is Jacob Zuma. Procedures for the drawing up of candidate lists can be very informative in terms of the level of intra party democracy. In the case of the ANC, has been explained in detail in this issue. In summary however, the procedure is to take nominations for all lists from ANC branches in properly constituted branch meetings. ANC national and provincial List Committees will supply all ANC branches with nomination forms and candidate CV forms. Branches will then indicate their 50 priority names for the national list and 30 for the provincial lists. The List Committee will then screen the candidates for the number of nominations put forward, skills, qualifications and factors that may bring the ANC into disrepute. The list committee would then call for any objections and these would be reviewed. The process would then move on to provincial lists conference level and national list conference level. According to ANC policy the process should be in

keeping with the non sexist, non racial character of the ANC and should ensure that public representatives reflect an adequate geographical spread, gender balance and among other things balance between youth and age. This is well in keeping with democratic practise. Candidate list policy also holds however that "the process must combine democracy and transparency as well as allow for strategic political intervention."<sup>14</sup>

Much less is known about IFP candidate list procedures. According to sources within the party the procedure is as 'bottom up' as the ANC's in that nominations are taken at branch level, district level and then finalised at national level. Tensions begin to rise however when the scarce amount of seats available to the IFP are allocated. The IFP will only submit its candidate lists after the announcement of the election date.<sup>15</sup> These lists are bound to represent some of the internal changes that are taking place within the IFP. National Spokesperson Musa Zondi has been named Deputy National Chairman replacing Ben Ngubane.

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<sup>14</sup> NWC Briefing – An Information Sheet of the ANC Working Committee, List Process Guidelines 2003, As Adopted by The NEC 22-24 May 2003 – courtesy Steyn Speed ANC West Rand Branch

<sup>15</sup> Professor Mapalala, IFP National Office, February 4 2004 - telephonic

Ngubane, one of the three IFP members to hold a national cabinet post, has announced he is giving up his position as Minister of Arts, Culture and Technology to take up an ambassadorship to Japan. There have been rumblings that Ngubane's good relationship with the ANC displeased IFP leadership who were planning to remove him from the deputy chairmanship.<sup>16</sup>

The IFP's general inclusion in government after the 2004 election is questionable. This is largely owing to tense relations between the ANC and IFP with respect to their coalition government after the floor-crossing legislation incident and the subsequent IFP coalition with the Democratic Alliance (DA) in the province. IFP members have pointed out that two years before the formation of the 1999 administration, there had been a series of talks between the ANC and the IFP with regards co-operative government at national and provincial levels. This time around however ANC Spokesperson Smuts Ngonyama has been quoted as saying "Let us get through the election and not talk now of who will be part of the government."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Harper, P, "Zondi Takes Over Top IFP Job", *Sunday Tribune*, February 8 2004

<sup>17</sup> Harper, P, "ANC IFP Rift Threatens KZN Stability", *Sunday Tribune*, February 8 2004

## NEWS FLASH!

### IFP-SABC in bitter war of words

A bitter war of words has broken out between the IFP and the SABC – with the SABC accusing the IFP of inciting violence” in a radio advert, and the IFP accusing the corporation of being the “puppets of the ANC”.

Yesterday, the *Mail and Guardian* revealed that a SABC board member Cecil Msomi – the man specifically responsible for news and programming at the SABC – used his own advertising and public relations company to book an advert for the ANC on a SABC radio station.

Msomi earned commission for placing the advert – which cost about R100 000. The advert was aired at the beginning of January – and advertised what was billed as an ANC “anniversary” celebration to be held in Pietermaritzburg.

The celebrations kicked off the party's election campaign in KwaZulu-Natal, and was broadcast live by the SABC, much to the dismay of the other parties.  
*The Citizen 14 February 2004*

## NEWS FLASH!

### Voter violence injures 2

The ANC is threatening to lodge a complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission after a tense four-hour stand-off between its supporters and those of the IFP in Tongaat yesterday.

The party said that its members were intimidated and prevented from conducting free political activity when IFP supporters tried to stop a planned ANC election rally at Emagwazeni. Pandemonium broke out when a bus carrying ANC supporters to the rally was attacked. Two people were injured and taken to the local hospital. Police confirmed that two people were arrested and would appear in the local magistrate's court today.

ANC spokesman on safety and security Bheki Cele said his party's attempts to meet IFP local representatives to discuss the matter had been fruitless because of the IFP's refusal to recognise the ANC councillor in the area.

An IFP spokesman said the land where the rally was scheduled to take place belonged to the local community and a political party could not simply arrive and hold a meeting on it.  
*This Day 16 February 2004*

## FREE STATE

### **PARTY CANDIDATES NOMINATIONS AND CAMPAIGN PROCESSES**

*Dr. Choice Makhetha*

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The Free State is booming with activity as political parties prepare and finalise nomination lists and campaign strategies. Processes are going according to plan, as confirmed by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in the Free State.

As political parties finalise their candidate nomination lists and campaign strategies, some have been hard at work, forming alliances and partnerships for the coming election. The Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa has formed an alliance with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). This is one strategy that opposition parties are using to strengthen their power and increase their chances of being represented in Parliament. Representation is at the core of democracy and democratic governance; ensuring that there is a government representative of the voters' interests. Another alliance formed is the Freedom Alliance (FA). This alliance is a partnership

between the Freedom Front (FF), Conservative Party (CP) and Afrikaans Eenheidsbeweging (AEB). Again, opposition parties that are predominantly Afrikaans and representing the interests of the Afrikaners, plan to consolidate their support. This is a move to avoid situations where votes are split to the detriment and loss of both parties. Therefore, parties focus of the common policy issues in their constitutions and manifestos and promote those issues together.

The Independent Democrats (ID) is the new party on the block and it also represented in the Free State. Women are highly represented in the leadership of the party, and one can assume that the candidates' lists would also reflect that.

