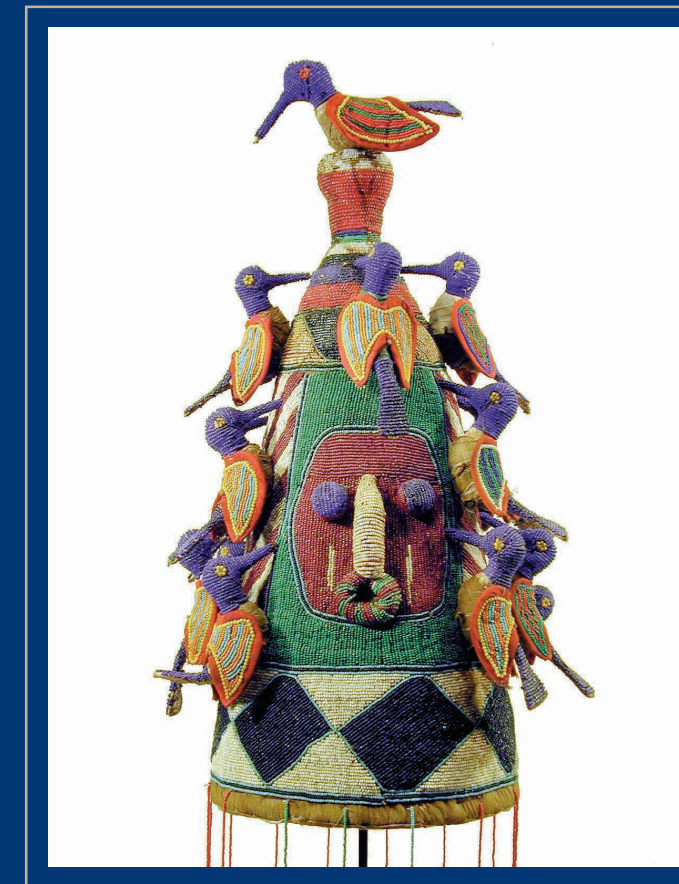


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SOUTH AFRICA'S FOUNDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTION 1994 STRACHAN

# SOUTH AFRICA'S FOUNDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTION 1994

*A Select and Annotated Bibliography*



compiled by  
**BETH STRACHAN**



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EISA is a non-partisan organisation which seeks to promote democratic principles, free and fair elections, a strong civil society and good governance at all levels of Southern African society.



*Cover photograph: Yoruba Beaded Crown*

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EISA Bibliographical Series No 2

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## PREFACE

The holding of South Africa's first democratic election on 27 April 1994 stands out as an epic moment in the history of our country. The founding election, desired, feared, devised and finally delivered was held in an atmosphere of almost jubilant euphoria. Its recording took many forms. This bibliography represents only a fraction of them. However this store of information, housed mainly in EISA's own Library and Information Centre, still attracts attention.

The indexing of it has highlighted the major preoccupations of the time. Among them are found the electoral process itself, preparations for it, challenges and difficulties faced by the Independent Electoral Commission, the apparent enormity of its tasks, its response under the critical stances and watchful eyes of monitors and international observers; the importance of the chosen electoral system, its implementation and consequences; the election results, their analysis, interpretation and correlation with political and opinion poll forecasts; the election outcome, and a door opened to a peaceful transition to democracy.

Throughout it runs one predominant theme – the African National Congress, its activities and fortune, policies, strategies, support, and its power demonstrated and confirmed. Reflected strongly in the literature are the prevalent pre-election concerns: violence, its roots, distribution and possible escalation; pressure points, the KwaZulu-Natal cauldron, boycotts or participation, power play or mediation; accommodation to be made in the Western Cape, voter choice there and the vital role of the Coloured Community; right wing opposition parties and their options, overt violence or adjustment to a changing scene. Noticeable is the vital role played by voter education and the contribution made by Non Governmental Organizations in promoting this.

Post-election political analyses also feature, with continuing and varying interpretations of the election results. The 'miracle' election is dissected and its component parts displayed, what should be retained, what should be improved? Change is in the air, developments are discussed, constitutional and gender issues increase and are debated, the critical requirements for free and fair elections are refined, and varying fortunes of political parties are traced. There is a widespread sense of relief, a determination to build on a good electoral beginning, with time provided for reflection and consideration.

This bibliography is now published in part as a tribute to the dedicated spirits of the time who provided drive and practical encouragement to an approved electoral

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process, confirming its necessity and acceptance; and also in part as a contribution to EISA's own continuing commitment to good governance and to credible elections, wherever held.

### AIM and SCOPE

This English language bibliography provides references to material reflecting material on South Africa's first founding democratic election on 27 April 1994, the pre-election situation, preparations for the election, the electoral process itself, the results, outcome and post-election developments. Books, pamphlets, periodical articles, reports and conferences are included. Newspaper articles are not.

It is based on the stock of EISA's own library, with additional source material gleaned from the records of the Africa Institute, the South African Institute of International Affairs and the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand.

### ARRANGEMENT

The text itself is arranged in one numbered alphabetical sequence, by author, or title where no author is given. It is followed by an author index incorporating individual and corporate authors, compilers and sponsoring bodies, and a subject index linking terms and concepts to numbered entries. Since the focus of the bibliography is on the 1994 election in South Africa all material may be understood to refer to this, unless otherwise specified.

### ANNOTATIONS

These are intended to indicate the item's bearing on, and relationship to, the main theme, by highlighting special features and reflecting the attitudes and conclusions of the authors. They are not intended to provide complete summaries, but only to provide readers with sufficient detail to assess their relevance and direction. No value judgements are made. Annotations derived from other sources are acknowledged.

### ADDENDUM

A list of acronyms encountered in the preparation of this and other electoral related records is included.

### ACKNOWLEDGENTS

During its compilation the following institutions and their staff assisted in many helpful ways: the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, in particular the John G Gubbins Africana Library with the generous support and co-operation of its Librarian, Margaret Northey; the South African Institute of International Affairs

Library, Jan Smuts House, with the knowledge and enthusiasm of its Librarian, Elna Schoeman; and the Africa Institute, Pretoria with the aid of its most welcoming and efficient staff.

Finally, my warmest thanks to EISA's Librarian and Publications Officer, Dr Jacqueline Kalley for initiating and guiding this project, and for bringing it to final fruition.

*Beth Strachan.*  
*EISA*

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ADM	African Democratic Movement
AEB	Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (Afrikaner Unity Movement)
AEI	African-European Institute
AFSA	Artists for a Free SOLLth Africa
AITUP	Abolition of Income Tax and Usury party
AMCP	African Moderates Congress party
AMP	Africa Moral party , also,
AMP	Africa Muslim party
AMPS	All Media Product Survey
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	ANC Women's League
ANCYL	ANC Youth League
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
ASA	Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa
ASC	African Studies Centre, Leiden
AV	Alternative Vote
AVF	Afrikaner People's Front
AVK	Afrikaner Volksfront
AVU	Afrikaner Volksunie (Afrikaner People's Union)
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
AWEPA	Association of West European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa
AWEPAA	Association of West European Parliamentarians against Apartheid
AZANLA	Azanian National Liberation Army
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
BBB	Blanke Bevryingsbeweging
BCCSA	Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa
BCMA	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
BMCC	Broadcast Monitoring and Complaints Committee
BMP	Broadcast Monitoring Project
BOP	Bophuthatswana
BV	Blanke Veiligheid
BVB	Boere Vryheidsbeweging
BWB	Boereweerstandsbeweging
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CBD	Central Business District
CBDP	Community Based Development Programme
CBM	Consultative Business Movement
CCB	Civil Co-operation Bureau
CCG	Concerned Citizens Group
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CDP	Christian Democratic Party
CDRT	Community Dispute Resolution Trust
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women



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CEO	Chief Electoral Officer
CF	CitizenForce
CFTC	Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CIS	Centre for Intergroup Studies
CLC	Community Law Centre
CMC	Conflict Management Committee
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COGSA	Commonwealth Observer Group to South Africa
COMSA	Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa
CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
CORE	Co-operative for Research and Education
CORRLUSA	Community Organisations, Residents, Ratepayers, Land Union of South Africa
COSAG	Concerned South Africans Group
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Conservative Party
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CPC	Cape People's Congress
CPP	Christen Protestante Party
CPPR	Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities
CPS	Centre for Policy Studies
CRLR	Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights
CSO	Community Service Organisation
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSS	Central Statistical Services
CTPA	Cape Teachers Professional Association
CV	Curriculum-Vitae Political Party
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DDCN	Development Contact Network
DEBI	Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative
DDEO	Deputy District Electoral Officer
DEO	District Electoral Officer
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DOC	Department of Communications
DP	Democratic Party
DPF	Dabolorivhiwa Patriotic Front
DPSA	Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa
DV	Declaration Votes
EAD	Election Administration Directorate
EAT	Ecumenical Assistance Trust
EC	Electoral Commission
EC	European Community
ECCO	Electoral Code of Conduct Observer Commission

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ECF	Electoral Commissions Forum
ECOMSA	European Community Observer Mission in South Africa
EISA	Electoral Institute of South Africa, also,
EISA	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, now EISA
EMPSA	Ecumenical Monitoring Programme on South Africa
EMSA	Employment Movement of South Africa
ESC	Electoral Steering Committee
ET	Election Timetable
ETB	Eastern Transvaal Boerekommando
EU	European Union
EUNELSA	European Election Unit in South Africa
FA	Federal Alliance
FA	Freedom Alliance
FF	Freedom Front
FNS	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung
FP	Federal Party
F2000	Forum2000
FXI	Freedom of Expression Institute
GAP	Gender Advocacy Programme
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme
GFA	Gun Free South Africa
GIS	Geographical Information System
GLA	Gay and Lesbian Alliance
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPGP	Government by the People Green Party
GPP	God's People's Party
GRP	The Green Party
HNP	Herstigte Nasionale Party
HRC	Human Rights Commission (South African Human Rights Commission), also,
HRC	Human Rights Committee of South Africa (Cape Town)
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HURISA	Human Rights Institute of South Africa
IAC	International Advisory Committee
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICC	Interim Crisis Committee
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
ICO	Independent Civic Organisation
ICOSA	Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa
ID	Identity Document
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, now Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDT	Independent Development Trust
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFEE	Independent Forum for Electoral Education

IFES	International Foundation for Elections Systems
IFP	Inkatha Freedom party
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organisation
ILO	International Liaison Office
IMC	Independent Media Commission
IMPD	Institute for Multi-Party Democracy
IMSSA	Independent Mediation Service of South Africa
INM	Inyandze National Movement
IP	Islamic Party
IPLC	Inter-Party Liaison Committee
ISCVO	Insindiso-Salvation Christian Voice Organisation
ISER	Institute for Social and Economic Research
ISU	Internal Stability Unit
IUC	Islamic Unity Convention
JAFSA	Justice and Freedom Alliance
JCMC	Joint CoIIUnunity Monitoring Centre
JCQLSW	Joint Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women
JEP	Joint Enrichment Project
JOC	Joint Operations Centre
JOCC	Joint Operations CoIIUnunication Centre
JUMLAC	Jafa United Mobilisation of Lobbies Against Crime
KAMBRO	Karoo Mobilisation Plimning and Reconstruction Organisation
KISS	Keep It Straight and Simple Party
KLA	KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
KNEON	KwaZulu-Natal Electoral Observer Network
KRC	Khoisan Representative Council
LCCRL	Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law
LDRC	Local Dispute Resolution CoIIUnittee
LEA	Local Electoral Agent
LEAP	Legal Education Action Project
LEO	Local Electoral Officer
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
LP	Labor Party , also,
LP	Labour Party
LPC	Local Peace Committee
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
LTP	Legislative Training Progmmme
LUSAP	Luso South African Party
MAIL	Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders
MDM	Mass Democmtic Movement
MEC	Member of Executive Council
MF	Minority Front
MJC	Muslim Judicial Council
MK	Umkhonto We Siswe (Spear of the Nation)
MMP	Media Monitoring Project
MNP	Multi-Party Negotiating Process
MP	Member of Parliament, also,

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MP	Merit Party
MPD	Institute for Multi-Party Democracy
MPF	Multi-Party Forum
MPL	Member of Provincial Legislature
MPLC	Multi-Party Committee
MPNF	Multi-Party Negotiating Forum
MUM	Mass United Movement
NA	National Assembly
NACOPA	National Coalition Party
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NADEL	National Association of Democratic Lawyers
NALEDI	National Labour and Economic Development Institute
NCF	National Consultative Forum
NCGLE	National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
ND	Northwest Democrats
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NDPI	National Directorate of Public Investigations
NEC	National Executive Committee (ANC)
NEON	National Electoral Observer Network
NEP	New Earth Party
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NEW NP	New National Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NICOC	National Intelligence Coordinating Committee
NIM	Network of Independent Monitors
NJP	New Institutions Project
NIS	National Intelligence Service
NKP	Nasionale Kleuring Party
NMP	New Movement Process
NNBK	Northern Natal Boerekommando
NNP	New National Party
NOB	National Office Bearer
NOC	National Operations Centre
NP	National Party
NPA	National Peace Accord
NPC	National Peace Committee
NPI	National Police Inspectorate
NPKF	National Peacekeeping Force
NPS	National Peace Secretariat
NSMC	National Security Management Centre
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
NUWCC	National Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee
NWAU	North West Agricultural Union
NWC	National Women's Coalition

NYC	National Youth Commission
NYDF	National Youth Development Forum
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
OSF.SA	Open Society Foundation for South Africa
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PAGAD	People Against Gangsterism and Drugs
PASO	Pan Africanist Students Organisation
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SARDF	Southern Africa Regional Democracy Fund
SARIC	South African Region of Independent Churches
SASG	Southern Africa Study Group
SATRA	South African Telecommunications Regulating Authority
SAUJ	South African Union of Journalists
SAWP	South African Women's Party
SDU	Self Defence Unit
SIMUNYE	Simunye in Christ Organisation
SMR	Spatial Management Reporting
SOCCKER	Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions And Equal Rights
SOPA	Socialist Party of Azania
SP	SuperParty
SPP	Sindawonye Progressive Party
SPU	Self-Protection Unit
SSA	Statistics South Africa
S1V	Single Transferable Vote
TBVC	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei States
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TI.SA	Transparency International (South Africa)
TIC	Temporary Identity Certificate, also,
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRP	Technical Resource Persons
TTF	Technical Task Force
1VC	Temporary Voting Card
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UF	Urban Foundation
ULA	Unemployment Labour Alliance
UMAC	Urban Monitoring Awareness Committee
UN	United Nations
UNOMSA	United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution

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UPF	United People's Front
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USIP	United States Institute for Peace
UWUSA	United Workers Union of South Africa
VD	Voting District
VEECTU	Voter Education and Elections Training Unit
VF	Volksfront, also,
VF	Vryheidsfront
VSP	Vukuzenzele Sekusile Party
WDF	Women's Development Foundation
WECCO	Western Cape Civics Association
WEU	Women's Empowerment Unit
WI	Worker's International to Rebuild the Fourth International (SA)
WIVL	Workers International Vanguard League
WKFP	Wes-Kaap Federaliste Party
WLP	Workers List Party
WNC	Women's National Coalition
WOSA	Workers Organisation for Socialist Action
WP	Workers Party
WRPP	Women's Rights Peace Party
WTC	World Trade Centre
XP	Ximoko Party
XIMOKO	Ximoko Progressive Party
YCS	Young Christian Students
ZCC	Zionist Christian Church

List of acronyms compiled during background reading relating to both the 1994 and 1999 elections, and comparisons between them.

# SA Regions



- 1 The **1994** election: South Africa's 'mission impossible'. In: The ILLUSTRATED history of South Africa: the real story. Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association Ltd, 1995, p. 528 - 529.

Brief upbeat account of the election, with some references to the problems and constraints faced by the Independent Electoral Commission. Has two illustrations including one of an aerial photograph of queues.

- 2 **ACCEPTING** the election results. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 5, no. 5, August 1993, (entire issue: 23p.).

Comprises contributions by spokespersons from the main political parties, giving their views on the issue of election results acceptance. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

- 3 **ACCORD** for reconstruction and development. *Mayibue*, March 1993, p.12 - 13.

Reports on efforts by COSATU to initiate the Reconstruction Accord intended to address the coming elections as well as future balanced development. Ideas in the Accord should find expression in the ANC Election Manifesto, and be implemented when the ANC comes to power.

- 4 **ACHEBE, Chinua**  
The voter. Johannesburg: Viva Books, 1994, 51p.

The book is intended to teach the ordinary man about the right to vote, why and how this is done, in the form of a short story based in Nigeria. It emphasizes how every vote can make a difference in the lives of people. The book was published about the same time as election campaigns began in South Africa and it includes a short paragraph on multi-party democracy as well as the logos of the parties which registered to vote in South Africa. (Annotated by SARDC).

- 5 **AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION BILL (Act)**

Reports. Submission to the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multiparty



Negotiation Process, 1993, 4 p.

Submitted: 30 August 1993.

**6 ADAM, Heribert**

Winning the jackpot by looting. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 11, 18 March 1994, p. 48.

A German-Canadian sociologist examines the effects of the images of looting mobs in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on voters in the 1994 election, and notes the failure of the ANC to control its supporters there. Sketches a future role for Nelson Mandela in this regard.

**7 ADEBAJO, Adekeye**

Observing apartheid's funeral. *West Africa*, 23 - 29 May 1994, p. 903 - 904.

Nigerian writer who served with the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) gives his impressions of conditions in the volatile East Rand townships (Katlehong, Thokoza, and Vosloorus) before and during the April 1994 elections, focusing on the issues of violence and security.

**8 AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY**

Draft manifesto of the Africa Muslim Party. N. p: The Party, [1994], 11 p.

Details the policies of the party for a peaceful and prosperous new South Africa in twelve sections:- in the name of God most merciful most beneficent - faith, political system, economy, taxation, health care, social issues, media, environment and ecology, defence, foreign relations, international trade policy, judiciary.

**9 AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Founding statement. Cramerview, Johannesburg: ACDP, [1994?], 11 p.

The African Christian Democratic Party believes that South Africa is a nation under the Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The ACDP represents:  
1.) A fresh start to a new South Africa. It is a party of goodwill, uncontaminated by the past; 2.) A dynamic

leadership emanating from diverse political and cultural backgrounds, united behind common Christian principles to bring hope and vision to the nation; 3.) A genuine federal framework of self governance with maximum constitutional powers at the lowest possible level; 4.) Development through the empowerment of grassroots communities and individuals; 5) The application of Christian principles as the foundation for values and norms in a just and equitable society; 6.) A common sense approach to solving critical issues - including job creation, security, the economy, education, health care, the environment, housing and land ownership; 7.) A vibrant open market economy, creating opportunities for all to prosper. Under each of these points the founding statement sets them in context and then elaborates on their purpose and principles. It concludes ..." It is the ACDP policy to serve the nation and implement change:- from faith in politicians - to faith in God; - from bureaucratic rule - to servant leadership; - from dependence on favours - to self-reliance; - from paternalistic central planning - to local and regional initiatives; - from violence and crime - to peace and stability".

**10 AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Vision for the future: a programme for social and economic transformation. Cramerview, South Africa: ACDP, [1994?], 17p.

Based on the party's founding principles, this declaration of intention covers its policies in some detail under seven headings - framework, Bill of Rights, constitution, economy, social services, justice and security, and culture. Emphasizes its Christian foundation.

**11 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Department of Political Education and Training**

All power to the people! Building on the foundation for a better life: strategy and tactics of the African National Congress. Marshalltown, Johannesburg: The Department, 1997, 40 p.

Cover title: Umrabulo, let's talk politics. Special edition No. 4 Draft strategy and tactics document. Published as a guide to action and to encourage debate at the ANC's 50th National Conference, this document defines the

movement's long term objectives and tactical positions. Charts a historical course from resistance to colonialism, to the period of negotiations to victory at the 1994 elections. Explains the nature of the National Democratic Revolution, the motive forces of transformation, the character of the ANC, its view of the international situations and its programmes of social and economic transformation.

- 12 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Lenasia Branch**  
ANC election news...April 1994. Lenasia: ANC, 1994, 4 p.

A news sheet reviewing ANC support in Lenasia. Includes statements by community leaders, ANC's leaders' views on issues facing Lenasia, and 'Everything you need to know about the election'.

- 13 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Negotiations Commission**  
Seven (7) steps to democracy. An ANC guide to the negotiations process, part 1, compiled by Hassen Ebrahim. Johannesburg: The Commission, 1993, 24 p.

Kit produced to facilitate and stimulate debate and discussion within the ANC. The seven steps are given as: 1. Apartheid constitution 2. Towards free and fair elections 3. First democratic elections 4. Transition to democracy act 5. Adoption of the democratic constitution 6. New constitution 7. First election under the democratic constitution.

- 14 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Department of International Affairs**  
Foreign policy in a new democratic South Africa - a discussion paper. [Johannesburg]: The Dept, 1993, 29 p.

"The essence of South Africa's foreign policy is to promote and protect the interests and values of its citizens". The pamphlet presents the principles of South Africa's foreign policy under the headings: Human rights; the environment; Southern Africa, Africa, other continents and areas; international economic relations; the challenge of multilateralism; security and disarmament; special membership; South Africa's foreign representation; the diplomatic service.

**15 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Elections Fundraising Unit.**

A personal appeal [kit]. Johannesburg: African National Congress, 1994, various pagings.

Comprises: 1 videocassette, (VHS) (15 min.), 1 sound cassette, (20 min.), one brochure. Produced by the Elections Fundraising Unit, African National Congress. "This programme summarizes the aims and objectives, major components and overall implementation of the elections campaign for South Africa's first democratic election on 27 April 1994".

**16 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. National Executive Committee**

1993 votes for all! Peace, freedom and democracy! Statement ... on the occasion of the 81st anniversary of the African National Congress January 8, 1993. N. p: ANC, [1993?], 16 p.

Details the tasks facing the ANC in 1993 and the key steps to be taken to secure genuine emancipation. Included among them are elections for a Constitutional Assembly and an Interim Government of National Unity before the end of 1993.

**17 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. National Executive Committee**

1994 year of liberation for all South Africans. Statement ... on the occasion of the 82nd anniversary of the ANC. Marshalltown, South Africa: ANC Department of Information and Publicity, 1994, 16 p.