In general, there seems to be a focus on the representation of women and although parties have not as yet publicised their lists, it is evident that there will be a larger percentage of women on the candidates' lists, than in the past general elections. A thorough process was followed when compiling party candidates' lists and democracy won. The processes at the branch level were transparent to a large extent.

It is on the compilation of the lists that the real value of belonging to a political party comes to the fore. A political party plays a critical role in developing its members by providing a training ground and experience, as well as offering its members some form of career structure. All of this however, is dependent on the party's fortune in gaining seats.

When political parties register for participation in the upcoming elections, they are required to submit their party lists to the IEC provincial office in the Free State, together with all other essentials including a prescribed acceptance of nomination signed by each candidate, and a certified copy of the identity document (ID) (page with photo, name and ID number). This occurs immediately after the date of elections has been announced.

Nomination lists and campaigning will determine the level of representation. It is the responsibility of the political parties to ensure that the people on the lists have the best interests of society at heart and that they are willing to serve. The electorate, through their votes, will put their trust in their hands to represent them.

Campaign processes have also taken off and workshops have been underway in the Free State, Mthetho district in particular, to empower the party agents and volunteers. The workshops focussed on canvassing (campaigning); the importance of representing the parties well when involved in door-to-door campaigns, for example. Emphasis was on respect for voters and society in general and tolerance.

Strengthening democracy in South Africa and in the Free State in particular, depends on the growing political maturity amongst the parties and their increasing tolerance of each other as political parties, as the main stakeholders to adjust to political transformation. A very peaceful campaigning period is foreseen and co-operation has been assured from all sectors of society.

Campaigning requires volunteers and leaders who are well informed and very clear about party policies and strategies. These workshops that are taking place, organised by different political parties, will sharpen the skills of the volunteers. Through campaigns, members commit to the standpoint of a party and develop their charismatic leadership skills.

Some of the parties represented in the Free State are, the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA),

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), Freedom Front (FF), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), New National Party (NNP), United Democratic Movement (UDM) and Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa. Campaigning strategies are in the process of being launched at branch level and political parties are hard at work.

Campaign strategies are very important for elections. The manifestos serve as marketing tools for improving the chances of winning the elections. Therefore, it is critical that these manifestos should be clear to avoid ambiguity; they should be simple and easy to read and comprehend. The voters should be able to relate to the issues (focus areas). A manifesto should be realistic and highly objective, to win the trust of the electorate, even the elite who did not really show interest in societal affairs.

Smaller parties in the Free State, have the challenge of making their voice heard. In some cases, it is clear that the campaigning strength of such parties is mainly based on the leader's charisma. The youth component is lacking in most cases. A dearth of young flamboyant supporters, who are willing and able to sell the government-in-waiting /

opposition party to the masses, kills the power of a campaign. Elections in a democracy should be competitive and all participating political parties should rise to the occasion. A written document (manifesto) needs to be supported verbally, thereby committing to improving the lives of the people for the better. Voters need to see their representatives. It is to be remembered that campaigning serves a dual purpose. The political parties state their intentions and promises, thereby creating a more informed electorate. In turn, the voters/electorate, have a chance to ask questions. In this way, parties can be held accountable to the people. Parties should be prepared to be accountable for their actions in the past five years. This whole process, affords the voters a better chance to make informed choices when they vote on 14 April.

Democracy will be put to a test over the election period. Part of the test will be during campaigning. Emphasis will be on political rights and tolerance among political parties. In the Free State, political parties assured the IEC of their co-operation. Freedom of movement in other parties' strongholds will be respected and no real threats are being anticipated. Democracy is deepening and as previously stated, political maturity increasing.

The Provincial Electoral Officer (PEO) of the Free State, Mr Jabulani Chris Mepha, gave the assurance that everything is going according to plan. In his voice one could sense

passion for his work and enthusiasm to manage the electoral processes. He also confirmed that now the election date has been confirmed, certain procedures will have to be

finalised, including of course, party candidates lists. The Free State is on schedule.

## **BETTER LATE THAN NEVER SUBMISSION OF CANDIDATE'S LISTS IN THE FREE STATE**

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### **Introduction**

The Free State province is filled with excitement as celebratory events are in progress to celebrate ten years of democracy, the forthcoming elections and the Free State University's centenary year. Political parties are satisfied with voter registration figures and are hard at work compiling candidate's lists and strategising campaigning techniques. The compilation of political party's candidate's lists is one of the most important phases in South Africa's democratic process, but is also one of the most closed and controversial of processes.

Since the 1999 elections there have been a number of changes in the dynamics of political parties in the Free State. This change will have an impact on the decisions

made concerning the candidates' list and campaign strategies of some parties. Provincial campaigns have been slow off the mark this year as parties have been waging a "phoney war" while involved in the drawing up of candidate's lists, the forming of coalitions and, in general preparing for the announcement of the election date by the State President. At the time of compilation of this report, most political parties in the Free State had not yet published their candidate's lists. The announcement of the 14 April as the election date will galvanise political parties into action as the announcement marks the start of the "real election war" and campaigns will move into top gear from now on.

Provincial campaigning has been limited thus far and has largely been based on the national election manifestos launched by some of the larger parties. This report focuses on the change in party dynamics experienced by some of the political parties in the Free State regarding candidates as well as a brief look at these

parties' campaign strategies. The purpose of this review is to highlight the contexts within which the political parties will be compiling the candidate's lists in the Free State. The first party under review is the majority party, African National Congress (ANC).

### **The African National Congress (ANC)**

The ANC currently holds 25 of the 30 seats in the legislature. This indicated an increase in support of one seat in comparison to the 24 seats obtained in the 1994 election.

Mr M. Dukwane, Speaker of the Free State Legislature, indicated in his speech in January 2004 at the University of the Free State that the ANC is confident that the party will retain the 25 seats currently held in the legislature. He also mentioned that the one challenge facing the party was that the conflict between Northern and Southern Free State was limiting development in the province<sup>18</sup> This conflict is not new and dates back to

<sup>18</sup> *Volksblad*, 2004, p.8

the differences between the then Free State Premier Patrick 'Terror' Lekota and the ANC leaders Patrick Matosa and Ace Magashule in the province. Ace Magashule is still a favourite within the province and has reached the number one position on the candidate's list. As the current provincial chairperson of the ANC, Ace Magashule recently consulted with the academics and business people to discuss development in the province.

It is a clearly stated goal of the ANC to make inroads into minority communities, including the white vote and the Free State is no exception in this effort. The ANC claims that many white businessmen supported the government's economic policies and joined the party as a sign of trust.

Under the leadership of its Free State leader, Mr. Ace Magashule, the ANC has embarked on an outreach programme to white community leaders. Already in October 2002 a provincial "Dakar" meeting took place between senior ANC leaders and a variety of white Free State community leaders, including representatives from agriculture, sport, political parties, legal and medical practitioners. The ANC stated that it was not only concerned with gaining white members, but also wanted to ensure development and

reconciliation through ongoing discussions. Soon after this meeting several high-profile white Free Staters joined the ANC, stating that that they appreciated the business-like approach of the ANC and their willingness to listen to the voices of minorities. This outreach campaign continued in 2003 with a meeting between the provincial leadership of the ANC and the management of the University of the Free State, the Free State Technikon (as it was known) and Vista University. Once again the meetings were aimed at establishing a common understanding of the developmental goals, community service and extensive utilisation of Free State resources in uplifting all of its communities.

### **The Democratic Alliance (DA)**

The 1999 election results indicated an increase in support for the then Democratic Party from no seats in the legislature in 1994 to 2 seats in 1999. There have been many changes to the party dynamics since 1994. The party changed its name to Democratic Alliance, after forming an alliance with the New National Party (NNP) and the Federal Alliance. Once the alliance was formed the Democratic Alliance focused its attention on recruiting members from within the ANC. However,

the conflict between the Democratic Party and the New National Party intensified resulting in a split. The NNP subsequently has formed an alliance with the ANC. The result of this split is a shift in the DA's campaign strategy from focusing mainly on recruiting ANC members to the pursuing of votes from within the ranks of the NNP and the Freedom Front. The DA has, however, opened numerous new offices in ANC dominant areas.

The DA faces a few challenges which need to be addressed which include the following:

- The DA leadership has also undergone some changes, partly due to the resignation of Adv. Pieter Geldenhuys, as provincial leader of the party.
- The Dikwankwetla Party has renounced their alliance with the DA and has subsequently formed an alliance with the PAC.
- The then DP was severely criticised in the previous election regarding low representativity of women who constituted 36% of the candidates on the national list and the lack of African representation<sup>19</sup>(De Ville and Steytler, 1996: 32). The party is sure to address this matter when

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<sup>19</sup>De Ville and Steytler, 1996, p.32

compiling the new national and provincial lists.

The party's Electoral College has been held, the candidates' lists have been finalised and the results should be announced shortly in the media.

The DA launched its election campaign in Cape Town on the 7 February and although its campaign manifesto is still to be announced, the DA seems intent to take the battle to the other parties and in particular the ANC. In an effort to move away from its reactionary "Fight Back" campaign of the 1999 election, the DA has coined a new election slogan, "South Africa deserves better". This could be seen as an effort to portray the DA as an alternative government and not just a hypercritical opposition. The DA has promised vigorous action and promises to deliver: a million jobs in five years, the scrapping of restrictive labour laws, free retroviral to HIV/AIDS sufferers and a basic income grant of R110.00 per month to the poor, as well as 150 000 well-equipped police members on South African streets by 2007. The election manifesto of the DA will be released later in February 2004.

### **The New National Party (NNP)**

The NNP has recently also experienced some dramatic

changes. The NNP has experienced a decrease in support considering the drop from 4 seats in 1994 to 2 seats in 1999. As mentioned above the NNP then aligned itself with the DA, split with the DA and aligned itself with the ANC. This has resulted in Innus Aucamp, provincial leader of the NNP, becoming Deputy Speaker of the legislature. It would be interesting to see if this shift in policy, within a short period of time, will have a negative effect on its support.

### **The Freedom Front (FF)**

The 1999 election results indicated that the Freedom Front has lost one seat in the Free State Legislature dropping from 2 to 1 seat in 1999. The Freedom Front is, however, quite satisfied with the party's progress in the Free State especially in light of the Bloemfontein by-election won by the party at the end of 2003.

### **The Pan African Congress (PAC)**

The national election manifesto of the PAC lists free education, health care, land distribution, increased funding for the aged and unemployment as the main priorities of the party as it heads towards the 2004 general election. The party states that a lack of political will from the government has been the only stumbling block to free health care and

education during the first ten year of democracy in South Africa. Its manifesto called *Sodla Sonke* (Seize the Moment) concentrates extensively on land reform as the physical re-allocation of land to the landless and not monetary compensation for land forcefully re-appropriated during apartheid regime. Even though the PAC has been rocked by leadership tussles in recent years, it aims for at least ten percent of the vote in national and provincial elections. The decision of Patricia de Lille to form the Independent Democrats (ID) could also have an impact on traditional PAC voters in the province but should not be as marked as in the Western Cape. In the Free State, the very recent election pact between the PAC and the Dikwankwetla Party could improve their fortunes in the province, even though the Dikwankwetla Party's support is limited to the Qwaqwa area in the Eastern Free State and pockets of support in the central Free State. Recent reports of training camps for ex-members of APLA, the military wing of the PAC, in the Eastern Free State in an effort to get them integrated into the SANDF also adds spice to the election process.

The manifesto of the PAC was launched on the 8 February in Tembisa and expectations are that electioneering will slowly

heat up in the Free State from now on.