Statement delivered by President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in which he declaims ANC attitudes in the year of the first ever democratic elections, looks to the future and pays tribute to the past. It addresses the issues of violence, the youth, workers, the religious community, traditional leaders, nation-building and government by the people.

**18 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Women's League**

South African women march to freedom: information pack. Johannesburg: ANCWL, 1993, various pagings.

Pack contains a style guide for media officers and spokespeople, the programme of an ANC Women's League/IMMSA Voter Education and Media Training Workshop, the what-why-where-who and how of the 'Train the Trainer' media workshop, and election media campaign.

**19 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Advertising stickers. N. p: n. pub, 1994, 1 leaf.

Sheet of seven stickers indicating how the party will be listed on a ballot paper, with a large cross firmly drawn in the voting square. No text. A diagrammatic representation of "Vote ANC".

**20 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

African National Congress (ANC): policy & planning election strategy. [Johannesburg?]: [ANC], 1993, 4 p.

"This paper provides a synopsis of the ANC's election strategy". It also includes information on the ANC's electoral front and a comment on finance.

**21 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

ANC adopted list process, as finalised on 14 October 1993. Johannesburg: ANC, 1993, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**22 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

A better life for all: working together for jobs, peace and freedom. Johannesburg: ANC. Department of Information and Publicity, January 1994, 16p.

Presents the ANC's plans for a democratic society, a united nation, a growing economy, and a secure environment. Also published in Afrikaans under the title "'N beter lewe vir almal! Span saam vir werke, vrede en vryheid".

**23 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Election campaign plan June 1993 to April 1994. N. p: [ANC], 1993?, 15 p.

The main objectives of the ANC, its messages, tasks and the strategies to implement them are clearly set out in

four sections: Phase One; Preparatory phase, 1 June to 31 August. Phase Two; The campaign - We are the ANC. We are ready to govern, 1 September to 10 December. Phase Three; The campaign: Mobilising for victory, 16 January - 31 March. Phase Four; Election week - Victory week, 1 April - Election day.

**24 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Elections campaign manual. N. p: ANC, 1993, 130 p.

Contents: What is an election campaign?; Election policies and platform; Preparing for an election campaign (structures, resources, finance and planning); Mobilising support (meetings, rallies, house and street meetings, information tables, posters, pamphlets, press, local issues, candidates and local leaders, dealing with the opposition); Organising and education voters (canvassing records, Code of Conduct, identification, voter education, election days, monitoring and peace). Overall aim of the campaign - "To win the majority votes in the Constituent Assembly election so that we can have the major say in drawing up a new constitution".

**25 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

From resistance to reconstruction and nation-building: secretary general's report/ANC. Johannesburg: ANC. Department of Information and Publicity, 1994, 181 p.

Paper presented at the African National Congress 49th National Conference, Bloemfontein, 17 - 21 December, 1994. This report, covering the ANC's policies on all socio-economic issues and developments, also includes some comments on the election results.

**26 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

January 8 statement - 1997: a year for consolidating the national democratic revolution, a year for re-affirming the ANC cadre. Statement delivered by Nelson Mandela at the ANC's 85th anniversary celebration rally at Botshabelo Stadium on 12 Jan.1997. N. p.: ANC, 22 October 2001, 7 p.

Celebrates the ANC's achievements in non-racial reconciliation and nation-building, expresses concern over the ANC's organizational capacity and rededicates the movement to building and ANC cadreship to respond

to current challenges and justify their victory in the 1994 elections. Source: <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/jans8-97.html>

**27 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Leaflets: election 1994. Johannesburg: ANC, [1994], various pagings.

Election leaflets include: Now is the time! Five reasons why you should vote ANC; Serving the people; Sign up for democracy; Siyanqoba rally; Vote ANC for peace and security.

**28 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Names proposed for ANC lists for the Constituent Assembly and PWV Regional Legislature at a special branch meeting of ANC Yeoville Branch, 21 November 1993. N. p: n. pub, [1993?], 1 leaf.

Lists 137 names for the Constituent Assembly, in alphabetical order, not order of preference, except for twelve high profile names "not likely to go to Parliament", and thirty three for the Regional Legislature.

**29 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Proposed programme of work for local election structures: 14 February to 30 April. Pietersburg: ANC, 1994, 3 leaves (2 fold.).

Table listing eleven activities to be carried out in the date divisions 14 to 28 February; 01 March to 15 March; 16 March to 31 March; 01 April to 15 April; 16 April to 30 April. Issued together with a chart of its regional elections structure and a volunteers registration form to join the ANC Regional Election Commission N/TVL Region.

**30 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Ready to govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa adopted at the National Conference 28 - 31 May 1992. N. p: ANC, 1993, 45 p.

The document does not present a rigid ANC blue print for the future, but rather a set of basic guidelines it intends to pursue, adaptable through consultation, or by experience. They are elaborated on under nineteen headings: Introduction, A democratic constitution for

South Africa; A new system of local government; Economic policy; The land; The environment; Housing; Health; Social welfare; Education; The development of human resources; Science and technology; Media; Arts and culture; Sport and recreation; Peace and security; Youth; International relations.

**31 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

Report: elections strategy workshop 25 - 27 September [1992]. [Johannesburg]: ANC, [1992], 25 p.

"Summarizes the inputs and discussions held at the ANC Elections Strategy Workshop in Johannesburg from 25 to 27 September [1992] attended by 150 participants from the ANC head office, regions, Youth and Women's Leagues as well as COSATU and the SACP". In three major sections: Political issues (Key points from input, Popo Molefe), Constitutional issues (Key points, Fink Haysom) and Campaign strategy process (Key points Ketso Gordham).

**32 AGISHANANG " Building together"**

Elections and NGO'S. Johannesburg: Community Based Development Programme(CBDP), 1994, 21 p.

This issue of Agishana (Vol. 1, no. 9, February 1994), a journal usually devoted to current debates on management and organization development in the NGO/CBO world, contains several articles relevant to the 1994 election. Those by Sally Jacques, Horst Kleinschmidt, Siphon Kubeka and Angela King are separately included in this bibliography.

**33 AID** ledges and messages of support flood into South Africa. *Business Day*, 11 May 1994, - p.

Nelson Mandela's swearing in as President of the new South Africa produced pledges of financial aid and closer diplomatic ties from the world at large.

**34 AKHTAR, Shameem**

South Africa: a rainbow nation in the making. *Pakistan Horizon*, vol. 47, no. 3, July 1994, p. 55 - 62.

Outlines main features of the first democratic elections in South Africa, focusing especially on President Mandela's



wisdom and tolerance in recognizing contributions by opposition groups, such as Inkatha, the Freedom Front and the National Party. Prospects for democracy in South Africa and objectives of the new government which need urgent attention are identified. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**35 ALAC, Sadikau Ayo**

The role of elections and electoral systems in the process of democratization in Africa. In: AFRICA and Europe: relations of two continents in transition, edited by Stefan Bruene. Munster: LIT, 1994, p. 225 - 247.

States that a new institutional phenomenon, the National Conference, has recently emerged in the democratic nations of Africa, and democratic transition has been handled in three ways: either by convening a national conference, or by using the existing constitutions to restore pluralism, or by staging military coups d'etat. Expands on the management of elections, and the implementation of the electoral process.

**36 ALBERTS, Paul**

The forgotten citizens. *Siyaya!*, Issue 4, Autumn 1999, p. 52 - 57.

Includes eleven portraits featuring people representing the poor blacks living in small towns and rural areas, and the arduous process involved in their acquiring identity documents for the 1994 elections. Focuses on the Majwemasweu township in the Brandfort area of the Free State.

**37 ANC constitutional guidelines. [Johannesburg]: Transvaal Indian Congress, [199?], 1 leaf.**

The African National Congress submits its basic guidelines, based on the Freedom Charter, for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa. Its principles are set out under the headings: the State; franchise; national identity; Bill of Rights and affirmative action; economy; land; workers; women; the family; international. The party's fundamental objectives are first discussed in the Preamble to these guidelines.

**38 The ANC election lists. *IMSSA Review*, no.15, March**

1994, p. 34 - 35.

"IMSSA recently ran the elections which determined the ANC's candidates for the upcoming national elections. The process involved the administration of four elections in all 14 ANC regions. The elections were for candidates for the national assembly, regional candidates for national assembly, and for provincial legislatures. A fourth election was held in each region to elect the candidates for provincial premiers". (Journal introduction). This article describes the methods and procedures used by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa to run these elections, including an account of the voting and counting systems employed.

- 37 ANC** election victory. *Keesing's Record of World Events*, vol. 40, no. 5, May 1994, p. 39990 - 39992.

As part of its continuous coverage of current event this issue of the News Digest reports on South Africa's transition to democracy - the ANC victory, allegations of fraud, the inauguration of Mandela, the government of national unity and its programme and a pre-election land deal in KwaZulu-Natal. It includes separate boxes for a list of the 'New South African Cabinet', national election results, the main parties and Provincial Assemblies.

- 40 ANC** manifesto: populist pull. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 5, 4 February 1994, p. 43 - 44.

Focuses on salient points of the ANC's election manifesto, "A better life for all - working together for jobs, peace & freedom", which was unveiled by Nelson Mandela. Notes the emphasis on democracy, the commitment to peace and job creation through a new trade and industry policy, proposals for a national public works programme and small business, labour-related issues, land and educational reform, and housing. (ISAP).

- 41 ANC** marshalls support for 1993 elections as National Party rejects National Unity Government. *Southern Africa Report [Johannesburg]*, 18 December 1992, p. 1 - 2.

Reports on the pressure exerted by the ANC on its supporters in the Patriotic Front that elections be held during 1993. Divisions within Afrikaner circles and the

National Party are noted. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 42** **ANC** set to sweep the board. *New African*, March 1994, p. 10 - 14.

Four brief articles discuss the April election prospects, and report on the ANC's gain of support at the expense of its rivals. An article on violence, the fears of White civil servants and disagreements between the trade unions and the ANC are reviewed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 43** The **ANC's** manifesto. *Challenge*, no. 22, 1994, p. 6.

A summary of the ANC's manifesto for the first democratic elections in South Africa. (ISAP).

- 44** The **ANC** is there life after the election? *Work in Progress*, no. 96, April 1994, p. 27 - 30.

Looks at what future the ANC sees for itself after the elections. Looks at the question of accountability, mandates and the selection of candidates. Discusses the special difficulties with accountability and report-backs the proportional representation system creates. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

- 45** **ANGLIN, Douglas G.**

International monitoring of the South African elections. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, 3 - 6 November 1994. Toronto: unpublished, 1994, 34 p.

Includes bibliographical notes, p.28 - 34. "This paper attempts to assess the scale, scope and impact of the international component of the mammoth and multi-faceted effort undertaken to monitor the freeness and fairness of the South African elections". Outlines the wider context and constraints in and under which the international monitors operated and the political environment and electoral arrangements involved. Surveys the monitoring process, its genesis, the establishment of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) and three other intergovernmental observer missions, the Commonwealth Observer Mission

to South Africa (COMSA), the European Union (ECOMSA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU Observer Mission). Describes other groupings, variant methods involved, finance and deployment. Examines their roles and functions, the limits of these, and suggests criteria for assessing effectiveness: legitimacy, impartiality, coordination, observer skills and impact.

**46 ANGLIN, Douglas G.**

International monitoring of the transition to democracy in South Africa, 1992-1994. *African Affairs*, vol. 94, no. 377, October 1995, p. 519 - 543.

Seeks to assess the scale, scope and impact of the first foreign monitors in the four intergovernmental observer groups. The author outlines the authority of the groups, their financing and deployment and describes their roles, functions, tasks and responsibilities.

South Africa: the transition to democracy... the South African Council of Churches Education for Democracy Programme February 1994. Johannesburg: South African Council of Churches, 1994, 59 p.

"How we got to where we are and how we get to where we hope to go". This reference booklet, compiled by D. Anglin, S. Zondani and E. Makue, is intended to provide information about the transition to democracy and the constitution changes that have taken place up to 12 February 1994. Topics include the pre-election processes, the nature of the elections, how free and fair?, governments of national unity, provincial governments, and return to constitution making. Includes tables and charts.

**48 ANSTEY, M.**

Mediation in the South African transition: a critical review of developments, problems and potentials. *Geneve-Afrique*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1992, p. 141 - 163.

The Head of the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa discusses issues surrounding transition. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**49 ANSTEY, Mark**

Practical peacemaking: a mediator's handbook. Cape

Town: Juta, 1993, 178 p.  
ISBN : 0-7021-2966-6

A handbook of practical skills to assist mediators in understanding conflict dynamics and determining interventive strategies and tactics. The inclusion of the National Peace Accord and Goldstone Commission's guidelines for peaceful marches make the work a useful reference for all those committed to the peace process in South Africa. (Abstract).

- 50** The **APRIL** 1994 election. *NTCI Current Affairs Update*, June 1994, p. 2 - 3.

Stresses the legitimacy of the April '94 election which was substantially free and fair, discusses the role of the Independent Electoral Commission and comments on the support received by each party. Gives the statistical result of the election and comments on the majority of the ANC in various central and provincial bodies, while drawing other conclusions regarding the election. (ISAP).

- 51** **APRIL 27** - batten down the hatches!: industrial relations. *Chamber Digest. Durban Regional Chamber of Business*, no. 6/94, 12 February 1994, p. 7.

Gives advice as to how employers should behave on election day. (ISAP).

- 52** **APRIL 27**: the uncertain election date. *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly*, vol. 6, no. 11, August 1993, p. 13 - 15.

Gives reasons for a trend towards postponement of the April election date. Whilst right-wing groups would prefer the status quo, the democratic movements see the education of voters, many of whom are illiterate, as a formidable task. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 53** **AT** last. *Economist*, 30 April 1994, p. 49 - 50.

A report on the elections in South Africa and speculation on its outcome. An insert entitled: "Zulu against Zulu" focuses on the political conflict and violence in Natal, where ANC and Inkatha supporters

wage as ongoing battle. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 54 AT** the end of an era. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 4, 22 April 1999, p. 20 - 21; 24.

'Buthelezi's entry is most welcome - but many problems remain'. The article speculates on the political outcome should Inkatha perform below its political potential in the elections, following Buthelezi's last minute decision to take part in them. Expresses reservations about the chances of the elections being free and fair, about the level of political tolerance and the ability of the Independent Electoral Commission to cope with the logistics of the elections. Reflects on the political developments over the four years 1990 to 1994, focusing on the negotiation process. Looks forward to legitimate government.

**55 AWEPA SOUTH AFRICA OBSERVER MISSION**

Legacy of apartheid casts shadow over election campaign. *AWEPA Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1994, p. 4 - 6.

A report of the visit of European Parliamentarians to observe pre-election conditions in South Africa. Field visits were paid to Natal, the Western Transvaal, the Western Cape and the Karoo. Although a high level of political intolerance was observed, large parts of the country were found to be free of political violence and intimidation. However, in rural areas access to political parties and to Voter education has to be assured, in Bophuthatswana denial to voter education should be countered and, in Natal political violence should be controlled and a climate for free political activity created. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

**56 AWEPA**

South Africa process briefing. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: AWEPA, 1994, - p.

Considers the pre-election situation in South Africa and makes suggestions as to how election observers should conduct themselves.

- 57 AZANIAN STUDENTS CONVENTION**  
Don't vote: the reasons. N. p: AZASCO, [1994], 1 leaf.
- Criticizes sections 28, 40, 121, and 71 of the 'sellout' constitution and urges people to refrain from voting in the 1994 election.
- 58 BADAL, Sean**  
Gearing up for television's total onslaught. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 4, 28 January to 3 February 1994, p. 43.
- Concise report on the plans of the international media (including the BBC and CNN) for coverage of the 1994 elections, and on the role the SABC is likely to play.
- 59 BADAT, Shireen**  
Beautifully small. *Dependency in Action*, vol. 8, no. 3, 31 May 1994, p. 7.
- Focuses on the many small parties which registered for the April elections, and questions the wisdom of providing state funding to them. (Sardius).
- 60 BALLINGTON, Julie**  
Encouraging women's participation through voter education. N. p.: n. pub.2002?, 29 p.
- Within the education drive in 1994, various programmes were developed for different target groups, including programmes that focused on educating women for democracy and electoral participation. This work aims to show what was needed, and the factors that determined the successful democratic process of mobilizing and educating all South Africans, despite the substantive differences between them based on factors such as race, gender and class. Examines the efforts and effects of the voter education drive, with a particular emphasis on the education directed at women voters. (Introduction).
- 61 BALLINGTON, Julie**  
Gender considerations in electoral system reform. *Election Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 6, 9 August 1999, 3 p.
- Discusses the choice of an electoral system for South

Africa in the context of the list-PR system used in the 1994 and 1999 elections, and notes criticisms of it in some 1999 election manifestos. Examines the possibility of its revision or the introduction of a mixed system, and the probable effects of this on the representation of women in Parliament.

**62 BALLINGTON, Julie**

The participation of women in South Africa's first democratic election: lessons from the past and recommendations for the future. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, [1999], 26 p.

Examines the participation of women in the electoral process in three separate sections: the pre-election period, the election itself, and the post-election period. Considerations and recommendations are put forward "to inform the electoral process for the 1999 election and beyond".

**63 BALLINGTON, Julie**

The participation of women in South Africa's first democratic election: lessons from the past and recommendations for the future. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, 27 p.

[2nd edition], February 1999, with title page, table of contents, and footnotes. References p. 25 - 27. Text identical to first printing.

**64 BALLINGTON, Julie**

Political parties, gender equality and women's representation in Parliament. N. p.: n. pub.2000, 18p.

Draft paper. Not for quotation. In the context of the representation and participation of women in national legislatures worldwide, the author first explains the list PR methods used in South Africa's national and provincial elections in 1994 and 1999, then analyses the results of these elections from a gender perspective. She discusses gender quotas, investigates the roots of women's parliamentary representation in South Africa and the attitudes and policies of political parties, and concludes that women



achieved a significant breakthrough in the 1994 election, and that in 1999 the relatively high representation of women is again attributable to the ANC. Includes tables.

**65 BALLINGTON, Julie**

South African gender and elections bibliography. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 2000, 9 p. ISBN : 1-919814-15-9

Compiled September 1999; reprinted May 2000. Comprises one hundred and forty alphabetical listings of books, periodicals articles and some newspaper items, from the period 1994 to 1999, relating to national and local elections in South Africa and gender issues related to them. The bibliography is divided into three sections: Electoral systems and the representation of women (Comparative); Women and elections in South Africa; and Women and South African politics.

**66 BALLINGTON, Julie**

Women's Parliamentary representation: the effect of list PR. *Politikon*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1998, p.77 - 93.

Under a closed list proportional representation (PR) system, the composition of political party candidate lists can impact significantly on the composition of Parliament. The high representation of women in South Africa's national Parliament in 1994 was largely attributable to the African National Congress' adoption of a quota system guaranteeing that at least 30 per cent of their lists were comprised of women. This article begins by examining the current proportional representation electoral system for national elections, and discusses the importance of 'gender representation' in our national Parliament. Thereafter the composition of party lists in 1994 and political parties' views on the quota system is examined. It is shown that the adoption of a quota system impacts significantly on the composition of Parliament. Ahead of the 1999 elections, and as the post-1999 electoral system debate begins to emerge, it is important that the merit of the List PR electoral system as a mechanism to increase the representation of women in

Parliament through a balanced party ticket is considered. (Journal abstract).

**67 BALLOT** paper. N. p: n. pub, 1994, 1 leaf.

RSA 1994. Colour print of a 1994 election ballot paper, listing the nineteen contending parties indicating in each instance name of party, its logo, acronym and photograph of head of leader, squares outlined in which to mark the party chosen. At head of paper 'Make your mark next to the party you choose' appears in all eleven official languages.

**68 BARBER, James**

Forging the new South Africa. *Royal Institute of International Affairs. Discussion paper*, no. 52, 1994, (entire issue: 57 p).

The aim is to probe a rapidly changing situation, first by examining the events which led up to the election and the installation of a new government, and then by discussing a range of options and potential developments in domestic and international affairs (Author's introduction). (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**69 BARBER, James**

South Africa: the search for identity. *International Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 1, January 1994, p. 67 - 82.

Against the background of fundamental change in South Africa Barber focuses on the question of a common national identity - can it be constructed or will separate identities prevail? Conflictive forces active, within, as well as between the major groupings, are identified. The author examines possible scenarios under the headings: nationalism, federalism and liberalism. (Sardius annotation).

**70 BARKHUIZEN, G.P.**

South African election abbreviations: what do they all mean? *Language Matters*, no. 25, 1994, p. 14 - 20.

Analyses the results of a study to discern whether respondents knew what certain abbreviations and acronyms, which were frequently heard during the

build-up to the recent democratic elections, stood for. (ISAP).

**71 BARNARD, Schalk Leopold**

The election campaign of the general elections in South Africa in 1994. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994, p. 113 - 140.

Presents a discussion of the election campaigns in South Africa, concentrating on the objectives and strategies of the 'bigger' parties, the African National Congress, the National Party and the Democratic Party. Determining factors include their concentration on leadership figures, the use of outside organizations and the influence of past history. The author concludes that the general election in South Africa in 1994 was an 'Uhuru' election in which arguments based on hate triumphed over rational thinking.

**72 BARRON, C.**

Obstacle course. *Towards Democracy*, First quarter, 1994, p. 22 - 25.

An insightful article explaining the failure of the National Peace Keeping Force because of ineffective command structure, non-representativeness, inadequate planning by the TEC, lack of a disciplinary code, non-involvement of the international community in its planning and its fate after the April 1994 elections. (Sardius).

**73 BATTLE** for Natal-KwaZulu. *Mayibuye*, April 1994, April 1994, p. 8 - 11.

Assesses voting results in KwaZulu-Natal. Though tipped to win the elections in the province, the ANC has many hurdles to overcome. These include the high level of violence, the tactics of the IFP and its current refusal to participate in the elections, and the fears of the Indian voters.

**74 BAUER, Charlotte**

Alice in voterland. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 18.

Highly coloured account of the bureaucratic problems

and endless queues encountered by both black and white in acquiring temporary voters' cards through the Home Affairs Departments' offices in Johannesburg.