### Update on Issue 1

The final registration weekend of 24/25 January seems to have been very successful in the Free State. According to the IEC 1 331 154 voters had been registered by the 8 February, with 718 357 of them being women and 612 797 men. By far the largest number of registered voters in the province fell into the 20–29 and 30–39 year age groups – proving that the younger voters could have a significant impact on the results of the polls in the Free State in the 2004 elections. It seems as if the youth have proven

themselves to be less apathetic than predicted with 785 444 new registrations on a national level falling into the 18–25 year age group. Current registration figures could almost be seen to be the final figures, as the voter's lists will close at midnight on Wednesday, February 11.

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## WESTERN CAPE

### WESTERN CAPE A VOTE FOR TRADITION, PERSONALITIES OR ISSUES?

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Party campaigns are an essential part of elections. They provide the opportunity for a party to popularise itself and its policies. In turn the voters are made aware of differences between competing parties, which affords them the ability to make informed choices. South Africans, over the past decade, have become accustomed to vigorous campaigning as political parties set out to win the “hearts and minds” of the citizenry, a necessary precondition for the assumption of power in a democratic state. In 1994 the differences between parties were clear. The choice was between transformation to black majority rule or the maintenance of white rule under the guardianship of a reconstructed National Party. The electorate spoke loud and clear in favour of transformation and South Africa commenced its journey of democratisation. In the 1999 elections, the choice was between continued transformation under the leadership of the party that had spearheaded

change in South Africa, the ANC, or to “fight back” as the Democratic Alliance proclaimed. The voice of the people called for continued ANC rule, and even where it did not have a majority call in the provinces of the Western Cape and Kwazulu Natal, the ANC increased its electoral support. During the 2004 election South Africa celebrates its 10<sup>th</sup> year of a nonracial democracy. There can be no turning back to policies of yesteryear. With the deepening of democracy and the spread of globalisation, the differences between political party policies have become less marked. What issues are South Africans choosing between in this election, and who represents those choices? What are the issues in the Western Cape and how are they likely to affect the choices that people make in the province?

The African National Congress’ theme is a “people’s contract” that will seek to deliver on policies and promises that catapulted it into power in 1994 and allowed it to maintain office in 1999. In the State of the Nation address, 6 February 2004, President Thabo Mbeki asserted that there was no need for new policies. The address highlighted the nature of the state the ANC inherited, what they have achieved and what still needs to be done. The ANC’s

manifesto specifies these as ensuring low interest and inflation rates; investing more than R100 billion on improving roads, rail and air transport; spending more than R 15 billion to facilitate broad-based black empowerment; ensuring learnership and skills training aimed at the youth; creating one million jobs; speeding up the delivery of services; improving health facilities; the deployment of more than 150 000 new police; stemming illegal migration; fighting corruption; strengthening public private partnerships, and so forth. Why these have not been achieved over the last ten years is attributed to lack of resources, capacity, and bureaucratic inefficiencies. ANC leaders have sent out a clear message against corruption and self-enrichment of civil servants and ANC politicians. The contentious issues around HIV/Aids and Zimbabwe have, not surprisingly, been played down by the ANC. These are then the issues that other political parties have zoomed in on.

The Democratic Alliance, under the leadership of Tony Leon, promises a road map for democracy in Zimbabwe (yet to be spelt out); a free supply of antiretrovirals (it even suggested a ministry devoted to AIDS); a basic income grant of R110;

“scrapping” labour laws (it does not say which); providing tax incentives (presumably to attract foreign investment); creating export processing zones; free transport (presumably for the poor); and similar to the ANC, one million new jobs and 150 000 cops on the street (there appears to be something magical about these figures and their ability to solve the problem of unemployment and crime). The DA’s campaign is largely directed at perceived failures of the ANC. In the Western Cape it seeks to make the electorate aware that a vote for the NNP this time is largely a vote for the ANC. Similar to the last election, it posits itself as the party that will “keep the ANC out” of the province. It is planning to take its campaign to the people via a road show – a bus, called the “Battle Bus” with “Driving Change” emblazoned on it, will be touring the country.

The NNP posters are indicative of the confusion in which the party finds itself. They simply state “make your NNP vote count.” Count for what is the obvious question? The NNP/ANC alliance in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, with De Klerk publicly giving it his support, has thrown its traditional support base in disarray, a factor that the DA is hoping to capitalize on. Traditionally a vote for the NNP, especially amongst

Coloureds, was a vote against the ANC. All signs are there that the alliance in the Western Cape is an expedient one for both parties. The NNP cannot secure the Western Cape by itself. The ANC may, but it is hedging its bets in case it does not. If the ANC does gain a clear majority in the Western Cape it is likely to rapidly abandon the alliance – which forces it to make compromises that go against the objective of being seen to be in control in all provinces. Already, the premiership is becoming a highly contested issue with the ANC making it known that they will have their candidate as premier of the province if they win. Who will be the ANC premier is itself a matter of speculation as rumours of re-deploying persons such as Ministers Trevor Manuel, Dulla Omar or Geraldine Fraser-Moloketsi abound. It is highly unlikely that any of these (high profile national) Ministers will take up this challenge and so the choice remains one between the NNP’s Marthinus Van Schalkwyk and the ANC’s Ebrahim Rasool.

The Independent Democrats (ID), led by Patricia De Lille are focusing on social welfare (basic income grant, child support, social assistance for the poor, social assistance for HIV/AIDS victims), women and child abuse, free education, job creation and corruption. Making gender

abuse a prominent feature of her campaign is a welcoming attribute to this election. The United Democratic Movement (UDM) also promises free education, the creation of jobs, lowering interest rates and a zero tolerance approach to crime. On the fringes are the Peace and Justice Congress (PJC) which wants to bring back the death penalty, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) fighting against abortion and the New Labour Party (NLP) that claims it will offer land at 1966 prices.

The major contenders in the Western Cape are the ANC, NNP, DA, ID, ACDP and UDM. They are all centrist parties and a quick glance at their aforementioned policies will indicate that there is little difference between them. No one, for example, is challenging GEAR as the basic economic policy. The differences are more in how to tinker with existing programmes so that they are more effective. The political parties have read the issues that concern the populace in the Western Cape correctly: crime, unemployment, service delivery and user fees. These are issues that have given rise to new social movements that have been mobilising the masses. These organisations have, however, not galvanised themselves sufficiently into an alternative power block or political party leaving the

electorate with largely the same choices as in 1999.

The race card is seemingly still an important factor in the Western Cape. The discussions of who should be premier in the Western Cape, the controversy around the drafting of the party lists by the provincial ANC, the lament of the DA's lack of visible black democrats in its top list, the NNP's alliance with ANC and even De Lille and Marais independent appearance speak to the continuing importance of the "colour factor." With all trying to woo the Coloured vote, its importance may actually be diminished as it becomes split between the parties. The choice now, at least for Coloureds, it seems, is reduced to personalities (for all political parties are raising similar issues). Both Africans and whites tend to vote more out of loyalty to a particular party. Voting trends suggest that many

Coloureds do not have the same form or degree of loyalty (their vote shifts between political parties). Their vote therefore remains up for grabs and consequently electioneering in the areas in which they predominantly reside are highly contested. Ashley Smith (Weekend Argus January 31, 2004) notes that "perhaps it is time for the people who have been stepchildren and outcasts in their own province to assume the mantle of lords of their own destiny." I would contend that perhaps it is time for them to learn that their destiny is intrinsically linked to other South Africans and that "self-ghettoization" is not the answer to common problems. Keeping the ANC out will not change this, but neither will bringing the ANC in necessarily be the antidote.

The structural factors that inhibit prosperity are prevalent throughout the country and, indeed, the continent. There are no quick recipes for change and any party that promises this is suspect. The ANC believes it will fair better over the next five years if it has a "people's contract" – but did it not always have this? The Democratic Alliance promises that it can be the messiah for the poor, but how does this square with the growth of poverty that had also taken place in the Western Cape where they were in power for at least three of the five inter-election years. The NNP, well, it promises nothing except that it will form a coalition with whoever can keep it breathing for a little longer. The ID is vibrant and will make its electoral mark, but it is a new party and hangs on the *chutzpa* of one person.

## EASTERN CAPE

### PRELIMINARY CAMPAIGN TRENDS AND LIKELY ELECTION OUTCOMES

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#### Introduction

With the election date announced as 14 April 2004 the provincial election campaigns are to get off the ground in earnest in the next few weeks. Up to now only the African National Congress (ANC), United Democratic Movement (UDM) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have released their national manifestos.

However, it is significant to provide an analysis of this pre-election phase, focusing on the campaign processes already in place as a prelude to forthcoming events.

This article concentrates on the three most dominant parties in the province the ANC, UDM and the Democratic Alliance (DA).

It surveys their likely direction in the campaigns, an assessment of the critical debates and their impact on party performances, and rounds off by discussing two deceptively marginal, but potentially crucial elements

in the election-youth and women issues.

#### The African National Congress

The ANC launched its provincial campaign on the 18 January in Port Elizabeth, following the national launch of its manifesto in Pietermaritzburg in early January.

This was followed by a provincial *lekgotla* in early February that mapped out a two months campaign programme.

Its local message is not dissimilar to the party's focus nationally as it basically emphasises its achievements over the past 10 years and asserts that transformation is set to continue.

Significantly, the party has deployed senior national leaders to the province to galvanise support, indicated by the presence of Minister of Intelligence Lindiwe Sisulu and National Executive Committee (NEC) member Saki Macozoma at the *lekgotla* – both of whom incidentally, hail from the province.

An interesting feature of the *lekgotla* was its emphasis on investing energy in mobilising registrations to top the 85 per cent mark in all municipalities, revealing

the ANCs anxiety over apathetic voters.

However, there is little cause for the ANC to worry as IEC figures indicate that registrations in over 90 per cent of the municipalities range from 60 to 100 per cent, with only two municipalities registering below 40 per cent.

Provincially, 80 per cent of eligible voters have registered. These statistics are specifically encouraging for the ANC, as empirical evidence shows that apathy affects the ANC most adversely, as these voters do not move to the opposition but just abstain from voting, thus denying the party increased electoral dominance.

#### The United Democratic Movement (UDM) and Democratic Alliance (DA)

A discernable feature of South African politics is the increased focus on regionalism by most opposition parties. Although, they will contest the election nationally, they have niche provinces in which they concentrate their energies.

The DA is primarily focused on the Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal, where in the latter case it is allied with the IFP. Although its campaign in the Eastern Cape does not command a high profile as in

these two other provinces, it is significant to consider it, due to the DAs status as the official national opposition.

A reflection of its provincial policy indicates that it focused on criticising the perceived failure of the ANC government, highlighting emotive issues like corruption, crime and HIV AIDS. Most recently it has added the curious challenge to Thabo Mbeki to proclaim publicly that he is not going to seek a third term.

This is in line with the DA strategy of buttressing in voters minds, the alleged descent of South Africa into a one party state.

For the UDM, the primary issue on which it is challenging the ANC is on traditional structures. It is doing this by projecting itself as the custodian of these structures against their alleged neglect by the ANC.

Other issues for the party are corruption, HIV AIDS and deterioration in governance. This last point is bound to be very controversial, as the national government had to send a special task force to the province to address it, and it will be interesting to see how opposition parties will react.

### **Assessment of the Critical Debates**

One striking feature of contemporary South African

politics is that on average, contestation over macro economic policy - the most critical campaign issue - is not around fundamentals, but implementation and pace. Most parties are in agreement with the ANCs GEAR policy. Ironically, this is the reason that has been advanced for their failure to attract voters away from the ANC.