**75 BAUER, Charlotte**

Scoring for Jah in the election. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p.14.

Gives an account of the attitude and beliefs of Rastafarian James Mange, President of the SOCCER Party and of some of his supporters attempting to access Parliament on a sport ticket. The party has collected more than 10,000 signatures in three weeks and is now eligible for IEC funds.

**76 BEHIND** the great ballot box shuffle. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 2.

This report by 'Weekly Mail Reporters' is based on a confidential Independent Electoral Commission report on voting in Northern Natal and on reports by European Union monitors based in the area. It details several incidents of fraud and intimidation at voting stations in KwaZulu-Natal. Subsequent inter-party negotiations have resulted in the "Durban deal" - a manipulated election result reflecting what the major parties agree they should have achieved in some regions.

**77 BEKKER, Hennie**

The challenge of free and fair elections. In: IMSSA National Conference: workshop proceedings, 1993. N. p.: Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, 1993, p. 103 - 105.

Looks at threats to the 1994 elections focusing on political violence. Describes the background to the Inkatha Freedom Party's position in the 1993 negotiation process, and its stated desire for peace.

**78 BELL, T.**

The road to reformism. *Work in Progress*, no. 95, 1994, p. 38 - 39.

Stresses that it is important to wait until after the

election before establishing a workers' party. Suggests that a mass workers' party is a manifestation of the fact that much of the Left has lost direction. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

**79 BERNSTEIN, Henry**

The rural challenge: the ANC and the countryside. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol. 9, no. 3, January 1994, p. 3 - 7.

Outlines the major issues surrounding land ownership: white agriculture at the end of apartheid, the agrarian situation in the homelands, the land reform programmes of the World Bank & the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) and the weakness of the ANC's policies and strategies concerning these questions in the period preceding the 1994 elections. Considers the possibilities for transformation and structural reform when the ANC comes to power.

**80 BERTELSTEIN, Eve**

Selling change: advertisements for the 1994 South African election. *African Affairs*, vol. 95, no. 379, April 1996, p.225 -252.

"This article considers the advertising strategies adopted by the major parties in the run-up to the 1994 general election, and poses the question: what happens to politics when it passes under the generic rules of advertising?" A representative selection of advertisements produced by the ANC, NP, DP, IFP and FF is surveyed and a semiotic reading produced. The author regards political advertisement as a 'specific discourse type' and reads them as indices of the image-definition and political programmes of the parties, taking into consideration local imagery, narrative and myths, and their implied target readers.

**81 BEYERS, Andries**

No election of violence prevails. Interview with Mr. Andries Beyers MP, Leader of the Afrikaner Unie. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1993, p. 16 - 17.

Expresses the party's viewpoints on various election-related topics including the limiting of government's

powers, the prevention of corruption, intimidation and violence, power sharing and a possible united front for Afrikaners.

- 82** The **BIAFRAN** option: is this where the Zulus are headed? *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 7, 18 February 1994, p. 28.

Warns that the position adopted by KwaZulu is comparable to that of Biafra in Nigeria during the 1960s and outlines the history of civil war which followed Biafra's UDI. Discusses the possible motivation for Inkatha's withdrawal from the election process and reveals loss of support for Inkatha through ANC electoral tactics, while commenting on the possibility of an important future role for Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his party in opposing the ANC within the envisaged system of government. (ISAP).

- 83** **BIAS** and bigotry: the media and the elections in South Africa. Amsterdam: AWEPA, African-European Institute, 1994, 41p.

Democracy is around the corner in South Africa, and support in that country for the struggling independent media is necessary. It is difficult to have voter education without unbiased reporting by print media and broadcasting. Democratization projects will need independent media carriers for their message to be effective. (Annotated by SARDC).

- 84** **BIDOLI, M.**  
Radio frequencies. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 66.

Comments on the decision by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) to grant or renew temporary radio licenses in time for the election. Discusses the options provided by the Steinbrecher radio, CDBA and TDMA, which allow the use of the same frequencies without interference. Examines the role of a regulator, comments on plans by the IBA for a broadcast frequency plan and looks at the benefits and disadvantages of digital technology. (ISAP).

- 85** **BIERBAUM, N.**

The party's over: political advertising. *Marketing Mix*, vol. 12, no. 7, August 1994, p. 41 - 43.

Reviews the role of advertising during the April election and looks at the advertising strategy of the IFP and the ANC. Outlines the motives for the ANC's media strategy, considers the NP's attempts to stress its changed image and looks at figures relating to white, coloured and Indian (WCI) voters. Comments on the drift of the DP's advertising. (ISAP).

- 86 BITE** the bullet. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 2, 8 April 1994, p. 42.

In a speech delivered at the Durban Regional Chamber of Business's annual banquet, the United States ambassador Princeton Lyman used the historical parallel of the birth of the American constitution, and the controversies surrounding it, to convey a double message to South Africa, and more specifically to the Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that transition could not be delayed, and that constitutions are not set in stone but are dynamic mechanisms subject to amendment.

- 87 BLACK SASH**

You and the vote. Johannesburg: Black Sash, 1992, 35 p.  
ISBN : 0-9583106-6-1 pbk

Simple information on the nature of an election, how one is held, what it can and can't do for you, Why vote? And how to get an ID. Reissued in 1994 under the title 'You, your vote and the elections'.

- 88 BLACK SASH**

You, your vote and the elections. Johannesburg: Gille de Vlieg, Black Sash, 1994, 53 p.  
ISBN : 0-9583786-9-X

'Teaching book' produced on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE). Also published in Afrikaans, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

- 89 BLOOM, Jack**

The challenge of free and fair elections In: IMSSA National Conference: workshop proceedings 1993. N. p: Independent Mediation Services of South Africa, 1993, p. 106 - 113.

Describes steps to assist in the implementation of the National Peace Accord. Expresses the Democratic Party's views on the need for a code of conduct and for a new electoral act. Recommends the establishment of sub-committees of the Regional Peace Committees to deal with electoral activities, and outlines the most important considerations concerning election days. Appendix 1: Code of conduct for political parties and organizations.

**90 BODENSTEIN, J.**

Elections: 1993. *South African Human Rights Yearbook*, no. 5, 1994, p. 97 - 106.

Focuses on elections, electoral systems and voter education.

**91 BODENSTEIN, Jobst Wilhelm**

An appraisal of voter education methods and their impact during the 1994 elections. Durban: University of Natal, 1996, - p.

Thesis: LLM (Procedural Law).

**92 BODENSTEIN, Jobst**

Voting for the educator to educate the voter. *Democracy Watch*, 5, 1999, p. 4 - 5.

Highlights some shortcomings of voter education prior to the 1994 elections, the need for further research and continuing training, and examines some of the negative perceptions of young people.

**93 BOEHMER, Elleke**

Election in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, 12 July 2000, p. 163 - 164.

"Elleke Boehmer was in South Africa in late April, at election time. This is her story". She presents a personal impressionistic account of 27 April 1994 - 'frieze dried drama' and of the atmosphere at a Durban



polling station - "the queue is garishly sunlit, sedate and still very long. This is the beauty of the banal".

- 94** The **BOLD** experiment: South Africa's new democracy. Editors Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer, with Sarita Hauptfleisch. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1994, 202 p. ISBN : 1-86812-556-4

"The authors attempt to identify and open to debate the complexities of success in the process of consolidating democracy". Among the issues addressed is that of 'South Africa's first open election and the future of the new democracy'. This chapter 10, (p.149 - 169), by Lawrence Schlemmer is separately indexed.

**95 BOOYSEN, Susan**

Democracy, liberation and the vote in South Africa's first democratic election. Matla Trust Voter Education Survey. Paper presented to the History Workshop. [Johannesburg]: University of the Witwatersrand, 13 - 16 July 1994, 28p. + 11p.

This case study of the Matla Trust Voter Education Research project analyses voting-related attitudes in the run-up to South Africa's 1994 election. The study was aimed at the empowerment of voters. Empowerment is defined along the lines of the motivation and the skills to participate in the election. The research methodology used was qualitative focus groups and a major, quantitative, baseline attitude survey. The latter was designed to reflect the attitudes of the whole of the South African electorate. It was unique in that it did detailed regional and demographic comparisons. The research illuminates the meaning which South African voters attached to, and feelings they had about, voting, elections and democracy. The study also identifies the "demographic fault lines" in empowerment to vote and to participate. The paper first investigates the extent of motivation to vote and reasons for voting. Motivation was high, also well before the election. The reasons for voting shed light on the meaning attached to democracy and voting. They also give important information on the expectations the voters have of a new government. The research showed systematic demographic

disempowerment in terms of voting skills. Whilst indications are that these were overcome in a largely successful April 1994 election, continued work is required to advance empowerment for wider political participation. The paper also provisionally investigates some implications of this case study for the deepening of democracy in South Africa. Diagrams and tables relate mainly to vote intention, possession of identity documents, belief in ballot secrecy and spoiled ballots.

**96 BOOYSEN, Susan**

Qualitative and quantitative perspectives on voter empowerment in South Africa: the Matla Trust Voter Education Project. *Politikon*, vol. 23, no. 1, June 1996, p. 43 - 61.

This article presents an applied comparison of qualitative and quantitative research data on voter empowerment in South Africa. It focuses on the period leading up to the April 1994 South African elections. The article is based on focus group and large-scale national survey sections of the Matla Trust Voter Education Research Project, 1992 - 1994. Information on the dimensions of empowerment versus disempowerment to vote was selected for this article. Empowerment refers to the personal motivation, the extent of social and political facilitation, and the skills to participate in the elections and political process. The focus group findings provided insights into the voters' feelings about and perceptions of voting, elections and democracy. It helped develop an inclusive conceptualization of "disempowerment". It illuminated feelings about election participation in turbulent times. Yet, it could not replace the detailed demographic understanding and regional breakdown of voter empowerment, gained from the quantitative research. This part of the study identified and detailed the "demographic fault lines" in empowerment to vote, and holds various lessons for future South African elections.

**97 BOOYSEN, Susan**

Trends in party-political opposition in South Africa: ideological constraints on policy and strategy. *Politeia*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1998, p. 29 - 51.

Focuses on the developments in party-political opposition in the 1994 to 1997 period. The National Party (NP), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Democratic Party (DP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Freedom Front(FF), the Conservative Party (CP) and the United Democratic Movement (UDM) were the predominant role players. Distinguishes four periods in the course of the seven years of emerging multiparty democracy (1990 - 1997). Argues that party-political opposition in SA in the four periods was constrained by a combination of 'international ideological consensus', a large degree of ideological convergence between South African political parties, and by legacies of South African ideological history. (Africa Institute).

- 98 BOPHUTHATSWANA:** Lucas Mangope on the ropes. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 10, 11 March 1994, p. 47 - 48.

Considers political developments in Bophuthatswana, including a strike by civil servants and the decision by the Bophuthatswana Cabinet not to participate in the election, and looks at the position of Lucas Mangope. Reports on statements by ANC's Popo Molefe, including his call on the Transition Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission. Discusses the political status of Bophuthatswana. (ISAP).

**99 BOPHUTHATSWANA**

Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 12 May 1993.

**100 BORAINÉ, Alex**

Cause for celebration as era of shame ends. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, 15 April 1994, p. 3.

The executive director of IDASA analyses the pre-election situation and proffers six reasons to celebrate South Africa's first democratic election - as markers in the progress to a totally new era, in the beginning of

the building of a common society and of a just society, in the start of a positive stance, and, most of all, as a marker of the end of apartheid.

**101 BRADDER, Ross**

[Reasons for the ACDP's success in the April 1994 elections]. Centrahil [Natal]: African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), 1995, 2 p.

This letter, dated 25 April 1995, from Ross Bradder, National ACDP Local Government Coordinator to Professor Tom Lodge, Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, sets out briefly the history of the party, and then analyses the way in which the ACDP "succeeded with minimal finances and no major media coverage to access a niche in the political spectrum".

**102 BRAHIMI, L.**

Peaceful presence. *People Dynamics*, vol. 12, no. 5, April 1994, p. 10 - 12.

Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, who is the special representative of the UN Secretary-General in South Africa, discusses his views on voter education and the role of business at the 1994 election. Clarifies the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa's role in this election. (ISAP).

**103 BRATTON, Michael and VAN DE WALLE, Nicholas**

Explaining democratic transitions In: THEIR. Democratic experiments in Africa: regime transitions in comparative perspective. Cambridge: University Press, 1998, p. 194 - 232.  
ISBN : 0-0-521-55429-2

Contains references to the South African elections of 1994 and their outcome in the context of founding elections in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1989-1994. Tables.

**104 BRATTON, Michael**

Popular participation in transition elections in Africa, some observations. Toronto: [African Studies Association], 1994, 14 p.

Paper presented at the 37th annual meeting of the

African Studies Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 3 - 6, 1994. No. 1994:22. Focuses on Africa south of the Sahara, with specific references to Zambia and South Africa. (ASC Leiden).

- 105 BREAKING** the log jam. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 11, 18 March 1999, p. 23.

Assesses various factors in the pre-election political situation, the decision of Constand Viljoen and the Freedom Front to contest the election, the repercussions of this on the white electorate, recent blows to the Freedom Alliance, the strategies of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his position and problems.

- 106 BREYTENBACH, Willie**  
Democratization in sub-Saharan Africa: transitions, elections and prospects for consolidation. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 1996, 89 p. Africa Institute research paper, no. 58  
ISBN : 0-7983-0129-5

Includes material on the role of elections in the consolidation of democracies. Discusses recent elections in some detail, and assesses South Africa's transition to democracy in the African context. P.75 - 82 discuss "Where does the election of 1994 fit in the transition process?". A second revised edition of this paper was published in 1997, as Africa Institute research paper no. 60.

- 107 A BRIDGE** too far. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 9, 4 March 1994, p. 40.

This brief article explores the options facing the Conservative Party (CP) following its formal rejection of the government's latest and final constitutional concessions. Most likely prospect - that its call for a poll boycott will not be backed by its followers, who instead will support the National Party (NP) and thereby increase its representation in Parliament.

- 108 BRINK, A.**  
The prisoner's rights to vote: section 16(d) of the Electoral Act. *Response Meridiana*, vol. 6, no. 5, October 1995, p. 422 - 452.

Discusses the topic in the context of the Electoral Act no. 202 of 1993 and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993, focusing on voter qualifications, voting rights and limitation of rights.

**109 BRINK, Andre**

SA 27 April 1994: an author's diary. Kaapstad: Queillerie, 1994, 171 p.  
ISBN : 1-874901-19-8

Text in English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans title: 'SA 27 April 1994: 'n skrywerdagboek'. Presents South African authors' political and social views on voting and the elections.

**110 BROAD** strategic tasks facing the ANC after April 28. *African Communist*, no. 136, 1994, p. 51 - 60.

An edited version of the discussion paper presented to the ANC National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy which was held in Johannesburg in January 1994. Outlines the ANC's strategy for the period after the April election. Focuses on the role of the ANC in government and the relationship between parliamentary democracy and mass democracy. (ISAP).

**111 BROWN, Geoff**

Voter education for the SADF. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, 15 April 1994, p. 27.

Concise description of the massive voter education programme for the entire South African Defence Force to be run by IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy, and due to be completed by 23 April 1994. Workshops and briefings are being held and articles will appear in various in-house SADF magazines.

**112 BROWNSTONE, Meyer**

Elections and after: OXFAM in South Africa. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol. 9, no. 4, March 1994, p. 14 - 16.

A member of the OXFAM - Canada Pre-Election Mission stresses the urgent need for international

support, both for the electoral process in South Africa and for democratic transformation. (Sardius).

**113 BRUMMER, Stefaans**

Battle lines drawn in Eugene's backyard. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 9; 11.

Conditions in Ventersdorp, where the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Eugene Terre'Blanche has his headquarters, and in the neighbouring black township Tshing are described. Pre-election tensions are evident in the wake of a spate of bombings. The difficulties encountered by the National Party in electioneering in the area are noted.

**114 BRUMMER, Stefaans**

Security is an explosive situation. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 9.

"The recent spate of rightwing bombings has raised fears concerning the security of explosives". This article gives details of meetings held between state departments, mining houses and manufacturers, with the object of improving security measures. These include confiscation, transport control and new legislation. Noted that, in the period between January 1 1994 and the start of the election, 132 bombs exploded countrywide.

**115 BUHLUNGU, Sakhela**

COSATU and the elections. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 2, May 1994, p. 7 - 10.

This article analyses the nature and extents of COSATU'S involvement in the ANC's election campaign and the impact thereof on the federation's organizational structures and resources. It concludes by looking at the challenges and issues facing COSATU in the post-election period and beyond. It includes information on the union candidates on the ANC lists and voter education and canvassing for an ANC victory.

**116 BUILDING a new democracy. *Work in Progress*, no. 96, April 1994, p. 29 - 30.**

Looks at the restructuring of the ANC after the election. The framework of democracy must allow ordinary people to do things they have never considered within their rights, and which give them the capacity to understand and act on knowledge that was not previously theirs. (ISAP).

**117 BUNTMAN, Fran**

South Africa's first democratic elections and their political context In: MULTIPARTY democracy and political change: constraints to democratization in Africa, edited by John Mukum Mbaku and Julius O. Ihonvbere. Aldershot, etc: Ashgate, 1998, p. 241 - 280. ISBN : 1-84014-379-7

After an overview of the rise and fall of apartheid, the author discusses the transition period and the political parties involved, the elections themselves and their results. Future prospects for South African democracy are examined. His conclusion: 'South Africa's next elections must deepen the nascent democracy, but if they are to do so, a range of democratic forces, issues, sentiments and institutions will have to be created or strengthened, prior to and along-side those elections'.

**118 BUSINESS** and politics: the honest brokers. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 5, 29 April 1994, p. 20 - 21.

Comments on the active role of the business community in facilitating the transition to democracy through assuming a mediation role and considers the history of early negotiations between businessmen and the then banned political organizations and labour unions as part of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM). Emphasizes the involvement of business in recent political developments, notably the election, and singles out activities of SACOB. Stresses the importance of structures such as the National Economic Forum (NEF) in the future. (ISAP).

**119 BUTHELEZI's** eleventh-hour entry into the elections was forced on him. *Southern Africa Report*, 22 April 1994, p. 1 - 2.

Report on the late agreement to participate in the



elections by KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi. Gives reasons for this move. (Sardius).

- 120 BUTHELEZI's** late, late entry. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 4.22 April 1994, p. 41 - 42.

Provides a commentary on Inkatha's last minute decision to enter the general election, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's role in this, the effects of the decision and the logistical problems it poses. Lists the terms of the agreement to participate, describes previous resistance campaigns and includes reactions from various political analysts.

- 121 BUTLER, Mark**

Natal, violence and the elections. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, Centre for Adult Education, 1994, (117 p.).

Subject indicated by title. Includes maps.

- 122 BUTLER, William J., and others**

The new South Africa: the dawn of democracy. Report of a mission on behalf of the International Commission and the American Association for the International Commission of Jurists. Pretoria: The Association, 1994, 54 p.  
ISBN : 0-916265-08-4

Following its interests in legal developments in South Africa, and three previous missions to the country (in September 1990, March 1992 and September - October 1993) the ICJ sent an eminent team of lawyers to observe the 27 April 1994 parliamentary elections. This is their report. It presents an objective analysis. Three chapters are especially relevant: III. Towards a free and fair elections, IV. The electoral process, and V. The elections (including material on complaints procedures and voter education). Their reports find that in general there was no illegal activity or irregularities, and that all voting procedures were in accordance with law. Recommendations are included. Dated Pretoria, April 1994.

- 123 CALLAND, Richard and REYNOLDS, Andrew**  
Democratic government. South African style 1994-

1999. In: ELECTION'99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, p. 1 - 15.  
ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Presents a detailed mosaic of the first five years of South Africa's post 1994 election democratic system of government, reviewing these in turn under the headings the operational framework, a new government is born, power-sharing: the government of national unity, the Deputy Presidency, the end of the GNU, the organization of the national executive, Parliament: the partial escape from Westminster the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), the revolving doors of Parliament, Parliamentary committees. Concludes: "The first five years was a dramatic story of intense change, as a radically restructured parliament cut its teeth as part of a wholly restructured system of constitutional government. The African Renaissance may remain the stuff of dreams. But South Africa's polity is, truly, reborn. Although there is a long, long way still to go, armed with ambition and the zest born of an extraordinary transition to democracy in 1994, the period of consolidation in the five years that followed has laid a remarkable foundation for the establishment of a new culture of good governance".

**124 CALLAND, Richard**

The winds of change? The ANC's campaign in the Western Cape: an assessment of the principal strategic issues and some projections for the future. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1994, - p.

MA Dissertation. University of Cape Town, Department of Political Studies, November 1994. Unseen.

**125 CAPE of Good Hope. *Time*, 9 May 1994, p. 18 - 30.**

Contains several photos-articles on South Africa's election and the transition to democracy, the White Right, and a profile of Nelson Mandela. Those by Bruce W. Nelan 'A nation born anew' and by Richard Stengel 'The making of a leader' are separately indexed. (Annotation from SAlIA Bibl. 29).

**126 CAREER AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT**

## **STRATEGIES**

Report to British Consulate on S.A.N.T.A. (voter education). Johannesburg: CARDS, 1994, 4 p.+ 2 p.

CARDS was contracted by the British Consulate to conduct voter education in all SANTA (South African National Tuberculosis Association) hospitals and centres throughout South Africa. This is their report signed by Sthembiso Buthelezi, and dated 11 May 1994, in eight brief sections: Introduction, background, modus operandi, implementation, materials, successes, failures and conclusion. Attached are two letters from Teresa Oakley-Smith, one noting her organization's change of name from CARDS 3 to ABSOLUTE (Change Reconciliation and Diversity Strategies).

### **127 CAREER AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES**

S.A.N.T.A. South African National Tuberculosis Association, implementation of "Your Right to Vote" voter education programme. A proposal prepared for the British Consulate. Johannesburg: CARDS, 1994, 9p. + 2p.

Proposal prepared 23 February 1994 outlining the need for voter education in South Africa, the background to S.A.N.T.A., target population, implementation strategy (workshops, posters, pamphlets, videos, and mock elections), resources and support staffing, and the budget involved (R 180 220.00).

### **128 CARGILL, Jenny**

Beef up the IEC: business community is mobilized to help co-ordinate the election. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, 7 April 1994, p. 2.

Reports that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is trying to obtain ancillary support from other organizations, including business, and looks at the role of the Business Election Fund (BEF). Discusses the financial position of the IEC and looks at the supplementing of the IEC's monitors by the National Peace Secretariat (NPS). (ISAP).

**129 CARGILL, Jenny and MAPHETO, Andrew**

COSATU takes stock: ... and finds a surplus of stresses. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 3, 14 April 1994, p. 13 - 16.

Discusses tensions within COSATU, outlines consequences in terms of leadership and personnel of its decision to put forward candidates to the ANC's election lists and looks at the leadership of general secretary Sam Shilowa. Highlights COSATU's participation in almost every forum and lack of communication between leadership and members, discusses its future role and stresses the need for training of COSATU negotiators. Looks at the effect on the unions of company promotions and lists key areas in which COSATU will lobby and campaign. (ISAP).

**130 CARGILL, Jenny**

Reconstruction agenda. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 3, 20 - 26 January 1994, p. 12 - 13.

Comments on the latest (the sixth) draft of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, its policy statements and implications for the business establishment. Considers its incentives, the lack of them and the regulatory controls in the following fields: human resource development, housing, transportation, decentralization, industrial policy, competition policy, mining and minerals processing, financial sector reforms and technology policy. Concludes: "In all, the measures to beef up private sector participation in the RDP are lean". Includes a box 'World Bank makes it's point' which examines the WB's aide-memoire 'Key financial issues confronting the New South Africa'.

**131 CARGILL, Jenny**

Roll out the bucks: hangover to come from multi-billion spending splurge. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 5, 5 May 1994, p. 14 - 16.

Looks at the anticipated costs of the transition, particularly the integration of the various armed forces, labour issues within the SA Police, rationalization of disparate state departments into regional administrations and a national government, and the inauguration. Discusses the role of the Financial &

Fiscal Commission, the Commission for Provinces and the Public Service Commission in determining the effective control of transitional costs. (ISAP).

- 132** A **CASE** for consensus. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 45.

In the wake of a divisive election campaign the leaders of the National Party and the ANC in the Western Cape have committed themselves to regional reconciliation. Final results of the April 1994 election are not yet available, but a coalition between the two parties looks inevitable. The article quotes the views of Henus Kriel and Allan Boesak.

- 133** **CASSETTE, Jacqueline**  
United Nations observer mission in South Africa - a significant event. N. p: n. pub, 1993, 30 p.

Discusses UNOMSA in the context of a new and positive development in the history of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa, and as the first UN mission reflecting a 'renewed and invigorated' commitment to the maintenance of peace and security internationally. Describes its deployment in South Africa in the period before the elections.

- 134** **CASSIDY, Michael**  
A witness for ever: the dawning of democracy in South Africa. Stories behind the story. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995, 236 p.  
ISBN : 0-340-63032-9

Michael Cassidy reveals what went on behind the scenes just before South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994.

- 135** **CAST** your vote for change. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 20.

The editors of the Mail & Guardian survey future prospects for the nation, the natures of the contending political parties and sectional interests they represent. Notes some troubling aspects of the African National Congress but concludes that this is a time to vote for change - "South Africa needs a party with leadership

and credibility to unite the nation behind a vision of reconstruction. Only the ANC provides that".

**136 CAVILL, John**

South Africa 'too important to be allowed to slip into chaos'. *Business Day*, 25 August 1994, - p.

A report by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) on the prospects of post-election South Africa, opines that '... the next six years will show whether economic upside triumphs over the political downside ...' (Sardius).

**137 CAWKER, G. and WHITEFORD, Andrew**

Consumer confidence soars. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1994, p. 43 - 46.

Reports on a huge rise in consumer confidence against the background of rising political tensions in the run up to the elections. (ISAP).

**138 CAWTHRA, G.**

The new South Africa: facing up to the legacy of apartheid. In: BRASSEY's Defence Yearbook, 1994. London: King's College, Centre for Defence Studies, 1994, p. 201 - 215.

Written prior to the April 1994 election, this article draws future scenarios with respect to the transition, economy, White Right, homelands and the restructuring of the security forces with the SADF integrated with other armed formations. Also the destabilizing role the SADF Commando and Military Intelligence can play. (Sardius).

**139 CENTRAL METHODIST MISSION. Inner city. Voter Education Project**

How to vote ... it's your right to vote. Johannesburg: Career and Resource Development Strategies, 1994?, (4p.).

Graphic representations of the voting process, in eleven numbered stages, issued as a guide to voters. The illustrations are captioned, but there is no other text.

- 140 CHANGING** of the guard - South Africa: the nation completes an amazing transition to majority rule. *Newsweek*, 9 May 1994, p. 12 - 15.

Focuses on the South African election in three articles. The voting, the reactions of the people, and the significance of the democratization process are all assessed. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

- 141 CHANGING** the guard. *Financial Mail*, vol. 13, no. 11, 18 March 1994, p. 47.

Presents a political analysis of the position of white right wing parties in the run up to the 1994 elections, noting a dramatic realignment of conservative forces. Outlines the effects of the boycott and 'Volkstaat' strategies and emphasizes the importance of the recent split in the Conservative Party's parliamentary caucus. Mention many of the personalities involved. Quotes the views of Professor Willie Breytenbach, who predicts that General Constand Viljoen will emerge as the main conservative voice in Parliament.

- 142 CHARNEY, Craig**

Voices of a new democracy: African expectations in the new South Africa At head of title page: Transition series. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies, 1995, 74 p. (Centre for Policy Studies. Research report, no. 38)

An analysis of research conducted on the socio-economic expectations of the newly enfranchised South Africans at the grassroots level. It was found that there is some disappointment with the pace of change since the April elections, but no widespread discontent could be detected. The findings suggest that there is an awareness of the limitations facing the government and an optimism and patience regarding the future. Jobs, houses and water priorities exist ahead of ideological or symbolic demands such as land. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

- 143 CHECKLIST** for April 1995. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 11, 18 March 1994, p. 55.

Tabulates replies by the four major political parties,

National Party (NP), African National Congress (ANC), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Democratic Party (NP), to seven questions posed by IDASA's Democracy in Action. The questions, formulated to crystallize their intentions in the problematic spheres of unemployment, violence, housing, crime, education, taxation and health, required answers based on the supposition that the party had been in power for a year.

**144 CHIDOWORE, Richard**

Inkatha finally joins the election race. *Southern African News Features*, 27 April 1994, p. 1 - 4.

Reports on the late entry of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party into the election process. Assesses the consequences of this move, such as the reduction in violence. (Sardius).

**145 CHIDOWORE, Richard**

National Party haunted by terror squads revelations. *Southern African News Features*, 14 April 1994, p.1 - 2.

Considers the effect of revelations, implicating top SA Police generals in supplying arms to Inkatha, on the chances of the National Party at the polls. (Sardius).

**146 CHIDOWORE, Richard**

South Africa: obstacles stalk the elections. *Southern Africa News Features*, Special Report, 14 March 1994, (entire issue: 3 p.).

Outlines problems encountered in the count-down to the election period, such as the opposition of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the right wing Afrikaners, the ongoing violence, especially in Natal, and difficulties in training the National Peacekeeping Force. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**147 CHIPPS, Cheryl**

Where have all the voters gone? *Fast Facts*, no. 4/99, April 1994, p. 2.

Compares voter eligibility in 1994 and 1999 and concludes that "nearly 2m. people have lost their right



to vote in the 1999 election as a result of changes in criteria and documentation requirements".

**148 CHITIYO, Yvonne**

Political parties strive to educate the electorate. *Southern African News Features*, 14 April 1994, p. 1 - 2.

Focuses on voter education before the South African elections and the electioneering strategies of the different parties. (Sardius).

**149 CHOTHIA, Farouk, and others**

ANC's choice: bloodshed or Buthelezi. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 2.

This report analyses the dilemma the ANC finds itself in as it contemplates the probable effects of pressing its allegations of fraud in the elections in Northern Natal (backed by strong evidence). Should the Independent Electoral Commission declare the KwaZulu-Natal elections invalid, bloodshed could follow. The three options open to the ANC are outlined, together with their possible consequences. Noted, that up to 7% of the votes are thought to be still in contention, and that a top level meeting has been held between senior ANC officials and Judge Johann Kriegler. Report compiled by Farouk Chothia, Stephen Laufer, Chris McGreal and Paul Stober.

**150 CHOTHIA, Farouk**

ANC and NP agree to compromise on King. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 4.

Secret talks have led to agreement on an amendment to the interim constitution (Article 160) to include a guarantee on the position of the Zulu monarchy in KwaZulu-Natal. The objectives of the government and the ANC include the weakening of the IFP's anti-election campaign and the bringing of pressure to bear on King Goodwill Zwelithini to stop his call for a boycott of the election. International mediation and a fourway summit are predicted and the reactions of Mangosuthu Buthelezi are described.

- 151 CHOTHIA, Farouk**  
ANC, IFP inhibit voter education. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 8.

Voter education programmes in KwaZulu-Natal are being thwarted by both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC. Specific instances of this are quoted. Problem areas have been identified by the KwaZulu-Natal Education for Democracy Forum and the information forwarded in a memorandum to the Independent Electoral Commission chairman Justice Johann Kriegler.

- 152 CHOTHIA, Farouk and RANDALL, Estelle**  
Hopes fade for free elections in KwaZulu. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 11, 18 - 24 March 1994, p. 4.

Describes tensions and political rivalries in Umlazi township (Durban), ANC and IFP rallies and marches and the failures of the regional peace committees and of the IEC to keep the peace.

- 153 CHOTHIA, Farouk**  
Joining hands against 'Hitler'. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 6.

Outlines the stance of the militant ANC Natal Midlands chairman, Harry Gwala, on cooperation with IFP and on future conduct in office. Notes problems with the electoral process, especially at polling booths, and allegations of intimidation of ANC voters.

- 154 CHOTHIA, Farouk**  
Killings may threaten free, fair elections in Natal. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 8, 25 February - 3 March 1994, p. 9.

'A rise in violence in Natal, coupled with Inkatha's threat to boycott the elections puts campaigners and voters at risk'.

- 155 CHOTHIA, Farouk**  
Mistakes and omissions cost ANC the Natal vote. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 19, 13 - 19 May 1994, p. 15.

"Despite allegations of IFP fraud, the ANC ultimately has itself to blame for its poor performance in Natal". The article maintains that the African National Congress failed to get its voters to the polls, failed to ensure that ballot boxes were ferried safely to counting stations, and failed to mount a coordinated campaign. Problems were aggravated by the state of emergency and leadership rivalries and infighting between the three Natal regions. Divisions are also surfacing within the ANC itself over the freeness and fairness of the election and the acceptance or rejection of the results.

**156 CHOTHIA, Farouk**

Natal ANC fights fire with water. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 2, 14 - 20 January 1994, p. 10.

"The surprise election of Jacob Zuma to the ANC's Natal premiership has strengthened the organization's hand against the IFP". This election has sent a message of peace and recognition to the IFP in an apparent attempt to win the organization's support for the 27 April election, and to calm fears of ANC rule.

**157 CHOTHIA, Farouk**

One unhappy voter. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 6.

Describes the reactions of Inkatha Freedom Party Natal Midlands chairman, David Ntombela, to the confusion and inefficiency surrounding voting at Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg which he blames on the Independent Electoral Commission. Seen by the ANC as a militant 'warlord', he earlier opposed peace negotiations and now threatens to refuse to accept the election results.

**158 CHOTHIA, Farouk**

Peace monitors won't give evidence. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 8.

The National Peace Secretariat has decided at a meeting in Durban that its members will not be required to give evidence to electoral tribunals set up by the Independent Electoral Commission. This so decided in order to preserve their neutrality.

**159 CHOTHIA, Farouk**

The toughest challenge of all: bringing peace to an area that has known a decade of wars KwaZulu-Natal. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 19, 13 - 19 May 1994, p. 12 - 13.

Describes the reality of the post-election political situation in KwaZulu-Natal and the strategies to be adopted by the victorious Inkatha Freedom Party, at both national and provincial levels, in dealing with the African National Congress. At national level fighting for its constitutional demands on federalism and at provincial level leading the government but requiring ANC co-operation to ensure stability and economic growth. Speculates on possible power plays and mentions some of the personalities involved.

**160 CHOTHIA, Farouk**

Voter education under threat. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p.10.

Emergency regulations in KwaZulu-Natal give the security forces powers to act against both pro- and anti-election parties, and could lead to the banning of election rallies and voter education workshops, including those of the African National Congress. Some criticisms of the regulations by the Human Rights Commission are noted.

**161 CHRISTIANS FOR TRUTH**

CFT News, March/April 1994. Kranskop, South Africa: CFT, 1994, [4 p.].

Contents: [p.1] Some election tips; [p.2] Summary of political parties. [Published by Christians for Truth Voter Education, Durban]; [p.3] Voting procedure for 2 ballot papers; [p.4] Lessons for Central - East Africa. Published to help Christians decide who they should vote for "whilst remembering Biblical values".

**162 CHUBB, Karin**

The role of the NGO's in election monitoring. Johannesburg: Black Sash, 1994?, - p.

Unpublished paper.

**163 CILLIERS, J.**

An outline to effect defence related legislative reform. *African Defence Review*, no. 16, April 1994, p. 53 - 59.

Outlines the legislation that will control a future South African National Defence Force within the context of the post-election constitution and other existing legislation. (Sardius).

**164 CILLIERS, J. and SASS, B.**

Proposed structures for the Department of Defence (DOD) and office of the State Secretary for Defence (SSD) of the future South African National Defence Force. *African Defence Review*, no. 16, April 1994, p. 1 - 16.

Presents an appropriate (1) post-election macro-structure for the Department of Defence; (2) divisions of function between a post-election defence headquarters (DHQ) and the office of a civilian state secretary for defence (SSD); (3) top level structures for and functions within the Office of SSD and, (4) a feasible implementation strategy for the establishment of the Office of the SSD.

**165 CLARKE, Marlea**

The Natal exception. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol. 9, no. 5 - vol. 10, no.1, July 1994 (Double issue), p. 17.

Reports that it was in the province of KwaZulu-Natal that the greatest difficulties in the 1994 elections were experienced. Describes these and gives reasons why the ANC chose to accept the results.

**166 COCHRANE, J. R.**

Participating in power: elections, the church and a democratic citizenry. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, no. 86, 1994, p. 39 - 51.

The argument of this paper is that the churches have an unusually large responsibility in protecting and promoting democracy when understood as the promotion of the participation of everyone in processes of power in all sections of social life. (ISAP). This includes participating in elections.

**167 COETZEE, Jan K. and WOOD, Geoffrey T.**

How the vote will go: a survey of African potential voters in the Eastern Cape. *Politikon*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1993, p. 25 - 46.

This article reports the results of a survey (conducted in August 1993) among African potential voters in the Eastern Cape. It was revealed that the overwhelming majority of support went to the two main liberation movements (ANC and PAC). Although the ANC emerged as the most popular organization, the survey revealed important concentrations of PAC support in certain centres. Most respondents had a deep loyalty to the organization they supported and would not consider voting for another. Surprisingly, little relationship emerged between attitudes towards key policy issues and support for the different political organizations. One of the major differences between supporters of the main political movements was over the question of violence, with the majority of ANC supporters favouring a peaceful negotiated settlement. Aspirations were high in the region, and the overwhelming majority of respondents believed that the elections would result in an immediate improvement in their economic situation. An assessment of these trends is followed by an analysis of the Implications for the main political actors. (Abstract).

**168 COETZEE, Jan K. and WOOD, Geoffrey**

Where the people are. *Comment*, Issue 14, 1994, p. 1 - 14.

Unseen.

**169 COETZEE, Mike**

Coloured workers, joining COSATU, voting NP? *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 17, no. 2, March/April 1993, p. 45 - 47.

This article outlines the dilemmas facing COSATU and the ANC in the Western Cape. First it notes the findings of a draft survey, to be published by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape (Ethnic consciousness and potential voting behaviour in the Coloured community) then

sketches the history of the resistance of coloured people to apartheid. It notes their acceptance of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the persistence of political conservatism, the existing level of unionization and the implications of these factors for COSATU in its need to help deliver an ANC victory in the 1994 elections.

**170 COETZEE, P. W.**

Opinion polls and opinions on the results of the election of 1994. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994, p. 219 - 261.

The author argues that opinion polls are a controversial feature of election campaigns, sometimes unreliable, potentially manipulative, and that they must only be taken as guides to the thinking at the moment that the surveys are taken. He analyses the conundrums they present to political analysts and discusses factors beyond the control of political parties, insecurity, intimidation and fear of violence. Next he examines the attitudes of political parties towards opinion polls, criticisms of them made by the parties, their effects on political leaders and their stated positions, the predictions of the political leaders themselves on the outcome of the elections, and expectations in provincial regions. He then details the surveys conducted from September 1991 to April 1994 considering the support shown for the parties and their leaders in racial categories - white, coloured Indian and black. Detailed percentages are provided. He notes the election results and the extent to which they were in tune with the final opinion polls. Section 6 presents differing predictions of possible outcomes by twelve political analysts, mainly academics. Coetzer concludes: "The position of election prophets was aggravated by the indecision up till the eleventh hour of the IFP and the Freedom Front as to their participation in the election. If one would only take the situation of the three leading actors in the election drama of 1994 into consideration, it becomes clear that political analysts did not have an easy task to perform when trying to place a possible election result into perspective. It is a marvel that some of them got so close to the bull's-eye concerning the ultimate results".

**171 COHEN, Tim**

SA must pay up to join the global fold. *Business Day*, 24 May 1994, - p.

Enumerates the various organizations that post-election South Africa is likely to join. Points out the high cost of the membership fees and contribution arrears. (Sardius). International organizations mentioned include the OAU, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

**172 COLLINS, Deanne**

The workers' voice in Parliament? *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 2, April 1994, p. 18 - 22.

A report on interviews with a cross-section of COSATU candidates in the week before the elections reflecting their opinions on their roles as ANC candidates. Various, they see themselves as representatives of the workers, as constituency based, as implementers of the RDP and as future influences on the ANC. Also includes discussions on their future relationships with their unions, on the possibility of a labour caucus and on the options facing MPs if workers call for this. Contains two inserts: Counterpoint I. "NACTU's position" states that the National Council of Trade Unions have decided not to back any political organization or party. PAC or other; Counterpoint II "The Workers List Party" quotes the views of Professor Ndlovu, who heads their list of parliamentary candidates, on his future attitude and role in relation to working class demands.

**173 COLLINS, Gary**

Political intolerance high. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 4.

A survey by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy undertaken in the Western Cape, and based on 2,500 interviews, indicates high levels of political intolerance in all sections of the community. Some percentages of political parties' support are included in this brief report.

**174 COLLINS, Steve**

NGOs team up against violence. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 1, 28 February 1993, p. 3; 5.



Forty NGO participants met in Durban on 31 January 1993 to develop a multi-faceted approach to the on-going violence in Natal. Key areas discussed include the failure of the Peace Accord, obstacles to development, the lack of political tolerance and democracy and the culture of violence. The forthcoming general election was seen as an opportunity to educate people about the freedom to choose, through the vote. The idea of "fighting" through a ballot box was raised as one of the central messages for voter education in Natal.

- 175** The **COMING** general election. *Educamus*, vol. 40, no. 1, 1994, p. 17 - 19.

Highlights the importance of the 1994 general election. Focuses on the following issues: the voting system, electoral structures, voter education and registration of voters. (ISAP).

- 176** **COMING** to the end of the line? *Financial Week*, vol. 132, no. 4, 22 April 1994, p. 24 - 25.

Questions whether the advent of an ANC government will rupture its strategic alliance with the trade union movement, represented by COSATU. Examines future possible conflicts of interest and the path the ANC government may follow to contain union militancy. Lists labour leaders among the top fifty of the ANC's election list. Analyses the union's bargaining position but foresees no dramatic severing of links.

- 177** **COMMONWEALTH** awaits the new South Africa. *Commonwealth Currents*, February/March 1994, p. 5 - 9.

Reports on the Commonwealth's efforts to facilitate free and fair elections in South Africa, both in the past and in the pre-election period. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 178** **COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP**

The end of apartheid: the report of the Commonwealth Observer Group to the South African elections, 26 - 29 April 1994. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1994, 124 p.

ISBN : 0-85092-410-3

Introduction includes terms of reference of the Group, co-operation with other Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) and its method of work for the period 9 April 1994 - 4 May 1994. Contents cover the Group's stance on the political background of the elections, legal framework, preparations, role of the media, campaigns, the poll and count and its conclusions. These viewpoints are followed by 15 annexes of relevant documentation (p.75 - 124). Illustrated by photographs.

**179 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA**

South Africa in transition. The report ... Phase III: August - December 1993. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1994, 86 p.

Report of COMSA to the Commonwealth Secretary General on the third phase of its activities from mid-August to mid-December 1993. Among these were monitoring progress towards, and contributing to, the role of the media in them. Also examines the political context, the state of violence, the strengthening of structures set up under the National Peace Accord, and public gatherings. Annex 1 (p. 83) Composition of the Commonwealth Observer Mission.

**180 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA**

Violence in South Africa: the report of Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993, 2 vols.

Phase I: October 1992 - January 1993, 61 p. Phase II: February - May 1993, 117 p. Report of the multi-disciplinary team, COMSA, tasked with providing practical assistance in checking ongoing politically motivated violence and encouraging negotiation and the promotion of peace in the pre-election years. Both phases cover the political context, the state of violence, strengthening of structures of the National Peace Accord and policing. Phase II also contains material on the observation of public gatherings, the administration of justice, socio-economic reconstruction, letters and press

releases. Illustrations, and tables of deaths.

- 181 COMMONWEALTH** observers say poll was will of the people. *Citizen*, 4 May 1994, - p.

'Commonwealth Observer Group (COGSA) chairman and former Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, said yesterday that South Africa's all-race elections were a free and clear expression of the will of the people.' (Sardius).

- 182 COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT**

The legal and administrative framework for future elections in South Africa. Report on consultations with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and with the South African government 13 - 14 June 1994. [London?]: The Secretariat, 1994, [14p.+ annexes 6 p.].