Thus most likely, the provincial election will not be dominated by differences on fundamental economic policy, but the nuts and bolts of how this is to be achieved.

An analysis of the UDMs manifesto, for example, does not reveal any significant differences on economic policy to that of the ANC. There are perfunctory differences in percentages on, for example, the growth rate and jobs to be created.

A survey released recently by Markinor, reveals that to the extent that the opposition has no different economic policy to the ANC, it is unlikely to pose a significant threat to the ruling party.

Thus, there is not much to choose for voters in this regard and the focus is to shift debate to factors that raise emotions in voters such as HIV AIDS, crime, corruption and governance.

However, the South African public still rates job creation

high on the agenda with nine out of ten South Africa declaring that they regard this as the most important issue. Thus, opposition campaign messages seem to be at odds with voters needs.

Crime occupies second spot at 64 per cent and HIV and poverty are at par at 49 per cent. Significantly, generally health issues were the priority of only 22 per cent of voters. What these statistics reveal is that the opposition is likely to have serious problems in tackling the ANC on these issues. This will be particularly so due to the ANCs concerted response to these issues, especially in recent months. For example, in relation to combating crime, the ANC, in direct contrast to past election campaigns, has given explicit attention to this issue.

It is countering the DA's call for more deployment of police by announcing that it will recruit 150 000 police - a figure suspiciously close to that announced by the DA.

This indicates that the ANC has become alive to the fact that it must go head to head with the opposition on these emotive issues, over and above its concentration on its successes in government in the past ten years.

Similarly, the debate over HIV AIDS might well tilt towards the ANC - despite refusing to cite it specifically

as a priority in its manifesto-grouping it with the other health problems facing the country.

The governments planned roll out of antiretroviral drugs might come up as a serious obstacle to opposition parties to fully exploit this issue. In addition, the recent government announcement, dismissed by the opposition as an ANC gimmick, to regulate the price of medicines and reduce them by between 40-70 per cent will provide a formidable challenge to the opposition

The one party state bogey raised especially by the DA, and its insistence that Mbeki declare categorically that he will not change the constitution and accord himself a third term, does not appear to be a priority for the electorate.

A *Business Day* columnist concluded that the Markinor analysis indicated emphatically that the electorate, by according job creation a priority, were not concerned with the “fear of the unknown”.

Concerning corruption, the opposition is not likely to make serious gains. Crucially, the government, in the past few months, deployed specialised task

forces to the province to deal with the problem. This is likely to influence voters that it is doing something about corruption.

Also at the national level and contrary to the view that the Hefer Commission could possibly damage the ANC, it is likely to work in its favour. This can be explained by the fact that the government was bold enough to institute the commission and probe the alleged misuse of power by the Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka. He was cleared after the hearings.

### **The Youth and Women Vote**

Public discourse with regard to the youth has been dominated by the supposed apathy of this segment of voters. However, there is sufficient evidence to challenge this perception, as nationally over 80 per cent of new registrations are young people and adults in the age group 18-39. Instructively in this province, 25 per cent of registered voters are in the 20-29 age group, the very segment said to be the most apathetic. This should surely force a rethink on the issue and it will be interesting to see how parties will craft their campaign message around the youth.

Similarly, with regard to women, the challenge is how effectively parties address issues related to gender inequality. In the Eastern Cape, statistics show however, that more women are registered than men - 450 000 after the last registration drive.

### **Conclusion**

In a likely mirror image of the national election campaign, the dominant opposition parties in the Eastern Cape - the UDM and DA - will challenge the ANC mainly around emotive issues such as crime, HIV AIDS, corruption and governance, while the ANC will stress its credentials on past and future service delivery.

The most critical debate is on economic policy. This has been identified by analysts as the most likely issue to provide choice for voters and will be not be around fundamentals as there is sufficient consensus on these, and only the slight differences on the finer details will be the issue. On this basis, the ANC, as reputable pollsters have predicted, is most likely to retain control of the province.

## MPUMALANGA

### MPUMALANGA PROVINCE ELECTIONEERING HEAD-START FOR THE RULING PARTY

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#### ANC Candidates Nomination Process in Mpumalanga

Apart from the ANC, all the other political parties in Mpumalanga province have started their candidate nominations processes and compilation of party lists relatively late. The ANC started its provincial candidate nomination process in Mpumalanga much earlier than all the other political parties, in the last quarter 2003, while the other political parties started only this year. This process culminated in the provincial list conference held at the end of October 2003. At first glance, it may be slightly puzzling that such an overwhelmingly dominant political party would be keen to have a head start on the candidate nominations process over other political parties in the province. After all, the party has the advantage of incumbency in Mpumalanga. Added to this is the fact that all opinions surveys carried out during the past four years have consistently predicted that the party would retain its

position of dominance in the province. Logically therefore, this should tempt the ruling party and its alliance partners to relax and leave the opposition parties to do the early running.

However there are two possible explanations to the ANC's early start on the nominations process in the province. Firstly, it might simply be that the party is not taking its virtually guaranteed victory in the province for granted. Secondly it could be because given that the party and its alliance partners constitute such a large mass based organisational ensemble, an early start has become an unavoidable necessity. For a governing party with a strong rhetorical commitment to principles of bottom-up democracy, there is always enormous political pressure, both from its critics and followers, to be seen to uphold these principles in practice. This means that the party has to engage in participatory, and therefore time-consuming, processes of candidate nomination at local and regional level. Unlike the opposition parties, the ruling party may not have the luxury of taking short cuts on this process. Therefore the ANC's early start to the candidate nominations process in Mpumalanga may be a mere necessity rather than a virtue.