"The initiative for the visit stemmed from a meeting between the Chair of the IEC, Justice Kriegler, and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku. A joint workshop was held with IEC Commissioners and senior officials to examine the experience of the 1994 Elections, with particular emphasis on the conduct on the conduct of future elections in South Africa. The report falls into four sections: the first places the 1994 South African elections in a wider international context; on the basis of this experience, the second seeks to identify the main policy decisions which are preconditions for the establishment of a credible electoral machinery in South Africa; the third discusses the practical actions which need to be put in place in order to meet these preconditions; and the fourth suggests possible areas of cooperation between South Africa and the Commonwealth." (Preface) Annexes: Commonwealth Delegation; List of South Africans met; Trends in the Commonwealth.

- 183 COMMONWEALTH** will help SA in every way. *Citizen*, 4 May 1994, - p.

The members of the Commonwealth Observer Group hailed the results of the first democratic elections and promised to forge close ties with South Africa. The same sentiments were echoed from the United States, Germany, New Zealand, Austria and Kenya. (Sardius).

**184 COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY**

Determining attitudes towards voting in the 1999 National Elections ...by Louise Oliver, Robert Mopp, Ross Jennings and David Everatt. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: CASE, 1998, 26 p.

Researched for and funded by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The purpose of the research findings was to guide the scriptwriting process of the election drama series 'Khululeka' so as to keep it in line with prevalent perceptions and attitudes. The report summarizes eight focus group discussions that took place in Gauteng, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal on 17 - 21 July 1998. Topics addressed include general perceptions of South Africa since 1994, democracy and human rights, election 1994 and changes thereafter, elections 1999 (fears, perceptions of politicians, apathy, voting procedures, the IEC, media campaigns), election drama series, recommendations and conclusion.

**185 COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY**

Empowering the nation: a national survey of voter education among African and Coloured voters. N. p.: Independent Forum for Electoral Education, 1994, - p.

Subject described by the title.

**186 CONRADIE, P.**

Independent Media Commission : report on audience research - election 1994. *Communicatio*, vol. 20, Issue 2, 1994, p. 71 - 83.

Reports on the background, aims, procedures, results and recommendations of a survey of the opinions of potential voters on political broadcasting carried out by the Independent Media Commission, Subcommittee for Monitoring Institutions, during the run-up to the 1994 elections.

**187 UTION - making in the new South Africa, edited by**

Alexander Johnston, Siphoshezi and Gavin Bradshaw. London: Leicester University Press, 1993, 272 p. Studies in Federalism  
ISBN : 0-7185-1476-9

This volume grew out of a conference on South Africa's choices for the 1990's: Change and the Pain of Change. Includes a chapter by Bertus de Villiers on 'An electoral system for the new South Africa', q.v.

**188 CONSULTATIVE BUSINESS MOVEMENT**

Election dossier: a guide to companies. Johannesburg: Consultative Business Movement, 1993, 81 p.

An information file developed in an attempt to obtain a coordinated business approach to the 1994 election. Topics covered include party political funding, voter information/education, monitoring, and election support.

**189 CONTRERAS, Joseph**

'All one South Africa': Bophuthatswana: a homelands wrenching reunion with the mother country. *Newsweek*, 21 March 1994, p. 32 - 33.

Describes events in Bophuthatswana in March 1994, when right wingers illegally moved in to dispel political unrest, caused by President Mangope's opposition to the elections and resistance to change. At least 50 people died and 300 were injured, widespread looting and damage to property took place. The replacement of Mangope by two interim administrators is mentioned. (Sardius).

**190 CONTRERAS, Joseph**

Ballots or bullets. *Newsweek*, 11 April 1999, p. 6 - 12.

A report on the Inkatha stance towards elections and the march of Zulus in Johannesburg, which led to violent conflict and loss of life and property. The role of Chief Buthelezi and the Zulu King vs. the ANC stance is discussed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29)

**191 \_LING the falcon. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 8, 20 May 1994, p. 21.**

Brief overview of the state of the country following the elections of 1994, indicating some of the bonuses produced in the process, and affirming the belief that the centre will continue to hold. Suggests some ways in which the democracy now established can be

consolidated.

**192 COOPER, Saths**

The PAC and AZAPO. In: ELECTION '94 South Africa : the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 117 - 120.  
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Discusses the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania's leadership in the election and dissention within the party. Explains the stance of the Azanian People's Organisation and its reasons for staying out of both the negotiation process and the elections.

**193 COSATU Congress: the path to reconstruction.** *Mayibuye*, October 1993, p. 8 - 9.

Reports on a COSATU congress held in September 1993, to chart the role of workers in transition. Decisions included the tasks of members in elections and a reconstruction programme. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29)

**194 COSATU. Northern Transvaal**

Voter education. Manual for a one day workshop. N. p: COSATU, 1992, 8 p.

Developed by COSATU's Political Task Force and piloted for thirty participants, this manual defines eight sessions - orientation, understanding of voting for ANC, of canvassing, of industrial area surveys, of structures, of practical voting, the way forward, and evaluation. For each session it provides objectives, activities and methods and techniques.

**195 COVER story.** South Africa: election preview. *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly*, vol. 7, no. 7, April 1994, p. 5 - 16.

Six brief articles cover various aspects of the South African election: the issues of intimidation and violence; the role of women; the administration of the election and the task of the Independent Electoral Commission; the issue of integrating the military and the National Peacekeeping Force; the ANC's prospects; the different

parties' policies. (Sardius).

**196 CRESSWELL, Ryan and RUSSELL, Cecilia**

Promises, promises, soon you'll take your pick. *The Star*, 5th April 1999, p. 6.

Contrasts the manifestos of the African National Congress (ANC), the New National Party (NNP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) issued in 1999 with those of the 1994 election, and notes their main directions.

**197 CRONIN, Jeremy**

It takes more than an X to make democracy. *Work in Progress*, no. 95, February 1994, p. 40 - 41.

Stresses that although the elections are an important part of the political process, they are definitely not the last word in democracy. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

**198 CRONIN, Jeremy**

Regional elections to test constitutions. Interview with Mr. Jeremy Cronin, spokesperson of the South African Communist Party. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1993, p. 19 - 20.

Comments on the situation in Africa, factors common to South Africa, the IEC, political tolerance, intimidation and violence, the role of the armed forces and consensus on democratic values.

**199 CRONIN, Jeremy**

Supply & demand: the election list dilemma. *Work in Progress*, Issue 92, December 1993, p. 32 - 33.

As the election draws closer, one of the key questions is: Who is going to be on the ANC's list? Hundreds of people will have to be nominated to stand for elections. The ANC-led alliance will be placing 40 people on the list for the Constituent Assembly.

**200 CRONJE, Frans**

The role of the South African police in the elections. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 1994, 6p. + 14p. Seminar no. 2, 1994

The convenor of the working group responsible for planning police operations during the elections presents a paper to the Centre's seminar on 2 March 1994 on the policing of elections. He emphasizes co-operation, liaison and joint operations, and describes the three main phases of operations facing the police - pre-election, election days, and post-election - pinpointing the focal points and issues in each stage of the process.

**201 CULLINAN, Kerry**

Giving the vote meaning. *Work in Progress*, 90, July 1993, p. 23.

Describes an international symposium attended by women from sixty organizations, delegates sent to discuss voting, and brought together by VEETU (Voter Education and Elections Training Unit). Topics included the meaning of democracy, and the necessity of building up pressure on political parties to concentrate on gender issues and women's rights, and to persuade women to exercise their votes in their own interests.

**202 CULLINAN, Kerry**

Vote up! Vote up! *Work in Progress*, April/May 1993, p. 20.

Concise note on voter education in South Africa and on organizations involved in it, including the Independent Forum for Electoral Educators, Project Vote and Matla Trust.

**203 DALBEC, William**

South Africa: a voter education success story. *Campaigns and Elections*, vol. 15, July 1994, p. 27+.

"Alleviating fear of voting and driving up voter turnout, chiefly". (PAIS).

**204 DAMELIN** first time voter training. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Damelin Centre for Local Government Studies, 1993, (4 p.).

Leaflet, directed at companies wishing to give their employees a clear understanding of the elections and the practical processes involved, or to sponsor community groups, describes Damelin's first-time voter training one-



day course and the three options available - 'In-house', 'Public' or 'Train the Trainer', for up to thirty students. A letter from Alan Dawson, Damelin Education Group, is attached.

**205 DAVENPORT, T.R.H**

Breaking through. In: DAVENPORT, T.R.H. The transfer of power in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip, 1998, p. 3 - 23.  
ISBN : 0-86486-410-8

Davenport's first chapter concerns the process which led to Nelson Mandela's election as president in May 1994. Pages 20 - 23 delineate the tasks and problems facing the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and briefly recount the consequences.

**206 DAVIDSON, Robyn and HOCK, Claire**

Electoral staff training programme, (trainers manual). N. p: Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, 1994, 129 p.

Includes separate modules for community ballots, trade union/company ballots, local government elections and national/provincial government elections giving specific instructions on what to do and what to say as a trainer in each instance. Designed and developed for IMSSA in consultation with Dren Nupen and Ilona Tip.

**207 DAVIS, Gaye**

South Africa: what the political parties think of disclosing funding. *Mail & Guardian*, vol. 12, no. 32, 8 - 15 August 1996, p. 10 - 11.

"The Mail & Guardian asked the seven parties represented in Parliament whether they support public disclosure of party funding and, if so, whether they would provide us with details of contributions for the 1994 election campaign". This article quotes from the replies received from the ANC, NP, IFP, DP, ACDP, FF and the PAC. The issues raised are briefly discussed in the context of the current debate concerning a Code of Conduct for Members of Parliament.

**208 DE KLERK's** White votes slip away. *Economist*, 14 August 1993, p. 39.

Considers the constituencies of the main political parties in South Africa. Whilst the National Party is losing support among Whites, it is gaining Coloured and Asian members. Many whites join the IFP. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**209 DE KLERK, F. W.**

The election and the end of National Party rule. In: DE KLERK, F.W. *The last trek - a new beginning: the autobiography*. London, etc: Macmillan, 1998, p. 326 - 341.

ISBN : 0-333-73264-2

The former State President gives a first hand account of the 1994 election, the issues at stake and the National Party's stance and strategies.

**210 DE KLERK, F. W.**

New chapter in constitutional history. *RSA Review*, vol. 7, no. 1, January - February 1994, p. 64 - 66.

The full text of State President F.W. de Klerk's traditional New Year's message to South Africans on 31 December 1993. Focuses on the first national democratic elections to be held in April 1994, the economy and national reconciliation. (ISAP).

**211 DE KOCK, Chris, and others**

The prospects for a free, democratic election: inhibiting and facilitating factors in voting intention. Pretoria: HSRC, 1993, - p.

Contents described by title. Other contributors, C. Manaka, N.J. Rhodie and C.D. Schutte. Issued by the Human Sciences Research Council, Socio-political Monitoring and Analysis Group.

**212 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl**

Factors contributing to violence before, during and after the election of an interim/transitional government in South Africa. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol. 15, no. 2, November 1993, p. 1 - 42.

An analysis of theoretical factors which might promote violence during the election period. Based on datasets

formulated by the Division for Sociopolitical Monitoring and Analysis, the authors discuss the dynamics of violence and suggest guidelines for appropriate action. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**213 DE KOCK, Chris**

Focusing voter literacy programmes, by C. de Kock, C. Schutte and D. Ehlers. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1994, p. 17 - 24.

Pinpoints areas and social categories which may still require the attention of voter literacy programmes. (ISAP).

**214 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl**

Free and fair? *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn 1994, p. 2 - 30.

Crucial to the perceived legitimacy of the new government is the belief that the elections are free and fair. De Kock and Schutte discuss the many factors that will impact on that assessment. (Journal abstract). The authors describe and analyse conditions, both subjective - perceptual and objective - technical influencing participation, voting intention and degrees of freedom and fairness in the impending election.

**215 DE KOCK, Chris**

Movements in South African mass opinion and party support to 1993. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven, etc: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 35 - 73. ISBN : 0-300-0639-1

Charts socio-political trends and variations in party support in the years prior to the 1994 election. Notes changing attitudes towards negotiation, towards the ANC and towards the idea of an African dominated government.

**216 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl**

To vote or not to vote: voting intention in the coming election. *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 9, 1994, p. 14 - 16.

Subject indicated by title.

- 217 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl**  
 Violence and the coming election for a transitional government. Part 2. The first four months after the election. *HSRC Information Update*, 3, no. 4, 1993, p. 14 - 17.
- 218 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl**  
 Violence and the coming election for a transitional government. Part 1: The run-up and duration of the election. *HSRC. Information Update*, 3, no. 3, 1993, p. 1 - 9.
- In this, and in Part 2, the results of a large (N=8 366) countrywide survey among black potential voters are discussed. "The authors distinguish a number of conditions which may lead to increased violence in the run-up to the coming election, during the voting period and after the announcement of the election result. Some of these factors are: party-political competition, the weakening of central social control, the dynamics of violence itself, crowd dynamics at political meetings, conspiracies, and private armies and local self-defence units."
- 219 DE VILLE, Jacques and ASMAL, Kader**  
 An electoral system for South Africa In: *FREE and fair elections*, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 1 - 24.  
 ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X
- Examines electoral systems and South African proposals as expressed by the various political parties, by the South African Law Commission, the President's Council and the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues. Concludes that the list system of proportional representation seems to be the most appropriate system for the election of a National Assembly and regional legislatures.
- 220 DE VILLE, Jacques and STEYTLER, Nico**  
 Introduction. In: *VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system*, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, p. 1 - 6.  
 ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

States: "The aim of this book is to reflect on the 1994 electoral system and, in the light of this experience, to explore possible options for a new electoral system". The introduction provides an overview of South Africa's first democratic elections, April 1994, discusses an electoral system for the 1999 election, the constitutional framework and political considerations, surveys the problems surrounding PR and the way in which the chapters of this work set out the various options and proposals for its modification in South Africa.

**221 DE VILLIERS, Bertus**

An electoral system for the new South Africa. In: CONSTITUTION-making in the new South Africa, edited by Alexander Johnston, Siphoshezi and Gavin Bradshaw. London: Leicester University Press, 1993, p. 28 - 53.  
ISBN : 0-7185-1476-9

"The purpose of this chapter is to discuss various electoral systems, refer to a number of case studies and identify the main characteristics of a possible electoral system for South Africa."

**222 DE VILLIERS, Bertus**

Electoral procedures for South Africa. *HSRC. Centre for Constitutional Analysis. Newsletter*, Year 4, no.1, 1993, (6 p.).

Following comparative research on the electoral experiences of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Kenya and Angola, the Centre suggests guidelines for the preparation for the 1994 election. Aspects referred to include the involvement of international agencies and civil society, control over public media and over security forces, the role of government departments, political parties - registration and funding, electoral system, election campaign and election procedures.

**223 DE VILLIERS, Bertus**

Electoral procedures in Africa: five case studies. Guidelines for South Africa. Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 1993, 23 p. (Occasional papers)

The author, head of the Centre for Constitutional Analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council,

states that the aim of the article is "to investigate the democratization efforts sweeping the African continent and to do a comparative analysis of the main elements regarding the electoral systems and the procedural requirements adopted by five other African states who have had their first post-colonial, multiparty elections during the past few years" - Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Angola and Kenya. His purpose is to help ensure free and fair elections in South Africa. Guidelines and recommendations for South Africa are set out, p.16 - 22.

**224 DE VILLIERS, Michael David**

The mathematics of voting: is democracy mathematically obtainable?

Durban: University of Natal, Centre for the Advancement of Science and Mathematics Education(CASME), c.1994, 43p. ISBN 1-86840-064-6

"A Shell South Africa Project". Subject indicated by title.

**225 DE VILLIERS, Michael**

A question of fairness. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 12, 24 - 30 March 1994, p. 24 - 25.

In the context of the list proportional representation (PR), chosen by South Africa's legislators, the author argues that the apportionment of available seats to the different parties presents a problem. The article puts forward two mathematical criteria for judging the fairness of the apportionment, and using these criteria, criticizes the method adopted in the Interim Constitution and proposes an alternative method. Tables.

**226 DE VOS, Pierre, and others**

... Free and fair elections, by Pierre de Vos, John Murphy and Nico Steytler. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. xv - xxv.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

In this Introduction the authors outline the history of the franchise in South Africa, assess the value of the April 1994 election and debate the concepts of a fair election and of a free election.

**227 DE VOS, Pierre**

Free and fair campaigning. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 119 - 153. ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

In this chapter the author examines the following aspects and topics: the theory of free and fair elections in the context of South Africa's transition process; free campaigning, including freedom of speech and its constitutional or statutory guarantees; freedom of assembly, present law and access to public places and private property; fair campaigning, limits on persuasion (intimidation, corrupt and illegal practices, abuse of state apparatus); control mechanisms and the roles of security forces, police and the military in securing impartiality. Proposals for safeguarding the integrity of the election process are submitted.

**228 DE WET, J.**

Poster themes in Bloemfontein during the 1994 general election campaign. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 20, no. 2, December 1995, p. 107 - 116.

Discusses the propaganda onslaught of South African political parties by means of interpersonal and mass media which reached a historical peak during the general election campaign preceding the first-ever democratic election in South Africa, April 1994. States this was particularly evident in the printed media including the smaller print media such as political posters. (ISAP).

**229 DEBATE** on electoral commissions. [Johannesburg]: Electoral Institute of South Africa, [1997?], 4 p.

The article explores the role of election authorities in the context of the measures needed to enable them to function in an impartial manner and earn the requisite degree of legitimacy to deliver free and fair elections. Reference is made to the 1994 South African national election experience and other comparative experiences in the sub Saharan region. (Introduction).

**230 DECISIVE** victory for ANC and strong National Party showing spells success for national unity government.

*Southern Africa Report [Johannesburg]*, 6 May 1994, p. 1 - 3.

Assesses the election results and describes reaction of both winners and losers. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**231 DEEGAN, Heather**

Parties and political cleavages. In: DEEGAN, H. *South Africa reborn: building a new democracy*. London: UCL Press Limited, 1999, p.37 - 64. ISBN : 1-85728-710-X

This overview of political parties in South Africa includes references to attitudes of voters in KwaZulu-Natal to the various political parties at the time of the 1994 elections and to the results of these elections.

**232 The DEMOCRATIC Party manifesto. *Challenge*, no. 22, 1994, p. 9.**

A summary of the Democratic Party manifesto for the first democratic elections in South Africa. (ISAP).

**233 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

1994 election manifesto. Cape Town: Democratic Party, 1994, various pagings.

A considerable compilation comprising, as well as the election manifesto itself, discussion papers or policy position papers on women's rights, health, education, care of the aged, the disabled, the environment, the status of women, the Bill of Rights, the economy, constitutional proposals, rural development, arts policy for the PWV, law and order in the PWV. Also included: Reaction to the report of the Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of SPRs. The DP Draft Bill of Rights appears under the title "Freedom under the rule of law: advancing liberty in the New South-Africa".

**234 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Comments by DP on first draft of the Independent Electoral Commission Act. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre. Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process,



1993, - p.

Submitted: 28 May 1993.

**235 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Comments on the Third Report of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, 1 p.

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

**236 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Democratic Party of South Africa, Federal Council. Regulations for nomination of DP candidates under a PR system, 13 December 1993. Cape Town: Democratic Party, 1993, - p..

Subject indicated by title.

**237 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Democratic Party view on legislative framework for the Independent Electoral Commission. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, 6 p.

Submitted 12 May 1993.

**238 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

DP leaflets [1994]. Johannesburg: DP, [1994], single leaves.

Election leaflets include: Because You're now free to chose, choose the Democratic Party, we're on your side; Don't play with fire; Face the future ... with the Democrats, the DP and women's rights; How can you ever trust the Nats? (reverse in Afrikaans: Hoe kan jy ooit die NP vertrou?); Make the DP's dream for a great SA, your reality; The new S.A needs a growing economy whose policies will ensure we all get one?; Peace is in Your hands; What is this new voting system about ???

**239 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Freedom under the law: advancing liberty in the new South Africa. Draft Bill of Rights, May 1993. Cape Town: DP, 1993, 17 p.

Introduction signed by A. J. Leon, MP, Chairman: Drafting Committee, May 1993. The draft formulates "a core of essential rights which attempt to harmonise the quest for equality... and the preservation of individual liberty". Includes procedural safeguards and enforceability mechanisms.

**240 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Why vote DP? 7 compelling reasons .... Johannesburg: DP, [1994], 4 p.

News-sheet list seven reasons to support the Democratic Party and includes among its information the DP's 'winning plans and policies', how the voting system works, who can vote? and the DP's final South African constitution. Illustrations, some coloured, include one of Tony Leon.

**241 DESAI, Ashwin and MAHARAJ, Brij**

Minorities in the rainbow nation: the Indian vote in 1994. *South African Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 4, 1996, p. 118 - 125.

Subject indicated by title.

**242 DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. Centre for Information Analysis**

Regional distribution of potential voters in South Africa, 1992. Compiled by J. M. Calitz. Halfway House, South Africa: The Bank, 1992, 25 p. ISBN : 0-947057-93-5

The purpose of this report is to provide a quantitative exposition of the size and geographical distribution of that part of the South African population who are eighteen years and older and whose voting power will, in all probability, have a decisive effect on future political, social and economic development in South Africa. Estimated data are based on the 1980 and 1985 adjusted population figures. Figures and tables.

**243 The DEVIL they know. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 4,**

22 April 1994, p. 44.

Surveys election campaigns in the Western Cape focusing on rivalry for the Coloured vote and ANC fears of a National Party victory. Speculates on the outcome, on the possibility of a coalition and sees the crucial factor as the estimated 500,000 undecided voters who could sway the province to either the NP or the ANC.

**244 DEXTER, Phillip**

Homelands - the regime's election strategy. *African Communist*, 4th quarter, 1993, p. 36 - 40.

The author argues that the government has a clear strategy to destabilize ANC electioneering in the homelands. He analyzes these and proposes a counter strategy. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**245 DHLOMO, Oscar**

South African elections: free and fair? *South African Foundation Review*, vol. 20, no. 3, May/June 1994, p. 3.

Examines the April 1994 elections and describes the difficulties encountered by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The election should be regarded as part of a larger political process.

**246 DIAMOND, L.**

The birth and blood of democracy. *Suid-Afrikaan*, no. 48, March - April 1994, p. 12 - 13.

Defines the concept founding election. Highlights the functions of founding elections, as well as the important role the international community has to play. (ISAP).

**247 DIEHL, Paul F. and JURADO, Sonia R.**

United Nations election supervision in South Africa: lessons from the Namibian peacekeeping experience. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 16, no. 1, January-March, 1990, p. 61 +.

Unseen.

- 248 DIGNITY** and illusion. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 2, 8 April 1994, p. 24; 26.

"The election must go ahead - but Buthelezi must still be taken seriously". Touches on the state of emergency declared in KwaZulu-Natal, the deployment of SADF troops, and problems raised by the boycott for both ANC and IFP supporters. Speculates on a possible political solution, on options facing Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and a possible postponement of the Natal provincial election. Discusses Buthelezi's attraction to federalism, which had its origin in the creation of the Zulu National Party in 1973, dedicated to the restoration of the Zulu Kingdom. Quotes the opinions of Stellenbosch academic Willie Breytenbach.

- 249 DONALDSON, A.**  
Fresh blood? *Style*, July 1994, p. 44 - 46, 48.

If anything, Election '94 revealed that there is a new wave of young dynamic anchors waiting in the SABC's wings at Auckland Park. The author wonders how they took everybody by surprise. (ISAP).

- 250 DONALDSON, A.**  
Stand by for the press. *Style*, April 1994, p. 92 - 93, 95, 97.

Wonders if South Africa is ready for the largest media circus ever, when the elections make world news on April 27. Relates that CNN's Mike Hanna sees international interest in the story lasting not only until the results come in, but until Parliament convenes for business and the new President has taken office. Reckons it has become more dangerous than it ever was and that people cannot arrive from Europe and go off wandering in Khayelitsha. (ISAP).

- 251 DOSSIER:** South Africa elections 1994. Johannesburg: The Research Desk, 1993, various pagings.

An election dossier, which will be updated regularly, Information will be presented under the following headings: Profiles of parties and candidates; Monthly updates on monitoring, surveys and polling results, projections, meetings intimidation, campaign funding,

etc.; Analytic articles reprinted from the local media; Legislation and regulations governing the electoral process; Dates of important events, meetings deadlines for nominations and registration; Bibliographical information; Directory of names, addresses, etc. of political parties, election education agencies, Elections Commission, monitors, etc.

- 252 DREAM** outcome for ANC, NP, IFP. *Southern Africa Report*, 13 May 1994, p. 5 - 6.

Presents the results of the South African election, both for the National Assembly and for the nine provinces. In a brief article appended, sabotage during the elections is discussed. (Sardius).

- 253 DU TOIT, Pierre**

Turning the tables. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 19, 4 March 1994, p. 46.

The author, lecturer in political science at Stellenbosch University, explains the three options facing the ANC in dealing with the post-election expectations of its supporters and faced with the Pan Africanist Congress manifesto promises of widespread land distribution. Notes the dangers inherent in each of the three possible strategies - deliberate ambiguity, equally extravagant promises and honesty with the voters.

- 254 DUNDAS, Carl W.**

Attributes of free and fair elections with reference to small states. N. p: n. pub, 199?, 1 leaf + 59 p.

The covering leaf 'Distribution List' issued by Gay McDougall states that the article is circulated for general information in advance of a seminar on criteria for free and fair elections. The list comprises the names of the Independent Electoral Commission's Commissioners. (EISA's copy sent to Mr. C. (Charles) Nupen). The author, an elections expert on the staff at the Commonwealth Secretariat states: "The purpose of this essay is to identify the role of the law in ensuring the conduct of periodic free and fair national elections to the main representative assemblies of states, particularly in the case of small states". The matter is treated historically from the time of Aristotle onwards,

considering first the constitutional framework, then constitutional issues: management of the election machinery; entitlement to vote; constituency boundaries; candidates; register of electors; political parties; secrecy of the ballot; constitutional protection. This is followed by a section " Electoral Laws and Practice" comprising: A. Preparation of the register of voters (general period for registration, applications for registration, form of register, rejections and objections, alteration, certification and publication of the register, issuance of identification card, registration officer); B. Nomination of candidates; C. Polling procedures (selection of polling stations, preparation and distribution of election materials, identification of voters on election days, method of voting, secrecy of the ballot, counting the votes, equality of votes for candidates); D. Avoidance of electoral malpractice; E. Electoral management structure; F. Election expenses. The next section " The Courts and their role in the electoral process" is followed by the author's conclusions, among them that: "The diversity of electoral laws, processes and systems provides a rich field of options for the state wishing to join the growing list of states with multi-party elections. There is no one legislative scheme which will guarantee the achievement of free and fair elections ... Whichever electoral system is used, it is quite possible to identify pressure points and points of vulnerability in the legal framework and the electoral process as a whole ... The need for an independent body to monitor and investigate complaints of election malpractice (is paramount) ... The role of the court in the electoral process is necessary ... A good legal framework is essential in the quest for free and fair elections, and this is true equally for small states ... It should be remembered that the pressures on the electoral process in small emerging democracies are considerable, in part due to a lack of traditional tolerance and fairness that must be a part of the integrity of the democratic process, and due to the scarcity of human and financial resources. The test of free and fair election is therefore never going to be an absolute one. It must be relative to the circumstances and to the legal framework in place at the given time".

**255 DUNDAS, Carl W.**

South Africa. In: DUNDAS, C.W. Election management bodies: constitutive instruments. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999, p.163 - 176.

This section of Dundas' compilation, highlighting the features of electoral management bodies in commonwealth countries, notes that South Africa's administrative structure is essentially a transitional one, specifically established to facilitate the first democratically held multi-party elections and to be replaced by a permanent one. Section 1, p.163 - 164, describes 'Constitutional provisions relevant to 1994 elections'. Section 2, p.164 - 176, covers twenty four aspects of 'Election administration'.

**256 DUTCH VIOLENCE OBSERVATION MISSION, 2nd. 1994**

Shocking morals: the Vaal revisited: report by the 2nd Dutch Violence Observation Mission to the Vaal Triangle, South Africa, February - May 1994. Amsterdam: Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1994, 61 p.

In March 1993 two Dutch police officers, an academic researcher and former journalist, an advocate and an executive officer of the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands visited South Africa. Their objective was to observe police and other violence in an area south of Johannesburg known as the Vaal Triangle. This 'Dutch Violence Observation Mission' was repeated, on an enlarged scale, in February-May 1994, during the run up to the April elections. The report of this second mission starts by illustrating the environment in which the delegation operated through a brief description of miscellaneous experiences and reports. This section is followed by an account of some of the delegation's observations during and after the elections. Then a selection of violent or potentially violent situations and specific cases of violence encountered by the delegation are dealt with in two sections: sundry violence and police violence. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**257 EDDINGS, Jereilyn and RANSDELL, Eric**

South Africa: free at last. *U.S. News and World Report*, vol. 116, 9 May 1994, p. 28 - 35.

Democratic prospects following Nelson Mandela's victory in the first multiracial election April 1994; profile of the ANC leader; two articles. (PAIS).

**258 ELDRIDGE, Matt and SEEKINGS, Jeremy**

An uphill battle: voter attitudes and ANC strategy in the Western Cape in the 1994 South African elections. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1995, - p.

Unpublished paper. (University of Cape Town. Centre for African Studies).

**259 ELDRIDGE, Matt and SEEKINGS, Jeremy**

Mandela's lost province: the African National Congress and the Western Cape electorate in the 1994 South African elections. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 22, no. 4, December 1996, p. 517 - 540.

"...Most interpretations of the elections assert the pre-eminence of race and ethnicity. Our analysis of the ANC and the elections in the Western Cape suggests that such interpretations underestimate firstly the significance of the parties' election strategies and campaigns, at least in this province, and secondly (and more broadly) the complexity and variety of voters' decision-making. Political struggles within the ANC led it to adopt an election strategy which prioritized the large number of undecided Coloured voters in the province, but did so in ways that limited the party's appeal to these target voters". (Journal précis). The first half of this paper examines the ANC's choice of an election strategy and its actual campaign. The second half examines the interaction between the parties' campaigns and the electorate.

**260 ELDRIDGE, Matt**

Now wasn't the time. The ANC's 1994 election campaign in South Africa's Western Cape province. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1996, - p.

MA Dissertation. UCT, Department of Political Studies. Unseen.

**261 ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects** edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, 237 p.



ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

The story of South Africa's first non-racial election told in twelve contributing studies covering the election campaign itself, its background and its aftermath. The individual chapters are separately indexed. Illustrated. Chapter references. Select bibliography p. 235 - 236.

- 262 ELECTION '94:** voter workshop pull-out. Make your mark on April 27. N. p.: n. pub, 10 December 1993, 4 p.

Coloured newspaper supplement illustrating and describing the seven steps involved in voting, followed by three sections showing "why elections and voting are so important to your future". Pullout from ELECTION '94: your vote, your future, [Star and Sowetan].

- 263 ELECTION '94:** your vote, your future, edited by Paul Bell. [Johannesburg]: The Star and the Sowetan, 10 December 1993, 8 p.

Coloured illustrated newspaper supplement answering readers' questions on the functioning of the new government and the new voting system. Includes sections on the economy, security and the constitutions, both interim and final.

- 264 ELECTION (manifestos):** are they only promises? *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 8, 25 February 1994, p. 28 - 30.

Discusses different issues addressed in the various election manifestos, particularly State intervention to redirect greater resources to social spending and black upliftment, compares slogans and focuses on stated policies aimed at reconstruction and development with blacks as beneficiaries. Notes the ANC's emphasis on job creation through a national public works programme, looks at the moral tone of the NP, considers the PAC's commitment to land redistribution and reviews in detail the DP's manifesto, particularly its economic plan. (ISAP).

- 265 ELECTION brief:** protecting rights. *Financial Mail*, vol.

131, no. 10, 11 March 1994, p. 55 - 56.

Looks at the role of a Public Protector at national level or an ombudsman, and provincial Public Protectors, and three commissions to protect rights in terms of the interim constitution, the Human Rights Commission (HRC), the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) and the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR). (ISAP).

- 266 ELECTION** countdown. *MPD News*, no. 4, December 1993, (entire issue 15 p.).

Published by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy this issue includes a report on a conference jointly convened with the Washington based Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies on the theme "Polling and Campaign Organisation in Democratic Elections", held in Johannesburg; a note on the new MPD project 'Launching Democracy'; an account of the Namibian 1992 elections by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer; a review of the MPD's 1993 programmes, and regional reports from Natal, Transvaal and the Western Cape. Also included, an account of a two day voter education workshop for twenty deaf trainers from the Natal Deaf Society.

- 267 ELECTION DOSSIER 1**

... South Africa's transitional structures. N. p: n. pub, [1993], 10 p.

Election Dossier's Update 1 suggests ways in which business can support transitional structures, especially the IEC and the election process. Contents: The Transitional Executive Council and its Sub councils; the Independent Media Commission; the Independent Broadcasting Authority. Indicates powers, duties and functions. Includes eleven diagrams.

- 268 ELECTION DOSSIER**

...Voter education in companies. N. p: n. pub, 1994, 5 p.

Election Dossier: a guide to companies, Update 3, presents four specific examples of South African companies already active in the field of voter

education, to help them compare notes, and to assist others still 'fine-tuning' their ideas.

- 269 ELECTION** fever: editorial. *Work in Progress*, no. 97, July 1994, p. 1 - 2.

Focuses on the outcome of the recent democratic election in South Africa. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

- 270 ELECTION** Issues. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: Co-operative for Research and Education (CORE), January 1994 +, various pagings.

Weekly compilation of copies of articles and excerpts from publications screened by CORE. The publications, which are listed in each issue, are a mix of journals and newspapers from various countries, sourced as follows: from South Africa 37, from the UK 8, from Zimbabwe 7, from Botswana and Namibia 4 each, from Kenya and Malawi 2 each and one from Lesotho, Switzerland and the USA respectively. Election interest coverage is global, but there is a noticeable African emphasis.

- 271 ELECTION** law made simple: a VEETU publication. Cape Town?: Voter Education and Elections Training Unit, 1993?, 9 p.

This concise publication is produced by VEETU - a project of the Education Resource and Information Project at the University of the Western Cape working in partnership with HAP - Organizational Development Services, Centre for Community and Labour Studies, and AFESIS/CORPLAN. It sets out clearly and simply the laws and regulations controlling voters' rights, the voting process, the Code of Conduct for political parties, the role of the Independent Electoral Commission and the provisions of the Electoral Act.

- 272 ELECTION** postlude. *Scenaria*, no. 160, May 1994, p. 27.

Highlights the absence of any coherent arts policy on the part of the major political parties and the total absence of any interesting figures from the arts and

cultural community in the ranks of the politicians. (ISAP).

- 273 ELECTION** preparation: who is in charge? *Mayibuye*, July 1993, p. 16 - 17.

A correspondent argues that the relationship between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Multiparty Forum on election preparations should be clarified. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 274 ELECTION** results. *Election Update* 99, no.14, 12 June 1999, p.17 - 27.

Tables, and comment. Principal sections: National Assembly; Allocating National Assembly seats; Lucky thirteen (parties winning representation). Table 1: Seats won in National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures, Table 2: National Assembly votes: total and by Province (with 1994 figures for comparison), Table 3. Aggregate National Assembly votes compared with aggregate Provincial Legislature votes, Table 4: Distribution of National Assembly seats: 1999, Table 4A: Distribution of National Assembly seats: 1994, Table 5: Regional seats by Province, Table 6: Allocating National Assembly seats, Table 7: Party performance: ranking Provinces by share of vote (with 1994 rankings for comparison), Table 7A: Parties' best and worst performances by Province, Table 8: Party performance by Province; position in poll, (1994 positions included), Table 9: Provincial contribution to total vote of each party, (figures for 1994 in brackets). Includes information on spoilt ballots and split votes.

- 275 ELECTION** special: vote for a new Government that will deal with the day-to-day problems women face .... *Speak*, Election supplement, May 1994, p.1 - 3; 6 - 8.

Lists problems especially relevant to women - water, housing, unequal pay, unequal rights and violence - and surveys party promises on these topics. Explains the double ballot and reminds women that the vote is their own, and secret.

- 276 ELECTION** week - to close or not to close?: industrial relations. *Chamber Digest. Durban Regional Chamber*

*of Business*, no. 13/94, 9 April 1994, p. 7.

Gives the pros and cons of closing a business during the period of the General Election. (ISAP).

- 277 ELECTION:** printers want proof. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 9, 3 March 1994, p. 6.

Outlines reasons cited by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for choosing UK printing firm De la Rue to print ballot forms for the forthcoming election and looks at dissatisfaction and objections by the local Printing Industries Federation (Pifsa). (ISAP).

- 278 The ELECTION:** reading the bones. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 3, 21 January 1994, p. 37.

Comments on results of various political opinion polls in which a landslide victory for the ANC is predicted, includes predicted figures for the different political parties and other significant findings regarding regional support for the ANC. Looks at implications to the ANC of these indications of voter support, comments on the possible outcome in terms of seats won and highlights problems experienced by the ANC in the compilation of its election lists. (ISAP).

- 279 The ELECTION:** some surprises. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 1, 7 January 1994, p. 36 - 37.

Discusses campaigning efforts by President F.W. de Klerk in the Cape and gives figures relating to support among Coloured voters for various political parties, of which the National Party (NP) enjoys the most support. Includes other findings of the poll regarding the opinions of Coloured voters on political issues. (ISAP).

- 280 ELECTIONS and conflict management in Africa,** Timothy D. Sisk and Andrew Reynolds, editors. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998, 224 p. ISBN : 1-878379-79-8

Nine separate contributions address topics that include elections and electoral systems, ethnicity, constitutional democracy, proportional representation,

conflict management and electoral conflicts. Chapter 7 'Race, ethnicity, voting behavior: lessons from South Africa' by Robert B. Mattes and Amanda Gouws is separately indexed. This book was reviewed by J. R. Scarritt in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 93, no. 2, 1999, p.471, and by J. Elklit in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, vol. 37, no. 2, 1999, p.131 - 132.

- 281 ELECTIONS** in Africa. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1993, (entire issue 23 p.).

Examines various aspects of elections by requesting all political parties in South Africa to answer the same questions, which enables the reader to compare their views 'on lessons that can be learned from Africa'. Includes nine pages of 'The People's Voice' - readers' letters concerning the conduct of elections and the acceptance of results, as well as interviews with James Selfe, Democratic Party, and Jeremy Cronin, South African Communist Party.

- 282 ELECTORAL** funds: credit campaign. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 12, 25 March 1994, p. 50.

Concise account of the disbursement of monies from the State Electoral Fund to eight of the twenty seven registered parties. Amounts range from R48,458 to R 1,26m. determined on the basis of recognized support of at least 2% support in opinion polls or on the submission of lists of 10,000 supporters' signatures. Alternatively political parties can apply for grants at a provincial level only. Half of the R22m. payable will be allocated before the election, the balance afterwards.

- 283 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA**  
Voter education survey August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1998, various pagings.

"The Electoral Institute of South Africa invited organizations and institutions who had engaged in voter education in various forms in the 1994 and 1995/96 elections, to participate in a roundtable held on the 17th March 1998". The objective of the workshop was to provide participants with an opportunity to reflect, and assess the impact of voter

education in these elections and to open the debate and discussion on the role that can and should be played in the 1999 elections by these organizations. (Introduction). This work includes the questionnaire circulated to identify areas of focus and to assess available expertise, together with an analysis of the responses received. The inference is drawn that the task of voter education was mainly undertaken by NGOs.

- 284 ELECTORAL laws in transitional arrangements.** 2nd edition. Bellville: University of the Western Cape. Centre for Development, 1993, 26p. CDS occasional paper series  
ISBN : I-86808-134-6

Contents: A comparative survey and lessons for South Africa by Sandile Nogxina and Vusi Pikoli; Towards democratic elections in Africa by Penuell Maduna.

- 285 ELECTORAL STEERING COMMITTEE**  
Miscellaneous leaflets. [Johannesburg]: Independent Electoral Commission, [1997], 4 leaves.

These include: Background (What is the ESC, why established, and its functions); The differences between the 1994 and 1995/6 elections and the 1999 elections, and The conclusion that time is of the essence for effective & efficient elections in 1999.

- 286 ELKLIT, Jorgen**  
A category of its own? Four PR two-tier compensatory member electoral systems in 1994. *European Journal of Political Research*, 30, September 1996, - p.

Title indicates subject.

- 287 ELKLIT, Jorgen and ROBERTS, Nigel S.**  
A category of its own? Four Proportional Representation two-tier compensatory member electoral systems and their performances in 1994. Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University. Department of Political Science, 1995, 24 p.

Draft/March 1995. Abstract: "At first sight, the electoral systems in Denmark, Germany, South Africa, and

Sweden may seem different and an attempt to categorize them together odd. All four, however, belong to the same category, which Arend Lijphart calls 'proportional representation two-tier districting systems', and the effects of these systems on the proportionality of the representation of political parties, are, indeed, comparable. The four electoral systems were the basis of their countries' general elections during 1994. The results of these elections are used for analyses and discussions of the relative importance of the differences which one also finds between them.. The paper ends with an examination of the behavioural consequences of these institutional arrangements, which are also found elsewhere, i.e. in Estonia, Iceland, Norway and New Zealand (in the new electoral system currently being implemented there)."

**288 ELKLIT, Jorgen and REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Crafting a more powerful and democratic electoral system. N. p.: n. pub.1999, 5 p.

Reviews the success of the South African electoral system used in 1994 and 1999 i.e. the closed list, large district, national proportional representation inclusive system. Outlines three options: leave things as they are; bring in a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system; or, bring in "an electoral system reform which enhances the link between MPs and constituencies, increases accountability, and gives a more powerful tool to South Africans to help determine the way they are governed - but which does not entail the problems connected with the MMP system". Makes a specific proposal as to how this can be done.

**289 EMSLIE, Anne**

Women in politics: Carpe diem! *Sash*, January 1994, p.13 - 16.

Topics discussed include the need for a united front, the role of women in the negotiating forum and parliament, affirmative-action appointments of women and the possibility of a quota system, the reactions of political parties to this idea, and obstacles to women in politics.

**290 END of the beginning: an election next week will cap**



South Africa's move to democracy - and start the real battle. *US News and World Report*, 25 April 1994, p. 44 - 64.

A number of articles focus on the South African political scene prior to the election, an interview with State President F. W .de Klerk, and the nine new provinces. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**291 ETTINGER, Stephen Joel**

EU Ministers meet on ways to help South Africa. *Citizen*, 18 April 1994, - p.

The Foreign Ministers of the European Union are meeting today, and will then discuss ways to help South Africa towards full multi-racial democracy. Improved trade links will be among the proposals. (Sardius).

**292 EU optimism over South Africa tempered with caution.**  
*Business Day*, 17 March 1994, - p.

At the time when '... the country offers the promise of an exciting future internally and for the region, so there are those within Europe who fear South Africa is sliding into catastrophe ...' (Sardius).

**293 EUROPEAN UNION ELECTION UNIT**

Observing South Africa's national and provincial elections: final report to the European Commission .... [Johannesburg]: European Union Election Unit, 1994, 134 p.

Unseen. Subject indicated by title.

**294 EUROPEAN UNION POLICE OBSERVERS**

Final report to the Independent Electoral Commission Johannesburg 01 May 1994. N. p: n. pub, 1994, 44 p.+ Annexes.

European Union police forces were invited by the IEC to observe and report upon election security matters in the South African 1994 elections. Through the offices of EUNELSA (the European Election Unit in South Africa) a contingent of eighty senior officers were recruited. This report describes their mandate,

composition, orientation, strategy, structure and roles. It contains their 'Observation and evaluation' in which a national overview is followed by ten area assessments, pre-election, voting period, and post election. Annexes: Briefing programme; Press releases and cuttings; SAP - National election security plan; Maps - Police regions and SA provinces; European Union Police deployment.

**295 EVANS, Gavin**

'International vote' a logistical nightmare. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p.12.