#### Closer Look at ANC Candidate Lists for Mpumalanga

The ANC has completed the process well ahead of the other political parties in the province and has compiled its provisional lists of candidates for the legislature and the National Assembly. It needs to be noted though that the provisional lists of ANC candidates that were released soon after the Mpumalanga provincial list conference held on 26 October 2003, had been amended. The current versions of the provisional lists of candidates appearing on the ANC website display some notable changes as will be indicated below. However, one of these changes is the fact that, in accordance with ANC policy on gender representation, every third candidate is a woman. The amended versions of these two lists are still to be approved by the party's national leadership, and it is expected that further changes will be made before the final lists are published. One possible reason for likely changes is the fact that a number of candidates in the province-to-province list are presently under investigation for corruption and fraud. This might provide lethal political ammunition for opposition parties against the ANC when election campaigning starts in earnest.

Nonetheless, the first versions of the party's legislature and National Assembly candidates had made for some interesting observations. For instance the current premier, Ndaweni Mahlangu, and all ten provincial MECs had made it to the top 30. However, premier Mahlangu had received less votes (340) than the MEC for social services, Siphosizwe Masango (370). Also, his name had appeared on the party's province-to-national list of candidates, which prompted speculation that ANC members in the province would prefer to see him redeployed to the National Assembly while someone else takes over as premier. However, Mahlangu's name no longer appears on the amended version of the party's province-to-national list, suggesting that the provincial party, if not the national leadership of the ANC, would prefer him to remain at provincial level.

Also the appearance of Sbhongile Manana in 28<sup>th</sup> position on the first version of the party's list of province-to-province candidates (and 16<sup>th</sup> on first version of the province-to-national list) had surprised some observers. Manana, currently serving as MEC for Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation, was dismissed as Health MEC in 2003 after forensic investigations uncovered mismanagement

and gross negligence in the use of the provincial HIV/AIDS budget by officials in her department. It was therefore widely predicted that she would not appear among the top 30 candidates required to fill the provincial legislature's 30 seats.

Her initial appearance in the top 30 was not entirely surprising though. It is common knowledge that Manana belongs to an internal faction of the ANC currently aligned to premier Mahlangu. Obviously many of her allies within the party rallied behind her during the nominations process, despite her apparent failures as former provincial Health MEC. However 28<sup>th</sup> position for a serving MEC was a clear indictment for Manana. She obtained the least votes of all the MECs in the province, suggesting that there was undoubtedly a ground swell of discontent against her among the party rank and file in the province. Her name no longer appears on the amended version of the party's list of provincial legislature candidates. Instead, she appears very high (3<sup>rd</sup>) on the party's amended provisional list of province-to-national candidates. Clearly the party has decided to remove her from the province and to the National Assembly.

Former Mpumalanga premier, Matthews Phosa, had also appeared in position

15 on the first province-to-province list of candidates (and also on the province-to-national list). This was widely seen as an indication that his support base within the party in Mpumalanga is still strong. Other observers saw this as heralding the return of the pro-Phosa faction of the ANC in Mpumalanga. Phosa's removal from office by his party in 1999 had led to the political weakening of this faction. While his name has now been removed from the current amended versions of the two provisional lists, a number of MPLs and other new candidates believed to be members of a faction aligned to him have made it into the provincial legislature list. However, so have members of other factions especially that aligned to the current premier, Ndaweni Mahlangu. One prominent and also controversial member of this pro-Mahlangu faction appearing high up (11<sup>th</sup>) on the party's current province-to-province list of candidates is Steve Mabona. Presently serving as MEC for Public Works, Mabona has faced investigations on more than one occasion in the past for corruption and fraud. It appears though that this has not affected his support base within the ANC in Mpumalanga.

It appears that the ANC's candidate nominations process in Mpumalanga has left the *status quo* basically

undisturbed. The majority of the MPLs and MECs presently serving in the legislature and the provincial government have been included in the list. More ominously, though, the various internal political factions of the party and their political power bases have been left intact, and their relative political strengths largely unaffected by the nominations process. This surely increases the likelihood that the party's characteristic internal divisions and factional conflicts of the past will continue well into the next term of office of the ANC in Mpumalanga.

### **Opposition Parties Candidate Nominations Processes In Mpumalanga**

The other political parties in the province appear well behind with their candidate nominations processes. Many of them have only just started recently and will complete the process in the next few weeks.

For instance, the DA's Electoral College in the province only met for the first time on 31 January 2004 to accept nominations for the party's candidates for the provincial legislature and the National Assembly. The party's office in Pretoria revealed that the final list might be ready in the next few days. The NNP has not done any better. The party's office in the provincial

legislature in Nelspruit indicates that the candidate nominations process for the legislature and the national assembly has only just started. The first meeting for the acceptance of candidate nominations is scheduled for the weekend of 7 February 2004, with a second meeting scheduled for the following weekend, 14 February 2004, to compile the lists of party candidates in the province. For the UDM, the local branches are presently compiling the names of candidates and submitting their lists directly to the party's National Elections Task Team, which will compile and release the final provincial lists in the next few days. Similarly, the IFP in Mpumalanga has only just started with its nominations process and is nowhere near completing this task.

The ACDP in Mpumalanga is also still busy compiling its lists of candidates. The party's office in the province said that the lists of candidates have been compiled and submitted to the national Head Office and that the regional offices are awaiting the national leadership to formally approve these lists. The party said that the lists will be released on the 11 February 2004. However, a puzzling element was that, while the ACDP provincial offices are still awaiting the formalisation of the provincial lists of candidates, the party leader, Reverend

Kenneth Meshoe, went ahead on Wednesday, 4 February and announced the names of the party's candidates for the positions of premier for all the nine provinces. The process appears disjointed and uncoordinated, possibly suggesting a top down process controlled by the party national leader, with minimal inputs from the provincial branches. Bishop Steven Zulu, president of the Alliance Churches of South Africa, was nominated as the party's premier candidate for Mpumalanga.

It appears that the PAC has also gone some way towards undertaking its nominations processes in the different provinces even though it is not clear how far this process has been taken in the Mpumalanga province.