Organizing polling stations and ballot forms for the expected 500,000 voters in more than sixty countries has created many problems for the Independent Electoral Commission and the monitors it will deploy on 26 April. This brief article describes some of them.

**296 EVANS, Gavin**

The East Rand paper chase. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 9.

"In the townships and squatter camps of the East Rand, would-be voters were left frustrated as ballot papers and other supplies failed to arrive, arrived late or ran out". Examples of incompetence are given, and the Independent Electoral Commission admit huge logistical problems in Thokoza, Kathlehong, Soweto and Khayelitsha. The situation, however, is better in Boksburg and better still in East Rand Inkatha hostels.

**297 EVANS, Gavin**

How the chicken runners will make their cross. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p.11.

Reports that between 50,000 and 70,000 British - South Africans are eligible to vote in the election and interest runs high. The article focuses on the situation in London where three of the seven UK polling booths are being set up and where representatives of the ANC, the PAC and the IFP are all active.

**298 EVANS, Gavin**

Inside the IEC - a frantic jumpstart to democracy. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April

1994, p. 8.

First paints a vivid picture of the intense cross-cultural activities and seemingly apparent confusion inside the Independent Electoral Commission's headquarters at 41 Kruis Street, Johannesburg where staff face the massive task of organizing the electoral process. Focuses on the role of the Election Administration Directorate (EAD) and the centre of authority, the 'Ops Room'. Includes some comments on the chairman of the IEC Judge Kriegler.

**299 EVANS, Gavin**

Mr. Okumu, God and the strange case of the King's land. *Leadership*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1994, p. 96 - 102.

Traces the strange tale of pre-election mediation with Inkatha by a Kenyan, Washington Okumu, who succeeded in bringing Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the elections. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**300 EVANS, Gavin**

A rollercoaster of delight and despair. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 10.

Presents a brief summary of the author's personal reactions to a fortnight 'back in South Africa'. Notes low points and highlights in general, then more specifically, those concerning the performance of the Independent Electoral Commission in organizing polling day.

**301 EWING, D.**

Elections: the biggest organizational task of them all? *OD Debate*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1994, p. 1, 3 - 4.

Looks at some of the issues facing organizations as they evaluate their efforts to help secure a free and fair election, based on experiences at the April elections. Focuses on KwaZulu-Natal. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

**302 FABRICIUS, Peter**

The new South Africa's relations with the United States - beyond the miracle. *South Africa Foundation Review*, vol. 20, no. 6, November/ December 1994, p. 5 - 6.

Gives an overview of American-South African relations since the elections. Although they are excellent, the author warns that they should not be taken for granted by South Africa. An irritant for the United States is the arms export issue, which South Africa seems to promote. The Republican's majority in Congress might also have an impact on SA-US relations. (Sardius).

- 303 FAIR** enough, but lessons abound. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 5, 5 - 11 May 1994, p. 4; 6.

Contains reflections by political analyst Mark Shaw on the declaration by the Independent Electoral Commission of the 1994 election as 'free and fair'. Notes his suggestions for institutional changes and structural improvements desirable before the next national elections. Weaknesses and limitations during the transition phase are highlighted.

- 304 FAST, Hildegard**  
Equipping women for the vote. *Sash*, January 1994, p. 17.

Describes the activities of the Black Sash in educating rural women voters through educating trainers, holding voter education workshops and joint ventures with the Agricultural Research Project.

- 305 FAULTS** on the line. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 2, 8 April 1994, p. 69 - 70.

Outlines the tasks facing TELKOM and the Independent Electoral Commission in monitoring and administering the general election. Gives facts and figures of monies allocated to the installation of a telecommunication infrastructure, notes problems in rural or strife-torn areas and describes well-advanced plans for urban areas, for broadcast circuits and media centres.

- 306 FAURE, Murray**

Elections for Parliament and the provinces in the New South Africa: 1994-2004. *African Journal of Political Science*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1997, p. 70 - 88.

This article discusses the arrangements for the election of parliament and the provincial legislatures in the new South Africa. Present electoral provisions in terms of the Interim Constitution of 1993, as well as the prospects for the elections of 1997 and beyond, in terms of the Final Constitution, are covered. The article also reviews the results of the 1994 general election and offers a general assessment of South Africa's electoral provisions. (Journal abstract). 'The Election results' (p.75 - 79) contains eight tables. Table 1: Estimated voters and seat allocation per Province. Table 2: Election results - National Assembly and Senate. Table 3: National versus Provincial votes Table 4: Provincial strength of first four parties per Province (%). Table 5: Seats for parties compared to their votes at national level (%). Table 6: Strength of political parties in terms of seats won. Table 7: Voter participation in the Provinces. Table 8: Estimated composition and turnout of the electorate by race.

**307 FAURE, Murray**

Electoral matters. *Politeia*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1996, p. 65 - 69.

Considers the prescriptions regarding the electoral system to be used for the election of the central and provincial legislatures of the state as contained in the 1996 Final Constitution, and compares them to those in the Interim Constitution. The prescriptions are given in terms of a number of principles only and the implication is that the election of 1999 will use the same electoral system as in 1994, and that the principles will only take effect in the general election of 2004. Faure's 'Viewpoint' notes weaknesses in the present electoral system especially as regards voter accountability, and the benefits that could accrue from a mixed electoral system.

**308 FAURE, Murray**

The electoral system. In: BIRTH of a constitution, edited by Bertus de Villiers. Cape Town: Juta, 1994, p. 101 - 124.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3216-0

Explains the new electoral rules for the 27 April 1994

elections, their implications and salient features, and concludes with a provisional assessment of the system against the background of the previous one and other types. Includes a chronological review of electoral systems in South Africa from 1910 to 1994.

**309 FAURE, Murray**

The electoral systems issue in South African politics. Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 1999, 28 p. (Occasional papers, February 1999)

This paper provides an overview of the national electoral systems issue in South African politics as reflected in the ongoing electoral reform debate. "After a brief historical background, the paper traces the issues in the debate in more detail during the 1980s, and even more so for the four-year period that followed President De Klerk's announcements to Parliament on 2 February 1990. The features of the new (and current) electoral system are briefly highlighted, and the results that it yielded in 1994 are summarized and analyzed in Addendum A. This is followed by a discussion of the legal and political background to the drafting process of the final Constitution. Next is an overview of a major event in the electoral systems debate that took place before the adoption of the final Constitution - the Theme Committee Two workshop of the Constitutional Assembly held in 1995. This is followed by a discussion of the electoral arrangements of the final Constitution. The focus then shifts to the most recent event in the electoral systems reform held during 1998. This roundtable, which used scholars from abroad as keynote speakers, provides an interesting forum to compare local thinking with that of overseas experts. The article concludes with an assessment that attempts to capture the essential elements of the electoral systems reform issue in South African politics.

**310 FEDERAL PARTY (South Africa)**

Federal Party Review. Norwood, Johannesburg: Federal Party Head Office, April 1994, [4 p. newsheet.].

Disputes the statement "You must vote for a strong opposition" meaning the National Party, and offers

strong reasons why a vote for Frances Kendall and the FP will be the strongest possible vote in opposition to the ANC. Includes contributions in English and Afrikaans describing party policies and stances together with photographs and brief biographical details of twelve of the party's 'top candidates', FP: Fine People.

**311 FEDERAL PARTY (South Africa)**

Federal Party: statement of principles and policy. [Johannesburg]: [The Party], 1994, 3 leaves.

Aims to uphold liberty, the rights of the people and the principles of federalism. Sets out 'Federal Party - policy in brief', under three major headings: Maximum devolution of power; Direct democracy; A first-generation bill of rights. Notes that the newly formed party was registered at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park by Frances Kendall. Includes names of other officers of the party.

**312 FEDERAL PARTY (South Africa)**

For you and the community. Norwood, Johannesburg: Federal Party, [1994], 1 leaf folded.

Enrolment form setting out the party's aims promises and principles. Includes brief biographical details about party leader Frances Kendall, and lists ten other candidates for Parliament and Provincial Legislatures.

**313 FERNANDEZ, Lovell**

The legal regulation of campaign financing. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 97 - 118. ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

Briefly reviews the rules governing this in the past, explains current law, private financing (with special reference to the National Party), foreign funding, reporting and disclosure of party funds, the role of trade unions, other practices and mechanisms for funding and public financing (both direct and indirect). Makes five recommendations or submissions.

**314 FINAL** countdown: 27 April 1994. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 6, no. 1, March 1994, (entire issue:

19p.).

Presents interviews with representatives of the DP, the National Party, the IFP, the ANC, Afrikaner Volksfront and the PAC on the eve of the elections. In addition, grassroots opinion on election issues is included. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**315 FINNEGAN, William**

Crossing the line: a year in the land of apartheid. Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 1994, 434 p. ISBN : 0520088727

First published New York: Harper & Row, 1986. This is the first California Paperback Printing 1994 with a new preface and epilogue. "In this account the author describes his experiences in South Africa where he taught for a year at a 'coloured' high school in Cape Town and witnessed the school boycotts of 1980. A new preface and afterword, written after the author's observation of the historic 1994 elections, evaluate the progress made - and not made - toward dismantling the apartheid system." (ASC Leiden abstract).

**316 FIRST** non-racial elections. *Keesing's Record of World Events*, vol. 40, no. 4, April 1994, p. 39942 - 39943.

An account of the South African elections of 26 - 29 April 1994. Describes continued violence in KwaZulu-Natal, the implementation of a state of emergency there on 31 March 1994, diplomatic efforts to secure the participation of the Inkatha Freedom Party, including international mediation, and the IFP's eleventh hour decision, on 19 April, to take part. Notes right-wing reaction, then provides a concise report on the voting process, problems encountered, the count and the reactions of observer missions.

**317 FISHER, M.**

Lead the way to peaceful canvassing: editorial. *Farmer's Weekly*, no. 84008, 25 February 1994, p. 3.

Provides guidelines for a plan of action regarding canvassing of Black farm workers with an eye on the April election. Stresses the importance of not forcing



one's own political beliefs onto one's labourers. (ISAP).

- 318 FOR** whom you should vote. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 4.22 April 1994, p. 19.

A few days before the election the Financial Mail surveys the personalities, policies and roles of the major political parties, then provides reasons why readers of the Financial Mail should throw their support behind the Democratic Party. The leading article argues that the DP provides the best opposition to the expected ANC majorities, especially in the provinces.

- 319 FOR** you to consider. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 2, 7 - 13 April 1994, p. 13 - 19.

Presents positions adopted by bankers, entrepreneurs and economists at the Finance Week - sponsored interactive Conference: Getting SA working: the ANC and Business Plan for the Future, held in Sandton in early April 1994, and attended by 'over 250 top-level ANC economic policy makers and business delegates'. Focuses on ten of the proposals from speakers in their personal capacities. Includes points from Nelson Mandela's address, and a box "ANC's financial foundation" in which the ANC's financial policy is spelt out by Neil Morrison. Graphs. Portraits.

- 320 FORMAL** calling of elections. *Keesing's Record of World Events*, vol. 40, no. 2, February 1994, p. 39846.

Provides details of President de Klerk calling, on 2 February 1994 for voting to take place over three days, 26 - 28 April 1994, of regulations for the registering of political parties, of meetings between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance (FA), of concessions made to secure the participation of the FA and of the attitudes of other parties including Inkatha.

- 321 FORREST, Drew**  
Bomb of Damocles hangs over 'kolonel's' head. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 8.

Brief journalistic appraisal of the Northern Natal Boerekommando's activities and command centre in

Newcastle, on land seized on March 31 1994 as a protest against the state of emergency in Natal, and to publicize the NNBK's rejection of the elections. The ultimate aim of the organization, led by Leonard Veenendal, is the incorporation of Northern Natal into a 'volkstaat'.

**322 FORREST, Drew**

A day of peace, patience - and chaos. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 8; 14.

First hand account of voting conditions in Northern Natal, following the IFP's last minute decision to participate in the elections. Logistical and supply problems threaten the infrastructure, and crisis follow crisis. The people remain patient, and determined to vote.

**323 FORREST, Drew**

On the razor's edge between hope and fear. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 13.

The author spoke to members of six Johannesburg communities (Chinese, Indian Muslim, Yugoslav, Russian, Coloured and Portuguese) to find out how they view the future of South Africa. Their replies are quoted verbatim and their names and brief biographical details are given.

**324 FOUNDING** democracy and the new South African voter, edited by Lawrence Schlemmer and Ian Hirschfeld. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1994, 236 p.  
ISBN : 0-7969-1583-0

On cover: Special Update, vol.3, no.2, 1993/4. "Themes that are explored include the demographic profile of the South African voter, the orientations and expectations - material and otherwise - of voters, and voting intention among the South African electorate. Violence, its impact on the voter and the broader election environment and the necessary processes and procedures to address this and other obstacles facing a free and fair election are explored. Finally, we

venture to provide a tentative preview of the election outcome." (Preface) Also includes material on the orientations of political parties, the role of women, processes and procedures, monitoring of elections and voter education.

**325 FREDERICKS, Izak**

The legal regulation of political parties and their participation in elections. In: *FREE and fair elections*, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 73 - 96.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

Examines the legal right to participate, rights fundamental to party formation, political parties, their definition, registration, restriction and emblems. Requirements for the nomination and choice of candidates are explained and the role of election agents is clarified. Notes the absence of state regulations and areas of intervention where this may be advisable.

**326 FREE and fair elections**, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, 269 p.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

The Department of Public and Adjective Law as well as other members of the Law Faculty of the University of the Western Cape seek through this collection of essays to contribute to the formulation of appropriate legal rules for the conduct of free and fair elections. (Preface). This work analyses the electoral law of South Africa and explores the legal principles underlying the concepts "free" and "fair". Includes Table of Cases and Table of Statutes. Other editors: John Murphy, Pierre de Vos and Medard Rwelamira. Chapters have been individually indexed. Reviewed by J. E. Lane in 'Politeia', vol. 13, no. 2, 1994, p. 95, and by E.F.J. Malherbe in 'Tydskrif vir die Suid-Afrikaanse Reg', no. 3, 1994, p. 599 - 600.

**327 FREE and fair?** *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 3, 15 April 1994, p. 24; 26; 28.

Relays the views of the chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Judge Johann Kriegler on

the prospects for the 1994 elections being declared 'free and fair'. Looks at time constraints, logistical problems, voting infrastructure and the impact of violence. Kriegler takes an optimistic and reassuring stance, and concludes: "Our brief wasn't to produce a perfect election, nobody could give us such a brief. If you ask me whether, at present, we think we can run what the statute requires, namely 'substantially free and fair elections' throughout the country, including KwaZulu-Natal, the answer is yes".

- 328 FREE** at last! *Mayibuye*, May/June 1994, (entire issue 60p.).

This edition is predominantly devoted to the election, the victory of the ANC in the elections and related issues. (Sardius).

- 329 FREE** at last: South Africa's election ratifies a political miracle for the ages. *US News and World Report*, 9 May 1994, p. 28 - 35.

A report on the South African election and a biographical sketch of President-elect Nelson Mandela are included in this photo-article. (Sardius).

- 330 FREE-ISH** and Fair-ish, despite the IEC. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 24 April - 5 May 1994, p. 20.

Editorial. "Despite hundreds of millions of rands, lavish salaries and massive popular support, they have messed it up through sheer incompetence. It has been a gravy train without wheels... The pattern is the same all over: the force of numbers and the strength of individuals overcoming the problems of the election ... How ironic it is that the success of the election depends, not at all on the First World electronics the IEC has at its finger tips, but on the determination of the ordinary people to wait for the computers, the videos, the helicopters and cellular phones to start working". A response to this editorial by Yunus Mahomed was published in the *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 24 April - 5 May 1994, p. 20, under the title "The IEC: inexperienced, yes. Inept, no". q.v..

**331 FREEDOM FRONT**

Freedom Front. N. p: Freedom Front, [1994], 1 leaf.

States its aim -"To provide pro-active and positive political leadership and co-operation on the political front to promote the security, freedom and peaceful co-existence of the Afrikanervolk and those patriots who associate themselves therewith, in actively striving for the establishment of an own Volkstaat/ Self-determination." The seven principle of the Freedom Front are as follows:- 1. That all members accept that God, in the Sacred Trinity, determines and decides over the fate of nations and peoples, and that we as a people undertake to honour God. 2. That unity be fostered amongst our people. 3. That the fundamental right of the Afrikanervolk- and any other nation that so desires - to self-determination i.e. the right to govern themselves in their own state, is inalienable and non-negotiable. 4. That a unitary state, or any other form of state, wherein another nation will govern the Afrikanervolk and like-minded patriots or wherein the Afrikanervolk is subjugated to others, is unacceptable to the Freedom Front. 5. That law and order be maintained so that crime and violence are effectively countered and controlled so vigorously that peace and personal safety are guaranteed. 6. That any form of communism is rejected and will be opposed with all the power at the disposal of the Freedom Front. 7. That our aim is a confederal dispensation for Southern Africa and to this end the Freedom Front will commit and dedicate all the economic and technical expertise at its disposal. Published in English and Afrikaans: Afrikaans under Vryheidsfront, with the slogan 'Vrede: Vryheid Voorspoed: Volkstat'.

**332 FREEDOM FRONT**

Miscellaneous information. Lynnwood Ridge, South Africa: Freedom Front, 1998, 3 leaves.

Three pages from the Freedom Front Home Page <http://www.vryheidsfront.co.za> displaying its Introduction, Freedom Front Leader Group, Executive Management Committee and Provincial Leaders, with contact details. States: "Twenty seven political parties were involved in the South African negotiations before

the April 1994 elections. Of these parties 19 took part in the election of 27 April 1994 and only 7 made it to the Parliament. The Freedom Front, being barely one month old at that stage, came fourth after the ANC, NP and IFP."

- 333 FREEDOM** in sight at last. *Commonwealth Currents*, April/May 1994, p. 2 - 5.

Brief articles on the South Africa election of April 1994 and a list of the Commonwealth Observer Group members. (Sardius).

- 334 FREEDOM** of expression in South Africa: review of 1994. *Freedom of Expression Institute*, Update, December 1994, p. 1 - 4.

Gives an overview of 1994's violations of free speech and political activity during the elections. Thereafter, a section is devoted to broadcasting, indicating the SABC's and other stations' transgressions on editorial independence. (Sardius).

- 335 FREUND, Bill**

The weight of history and the prospects for democratization in the Republic of South Africa. *Afrika Zamani*, n. s., no. 2, 1994, p. 211 - 221.

It is crucial to consider and define democracy at a much deeper level than simply the presence of certain formal institutions and procedures. This paper considers democracy also at the level of political culture and history, in the context of South Africa. The South African process of democratization is by no means assured or entirely clear. What is clear is that the new regime which will be formed after the elections scheduled for April 1994 will be the result of a major historic compromise that will definitely limit the transformation of South African society. South African political history has thrown up several distinct democratic traditions. All are at present in some disarray in the current transitional period. The radical popular currents of the mass resistance of the past twenty years are increasingly being swallowed up or marginalized as the ANC approaches State power. The ANC itself, through its drive for power and its need

for compromise (and its limited experience at securing policy aims), will find it difficult to press forward with a nation-building project. The classic institutions of civil society that have been developed within the bosom of a bounded white society are now becoming delegitimated because of their racist associations. The real challenge for the construction of democracy at the political level will be to find some way of uniting these strands in an effective and coherent way. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**336 FRIEDMAN, Steven**

Afterword: the brief miracle? In: *The SMALL miracle, South Africa's negotiated settlement*, edited by Steven Friedman and Doreen Atkinson. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994, p. 331 - 337.  
ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

Analyses the reasons why the various parties in the negotiation process were prepared to shift ground to reach a political settlement and chose coexistence over conflict in a settlement designed to accommodate power blocks. Outlines points of difference remaining and indicates the need for co-operation as well as compromise. South Africa's transition remains fragile and uncertain.

**337 FRIEDMAN, Steven and STACK, Louise**

The magic moment: the 1994 election. In: *The SMALL miracle: South Africa's negotiated settlement*, edited by Steven Friedman and Doreen Atkinson. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994, p. 301 - 330. *South African review*, no. 7  
ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

Reviews the 1994 election and its outcome, the campaign, boycotting, the IEC its functions and its rudderless swaying without timely legislation, and the polling and vote count itself. "The poll horrified the purists, for it carried the spirit and style of the negotiations into most aspects of election management and the campaign itself. Like the process, it was messy enough to promise certain failure - and to deliver near-total success". Concludes with an outcome agreed by sufficient consensus, flaws revealed by difficult realities and lessons to be learned.

**338 FRIEDMAN, Steven**

Team SA: it's the centre forward who will score the goals, not the right or left wing. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 1, 6 January 1994, p. 32 - 33.

Warns that the new constitution will face resentment from both sides of the political spectrum and contends that the centre is divided. Maintains that the threat from the White Right remains limited, looks at the potential problem of non-participation by the Inkatha Freedom Party in the election and outlines problems likely to face a new, democratic government. Concludes by citing circumstances that will carry the settlement despite disruptions and threats of extremism. (ISAP).

**339 FRIEDMAN, Steven**

Yesterday's pact: power sharing and legitimate governance in post-settlement South Africa. Johannesburg: CPS (Centre for Policy Studies), 1994, 28 p. (Policy issues and actors, vol. 7, no. 3: CPS transition series)

Argues that the "durability of the post-apartheid policy is likely to depend not on strengthening power sharing between political parties but on corporatist accommodations between the majority in the new government, and key constituencies in its own and the minority camp. This challenges some assumptions about this divided society, and perhaps more generally about all these societies. But a concluding section will suggest that while the new South African order is likely to survive, democracy's future remains highly uncertain." (Author's introduction). Edited version of a paper delivered to the panel on 'Crises of Legitimacy and Governance' at the 16th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, held in Berlin on 21 - 25 August 1994.

**340 FRIELINGHAUS, Julia**

Virtuous trends in South African society. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1994, 19 p. (Spotlight, no.2/94)

The advent of universal suffrage and the holding of the first fully multiracial elections are necessary milestones



to be passed on the road to democracy in South Africa. This report looks at day-to-day actions, as well as longer-term trends and practices, that may provide the foundation of a free and open society in the country. It also pays attention to what people say - particularly when they speak up for the rights of others. The report first looks at the election manifestoes of the ANC and the National Party (NP). Then it highlights such issues as civil society, housing, State schooling, private education, universities, media ownership and control, strikes, and the economy. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**341 FROST, Mervyn**

Choosing an electoral system. *Suid-Afrikaan*, no. 43, February/March 1993, p. 19 - 22.