### **Campaign Launches and Party Manifestos In Mpumalanga**

Virtually all the major political parties in South Africa have already started with their national electioneering campaign processes, especially by formally launching their election manifestos at national level. Even here as previously mentioned, the ANC was the first to launch its national manifesto in January 2004. However, the ANC in Mpumalanga is the only political party that has formally launched its election campaign by

formally presenting its manifesto to the electorate in the province. The party launched its manifesto at the Kwaggafontein stadium near KwaMhlanga (in Kwandebele) on the 18 January 2004— only a week after launching its manifesto nationally in Kwazulu-Natal. The Mpumalanga launch was addressed by Minister Thoko Didiza who informed an enthusiastic crowd of party supporters that the ANC would complete the land restitution programme in 2005, and the land distribution programme in 2014. Despite the party's assured victory in the forthcoming election in the province, she encouraged the electorate to give the party their support.

All the other political parties have not yet formally launched their election campaigns and manifestos in the province and once again allowing the ruling party in the province to take the lead in the electioneering process. One of the possible reasons for the slow start by the

opposition may be that they are waiting for the President to formally announce the date of this year's general election before earnestly launching their election campaigns, and presumably their party manifestos, at provincial level. However, other indications are that some of the parties, especially the predominantly white opposition parties, may have taken time to put clear and proper procedures in place at regional and provincial level to identify capable candidates as well as deal with potential internal conflicts resulting from attempts to balance the racial profiles of party candidates. In fact, the NNP suffered a debilitating spate of resignations and defections leading up to the 1999 elections when the placing of black candidates in the party list angered white party members in Mpumalanga.

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- Information also obtained from the regional/provincial offices of the following political parties in Mpumalanga: (ANC; ACDP; UDM; DA; NNP & IFP)

## **CHRONOLOGY**

*Compiled in the EISA Library from information supplied by the IEC and the political parties*

- 17 July 2003 Publication of the of SABC/Markinor Opinion 2003 Voter behaviour.
- 26 Oct. 2003 The ANC and NNP sign a co-operation agreement.
- 28 Aug. 2003 The Electoral Commission (IEC) announces 8 and 9 November as the dates of the first phase of voter registration.
- 14 Nov. 2003 The IEC publishes the results of voter registration: 3 515 372 applications, for new registration and re-registration .
- 19 Nov. 2003 The South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) HSRC survey indicates that race still plays a major role in voter decisions.
- 17 Dec. 2003 The IEC announces the date of the second round of voter registration, 24 and 25 January 2004.
- 17 Dec. 2003 The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania announces its national election list.
- 6 Jan. 2004 The IFP Party spokesperson, Musa Zondi welcomes the ANC to KwaZulu-Natal and promises a “first-class political contest”.
- 8 Jan. 2004 The IEC announces the addition of an Integrated Voice Response (IVR) facility and SMS to Call Centre.
- 9 Jan. 2004 Opposition parties (IFP, DA, UDM) question the SABC’s live broadcast of President Mbeki’s launch of the ANC Manifesto. They demand the same opportunities at the launch of their own manifestos. SABC rejects the call.
- 10 Jan. 2004 The ANC launches its manifesto in Durban. The SABC covers the launch.
- 10 Jan. 2004 The DA, IFP and the UDM approach the broadcast regulator ICASA, requesting compliance with the public broadcaster’s Charter.
- 11 Jan. 2004 The African National Congress launches its 2004 election campaign at a mass rally at Harry Gwala Stadium in Pietermaritzburg, arranged to coincide with the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the formation of the ANC.
- 11 Jan. 2004 The Democratic Alliance publishes a critique of the ANC manifesto targeting “the ANC’s broken election promises”.
- 11 Jan. 2004 The Green Party of South Africa announce that they are revising their policies.
- 15-16 Jan. 2004 SABC/Markinor Opinion Survey 2004 gives the ANC 64% of vote in the election.
- 18 Jan. 2004 The IFP launches its manifesto and national election campaign in Durban.
- 18 Jan. 2004 The ANC launches its election campaign in all provinces.
- 18 Jan. 2004 The NNP declares itself battle-ready and focused on the 2004 elections. It promises an inclusive approach.
- 19 Jan. 2004 The IFP challenges the finance minister to a public debate on the ANC economic policy
- 19 Jan. 2004 The ANC reaffirms its commitment to the co-operation between itself and the New National Party.
- 20 Jan. 2004 Opposition parties criticise the Independent Communications Authority of SA (ICASA) for ruling in favour of the SABC for having covered live the launch of the ANC manifesto.
- 20 Jan. 2004 The DA issues its five step plan to fight crime.
- 24 – 25 Jan. 2004 More than 3 149 880 people visited approximately 17 000 voting stations during the second round of voter registration.
- 27 Jan. 2004 The Independent Democrats (ID) issue a press release identifying problems with the ANC manifesto, and promise to present a better plan.
- 29 Jan. 2004 The IFP accuses the IEC of letting the ANC supporters use its registration equipment.
- 31 Jan. 2004 The United Democratic Front (UDM) launches its 2004 election manifesto “Better Future Plan” at Durban’s Curries Fountain Stadium.

- 1 Feb. 2004**            **The launch of the IFP election campaign in Gauteng takes place in the Wattville Stadium, Benoni, Gauteng and is addressed by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, MP, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party.**
- 2 Feb. 2004**            **Former President F W De Klerk formally announces his support for the NNP/ANC co-operation pact at an NNP fundraising dinner in Stellenbosch.**
- 3 Feb. 2004**            **Former President Nelson Mandela welcomes De Klerk's endorsement of the co-operation pact between the ANC and the NNP.**
- 9 Feb. 2004**            **President Thabo Mbeki announces the date of election, 14 April 2004**

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**PREVIOUS ISSUE**

**ELECTION UPDATE 2004: SOUTH AFRICA  
No. 1, 2 February 2004**

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