The head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Natal in Durban describes the three main electoral systems used in modern democracies, plurality, majority and proportional, analyzes their differing outcomes and drawbacks and assesses their suitability for South Africa and its forthcoming elections. Discussions are included on the 'double ballot', alternative vote, coalition government, list system and the single transferable vote (STV). Notes modifications of the list system proposed by Andrew Reynolds.

**342 FROST, Mervyn**

Democracy delayed. *Indicator SA*, vol. 12, no. 1, Summer 1994, p. 21 - 26.

Attempts to determine whether a stable framework for democratic politics has been established in South Africa. (Africa Institute).

**343 FROST, Mervyn and JOHNSON, R W**

Preparing for democracy in an authoritarian state. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R. W .Johnson & Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 16 - 34.  
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Overviews the bargaining process between 1900 and 1994 that laid the ground rules for a democratic

political order. Against the background of the struggle the author surveys political power play, phases of negotiation, constitution building and the persistence of territoriality. Concludes that "Although there was a multiparty election on 27 April 1994 which was declared 'free and fair' by the IEC and many international observer groups, the political culture within which it took place was far from democratic and the election was not preceded by multiparty politics of a normal kind".

- 344 FUTURE OF THE NATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE: LEGITIMISING PUBLIC ORDER POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA.** Conference Papers. Halfway House, Transvaal: Centre for Policy Studies, 1994, various pagings.

Papers presented to a conference organized by the Centre for Policy Studies and the Institute for Defence Policy, 25 January 1994. Contents:- Description of the available security forces, including the NPF, by B. Sass; The view of the ANC/MK, by S. Nyanda; The view of the IFP, by G. Woods; Patterns in individual, crowd and mass violence by, P.M. Zulu; Violence before, during and after elections on 27 April 1994, by C. de Kock; Control of the SDUs, by T. Motumi; The marshals, by O. Bapela; The Wits-Vaal Peace Corps, by P. Harris; Peace Accord Monitors/Representative, Natal/KwaZulu Peace Secretariat; International observers, by M. Ndula; Reforming public order policing - a longer term perspective, by J. Cilliers; Future planning and problems by Sub-Council of Defence representative; Legal implications and requirements, by F. Haysom.

- 345 GAMES** politicians play. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 5, no. 7, November 1993, (entire issue: 19p.).

Political parties are questioned on their stance, policies and strategies regarding the negotiations, the proposed constitution and the elections. The article includes responses from IFP (Ziba Jiyane), PAC (J.P.Mlambo), SACP (Jeremy Cronin), NP (Marthinus van Schalkwyk), ANC (Carl Niehaus), DP (Tony Leon), and AVF (S. Maninger).

- 346 GARBER, Larry**  
Election commissions: responsibilities and composition. Washington, DC: NDI, [1995], 8 p.

Memorandum discussing the different models that have been used to establish a national election commission responsible for administering an election, based on the experiences of the NDI in more than 25 countries. Considers a commission's potential responsibilities, and the resources and expertise required for operational procedures.

- 347 GARBER, Larry**  
South African elections and the role of the international community. In: ELECTION monitoring and observing in South Africa: a national conference, May 14-16, 1993 Durban, South Africa. Resource book. [Durban]: Centre for Development Studies, 1993, p. 31 - 39.

"This memorandum is designed to assist CODESA participants in defining an appropriate role for the international community with respect to South Africa's prospective electoral process (and does not consider the support that the international community might provide to assist with the overall transition). The memorandum outlines various contributions that the international community has made in supporting electoral processes, particularly during the past five years. The different models adopted by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, Commonwealth nations, individual governments, political party internationals and nongovernmental organizations are discussed." (Authors overview).

- 348 GENDER** and cultural identity: 'How South Africa's women are changing the nation's mind'. *The Bluestocking*, 1999, p. 14 - 18.

Reflects on a gender rights revolution achieved by South African women within less than half a decade since the first democratic election in 1994. Photograph and diagram. (PISAL).

- 349** The **GENERAL** elections: some ideas for ensuring a free and democratic election. *HSRC Special Communiqué*, no. 2, 1993, (8 p. folded).

Based on HSRC report "The prospect for a free democratic election" this leaflet summarizes its guide line recommendations for the run-up to the election, the election itself, voter literacy programmes and transport.

- 350 GENERAL** election. *N.T.C.I. Current Affairs Update*, no. 1, February 1994, p. 10 - 11.

Monitors and analyses the electioneering campaigns of political parties and organizations in the run-up to the first non-racial elections in South Africa. Provides a barometer of projected support and seats each political party is likely to win. Outlines important developments and/or events regarding the April '94 general election during the period mid-December 1993 to mid-February 1994. (ISAP).

- 351 GENERAL** explanatory note on the third draft of the Independent Electoral Commission Act submitted by the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, 4 p.

Submitted: 17 August 1993.

- 352 GEVISSER, Mark and LOUW, Chris**  
The four maybes. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 6.

The authors analyse the political situation in the four regions in which the ANC is not assured of a clear victory - Natal, the Northern Cape, the PWV and the Western Cape, and speculate on the probable outcome in each area.

- 353 GEVISSER, Mark**  
Clash of the television titans. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 6.

Speculates on the forthcoming TV debate between Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, the impact of their personalities, and their probable mastery of the medium. Touches on some aspects of media

preparation and training by political parties.

**354 GEVISSER, Mark**

Clinton's men on the ANC campaign trail. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 8, 25 February - 3 March 1994, p. 10.

Reports on the methods that Stanley Greenberg and Frank Geer (who master-minded Clinton's 1992 campaign) will use to fine tune the ANC's message and media campaign in the 1994 elections.

**355 GEVISSER, Mark**

Crossing the line. *Work in Progress*, Supplement, April/May 1999, p. 20 - 21.

Elaborates on the conflict facing female politicians between the consensus already achieved on women's rights issues and their future roles as parliamentarians. Includes references to gender issues in election campaigns for the 1994 elections.

**356 GEVISSER, Mark**

IEC struggling to be ready for vote. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 10, 11 - 17 March, 1994, p. 3.

Describes the difficulties facing the Independent Electoral Commission and fears from international observers and NGOs that the process is dangerously behind schedule. Notes the response of several senior IEC members to this.

**357 GEVISSER, Mark**

On the election road of FW: the movie. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 7, 18 - 24 February 1994, p. 8 - 9.

Reports on F.W. de Klerk's campaign trail in the Orange Free State and on his attempts to win over new black voters to the National Party.

**358 GEVISSER, Mark**

The script's ready. Just fill in the dots. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 17.

Paints a picture of the international media's

preparations for the elections, and quotes a wide range of opinions concerning the pre-election political situation and the roles of the reporters working for foreign networks expecting a bloodbath and instead submitting contextualizing features.

**359 GEVISSER, Mark**

Squabbles leading up to the great debate. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 6.

Describes the issues and attitudes behind arrangements for the seventy minute television debate between Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk. Notes its format, the personalities involved, and the stances of the ANC and the National Party concerning this presidential debate.

**360 GEVISSER, Mark**

Ssh ... three taboo election topics. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 10, 11 - 17 March 1994, p. 10 - 11.

Presents three key issues that political parties are reluctant to discuss or to tackle - polygamy, abortion and gay rights, and examines the attitudes of the major parties towards them.

**361 GEVISSER, Mark**

Under the pig's hat, a careful strategy. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 15, 15 - 21 April 1994, p. 6.

Summarizes the strategies of political campaigns of the ANC, the NP and the DP in the 1994 elections, and, in this context, analyses the applied psychology behind their advertising campaigns in print and radio. Gives examples and mentions specific advertising agencies whose products have been effective.

**362 GILDER, Barry**

Voter education: democracy's first challenge. In: *FOUNDING democracy and the new South African voter*, edited by Lawrence Schlemmer and Ian Hirschfeld. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1994, p. 209 - 223.  
ISBN : 0-7969-1583-0

"In this chapter Barry Gilder reviews the challenge that voter education poses to the process of democratic transition in South Africa and elaborates on what is being done to meet this challenge". A description of the work of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) is included.

**363 GILIOMEE, Hermann and SIMKINS, Charles**

The dominant party regimes of South Africa, Mexico, Taiwan and Malaysia, a comparative assessment. In: *The AWKWARD embrace: one-party domination and democracy*, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Charles Simkins. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1999, p.1 - 45.  
ISBN : 0-624-03729-0

Chapter I of this work traces the use and persistence of party domination in four semi-industrialized countries, Mexico, Taiwan, Malaysia and South Africa. In making comparisons it briefly review party leadership in South Africa, analyses pressures towards a transition to democracy, the consolidation of dominance of the ANC, the electoral process in 1994, the political consequences of this, the character of the party, its problems, and probable future.

**364 GILIOMEE, Hermann**

Great white hope. *Indicator SA*, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn 1994, p.18 - 20.

The National Party seems likely to remain in control of the Western Cape after the elections. To do so in future, it will have to maintain its current level of Coloured support. (Journal abstract).

**365 GILIOMEE, Hermann**

The National Party's campaign for a liberation election. In: *ELECTION '94 South Africa: the campaign results and future prospects*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 43 - 71.  
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

This chapter first examines some of the developments that gave rise to the party's different and conflicting images, either as 'outfoxed and outlasted' by the ANC in the prolonged negotiations, or as the party which was the main architect of the new system, before

turning to an analysis of the NP's election campaign and its efforts to project itself as a non-racial party.

**366 GILIOMEE, Hermann**

The non-racial franchise and Afrikaner and Coloured identities, 1910-1994. *African Affairs*, vol. 94, no. 375, April 1995, p.199 - 255.

Compares the democratic franchise in the American South with that of Coloureds in the Cape Province between 1910 and 1929. Thereafter, the author discusses franchise expansion in the early 1990s, as well as the election of 1994, where most Coloureds voted for the National Party - the very party which had disenfranchised them earlier. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**367 GILIOMEE, Hermann**

South Africa's emerging dominant-party regime. *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 4, October 1998, p.128 - 142.

In the context of South Africa's transition from racial authoritarianism 'towards inclusive democracy' this study examines the dominance of the ANC, the reasons for this and the limits to it, the economic situation, and corporatism and opposition politics. The section "Electoral Systems and Party Dominance" discusses the use of the proportional representation system (PR) in the 1994 election and notes its effects and benefits to the ANC. Other topics include multi-ethnic lists, the issue of race and the territoriality of political views.

**368 GOLDSTONE Commission: nagging questions.**  
*Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 1, 1 April 1994, p. 51.

Comments on the issue of the Goldstone Commission report on public violence presented to President F. W. de Klerk on 18 March 1994. Questions the timing of its publication, and other unanswered matters - the first whether the alleged "third force" activities continue, the second whether Judge Goldstone has still more unrevealed evidence.

**369 GOLDSTONE COMMISSION**



Towards violence free elections in South Africa.  
Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1993, 63 p.  
ISBN : 0-7969-1539-3

"The Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation ... constituted a multinational panel of experts to submit testimony to the commission concerning procedures which would limit the likelihood of violence and intimidation before, during and after the forthcoming elections in South Africa. This book is the testimony of the Panel .... It reflects the full range of the Panel's discussion, including both issues that relate more broadly to the overall structure of the election and those that have direct bearing on the problems of violence. The issues that are discussed include the role and composition of the Independent Electoral Commission, voter education, the scheduling of the election, the voting process, and the counting of ballots, as well as more obviously pertinent questions relating to the role of the police, the role of the international monitors and observers, and the management of campaign demonstrations." (Publishers).

**370 GOLDSTUCK, Arthur**

Ink in the porridge: urban legends of the South African elections. London: Penguin, 1994, 221 p.  
ISBN : 0-14-024659-2

Third in a trilogy of urban legends containing anecdotes and humorous stories, focused on voting and the elections. (Don Africana). The review in Boardroom, no. 1, 1995, p. 31, sees the legends that emerged during and before the April 1994 elections as reflecting the psychological history of the final months of the old South Africa.

**371 GOTZ, Graeme and SHAW, Mark**

Between territory and autonomy: choice and first time voters in the PWV election. N. p: n. pub, 1994, 27 p.

Analyses the elections in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand Vereeniging (PWV) region, considers the possibilities of truly democratic choice present and investigates to what degree the first time voters were enabled or constrained to make critical and creative choices in the

election. "The discussion proceeds through three sections. As a first step it considers the underlying political milieu of the Reef, asking to what extent it was conducive to critical choice by opening up or closing off the capacity for social interrogation of those inserted into it. Secondly, it presents an analysis of the period of campaigning itself, showing how the form and content of party campaigns brought a new set of pressures, both negative and positive, to bear on political identities. Lastly, it contemplates the effect of the election itself as a distinct political moment rounding off the campaign".

**372 GOTZ, Graeme and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

The burden of consensus. *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn 1994, p. 15 - 17.

In the context of the criteria for 'free and fair' elections, two members of the "Launching Democracy project" report on electoral conditions in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand - Vereeniging (PWV) area. There they detect three sets of constraints creating a milieu largely adverse to open contestation by political parties: pressure to conform to the political characters of a locality (civic associations, street committees churches) and to the partisanship of community structures; the closure of political space, exacerbated by the political campaigns and strategies; the phenomenon of rigid no-go areas leading to open territorial conflict and inaccessibility of information.

**373 GOTZ, Graeme and SHAW, Mark**

The election on the Reef: choice and first-time voters in Gauteng (the PWV). In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, edited by R.W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. London, etc: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 21 - 246.  
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

This chapter considers the possibilities for adequate democratic choice during the first all-inclusive election in Gauteng (formerly PWV) region. Through a careful examination of some of the events, processes and campaign practices witnessed during the electoral period, as well as the broader political background against which these took place, it seeks to engage the

following key question: given the democratic ideal of free and equal choosers symbolically reinventing themselves and their society during elections, to what degree were first-time voters in Gauteng enabled or constrained to make critical and creative choices? The discussion proceeds through three sections. As a first step it considers the underlying political milieu of the Reef, asking to what extent it was conducive to critical choice by opening up or closing off the capacity for self-interrogation of potential voters. Second, it presents an analysis of the period of campaigning itself, showing how the form and content of party campaigns brought a new set of pressures, both negative and positive, to bear on political identities. Lastly, it contemplates the effect of the election itself as a distinct political moment rounding off the campaign. Reproduced in *Double Take*, No. 23, first quarter, 1996, -p.

**374 GOULD, Ron**

Free and fair ... and fast! *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 3, 31 May 1993, p. 8 - 9; 31.

Canadian international election management specialist is interviewed by IDASA's media director Sue Valentine, and answers questions concerning the requirements for democratic elections. Topics include the composition of an electoral commission, the roles of Home Affairs and of the security forces, voter education and voter registration.

**375 GOULD, Ron**

Report on visit to South Africa April 1 - 19, 1993. N. p. n. pub, 1993, 34 p. + 3 p.

"This report is divided into three parts. Part One, is a summary of the overall impressions formed from the various meetings and consultations which took place; Part Two, consists of a detailed activity report containing some elaboration of information obtained during the course of consultations, and Part Three attempts to summarize the general approach to the various electoral matters which were presented for consideration and discussion to the individuals, organizations and groups, with which I met. Also included are two appendices, one listing names, and

addresses (where available), and individuals I met with (Appendix A), and the other listing publications I received (Appendix B)." Part 3. ' South African elections - Discussions - Options - Considerations', summarizes discussions concerning election date, representation, Election Commission, Elections Act, ancillary election bodies, political party registration, voter registration, voter education, voting hours and voting period, voting stations, ballot boxes, indelible ink, human resources, counting of the votes, violence and security, election observers - monitors.

**376 GOULD, Ron**

Towards free and fair elections: the role of international observers. *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 9, 1994, p. 4 - 7.

Subject indicated by title.

**377 GOUWS, Amanda**

Looking for the gender gap. *Work in Progress. Supplement*, April/May 1994, p. 2021.

Reports on research undertaken into women's political attitudes by Markinor polls and by the National Women's Coalition (NWC). In an exercise organized by the Women's Lobby, Markinor's results indicate 33% prepared to raise campaign money, 28% to establish a campaign organization and 19% to seek party candidacy.

**378 GOVERNMENT - ANC talks with FA. Keesing's Record of World Events**, vol. 40, no. 1, January 1994, p. 39802.

Reports on political developments in South Africa in January 1994 - protracted talks between the government, the ANC and the Federal Alliance (FA) in an attempt to encourage the FA to participate in the elections, on threats on the part of the IFP to boycott the elections, on other moves by Afrikaner right wing parties, on the stance of the Pan Africanist Congress to rejoin the constitutional process and on Ciskei's withdrawal from the FA. The UN Security Council by adopting Resolution 894 (1994) expands the mandate of UNOMSA to include observation of the elections.

- 379 GOVERNMENT** of National Unity: no place to hide. *Financial Mail*, vol. 135, no. 7, 17 February 1995, p. 22 - 26.

Warns that government cannot rule effectively and notes the role of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in checking excesses while considering the numerical composition and nature of the GNU. Speculates on the possible outcome of the National Party's leaving the GNU and stresses the role of an official opposition. Considers the inability of the Constitutional Assembly to fulfill its role, outlines the purpose of a constitution and the need for party representation at the drafting of the constitution, discusses economic preconditions for a competitive global position and looks at features likely to feature at the next election. (ISAP).

- 380 GRAHAM, Paul**  
Election trail - and obstacle course. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 2, 15 April 1993, p. 16 - 17.

IDASA's National Programme Director pinpoints and discusses five areas that require to be managed to ensure free and fair elections: violence to be contained, security maintained and a climate of peace established; institutions of state and government should be de-linked from the ruling party; agreement on a constitutional framework has to be reached; the electoral process itself defined, and the election results verified. Notes the roles of observers and monitors and lessons to be learned from elections elsewhere in Africa.

- 381 GRANGE, Helen**  
The UN tallyman who will watch over us all. *Star*, 1 March 1994, - p.

The director of the electoral division of the United Nations Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA) is currently in South Africa to supervise the roughly 3000 election observers from the UN, the Commonwealth, European Union and Organization for African Unity. (Sardius).

- 382 GREAT** expectations: women's rights and the 1994 election. *Work in Progress*, Supplement. Issue 96,

April 1994, p. 1 - 24.

This supplement focuses on women's rights in the new South Africa. Illustrated with sketches and photographs. Selected articles are individually included.

**383 GREEN, Pippa**

The election: who would have dreamed. *Leadership*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1994, p. 104 - 119.

A photographic article on the many-faceted first democratic election in South Africa, held on 27 April 1994. (Sardius).

**384 GREEN, Pippa**

En route to the temple of doom. *Leadership*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1994, p.24 - 37.

South Africa's first free election in the end judged - roughly - to be fair, as well. Pippa Green and David Goldblatt went to remote and isolated areas of KwaZulu to see what would happen on The Day. What happened was chaotic, but among the disillusionment and questionable behaviour they found three electoral officers determined to make things work and bring democracy to the farthest-flung rural areas. The story of these men, over those critical days, intimates a wider tale of what real commitment to the democratic process means. (Journal summary).

**385 GREENBLO, Alan**

End of the beginning. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 5, 5 - 11 May 1994, p. 3.

Editorial comment salutes the celebration of freedom reflected in the election results, culminating with 'the magnanimity in victory of Nelson Mandela and graciousness in defeat of F .W. de Klerk'. Postulates a transformation to a democratic order and a South Africa open to every opportunity.

**386 GREEST, Jeremy**

Transition to democracy: the South African and Mozambican election experience of 1994. In: POSTMODERNISM in Africa. [Pretoria]: n. pub, 1995,

p. 93 - 99.

Aims to contribute to comparative studies of democratization by addressing the elections and democratization process in South Africa and Mozambique from the 'procedural' and 'normative' perspectives. Analyses the political background to the elections - especially negotiation processes to end civil conflict and set the framework for transition, the management of campaigns, the election campaigns themselves and election results. Looks at prospects for democratic consolidation. (Africa Institute). Also published in: *Africanus*, vol. 25, no.1, 1995, p. 5 - 14.

**387 GRUNDY, Kenneth M.**

South Africa: putting democracy to work. *Current History*, vol. 94, no. 591, April 1995, p.172 - 176.

Describes the election process in South Africa as 'a necessary but not a sufficient component of the democratic process'. Focuses on the elections and problems and challenges facing the new government. The Government of National Unity's structure is discussed, the Reconstruction and Development Programmes examined. Negotiation in every vital policy area is apparent. The transformation of politics into a climate of consensus is regarded in a positive light.

**388 GUELKE, Adrian**

The heart of the miracle: the 1994 elections. In: GUELKE, A. South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle. London: I.B.Tauris, 1999, p.122 - 134. (International Library of African Studies, 10)  
ISBN : 1-86064-343-4

Examines the orderly transfer of power - "The achievement of the holding of elections with the participation of all the major strands of opinion ... from the far left to the extreme right and encompassing all races or ethnic groups and the acceptance by the parties of the results were seen by many as a miracle". Notes the euphoria of the time and negative judgments of some political scientists. Discusses the integrity of the voting process itself, the technical problems

involved, and those faced by the IEC, in the context of a description of the conduct of the elections and an analysis of their outcome. Reviews the measure of racial polarization among voters, and concludes that the different patterns of voting in the regions largely simply mirrors the differences in their racial composition and reflects party control of territory in the run-up to polling. Pays special attention to KwaZulu-Natal and the extent to which there was freedom from intimidation and coercion there. Contains tables of results. Reviewed in the Mail & Guardian, 14 - 20 May 1999, p. 29 by Anthony Egan.

**389 GUELKE, Adrian**

South Africa's 'peace' elections: the regional dimension. *Regional Politics and Policy*, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 1994, p. 117 - 125.

Considers the outcome of the May 1994 regional election results, especially the IFP gains in KwaZulu-Natal. Guelke states that it would be unlikely for the ANC-dominated government to neglect regional issues in the post-apartheid era - the IFP's stance will ensure that. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**390 GUPTA, Anirudha**

South Africa in time perspective. *International Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, April - June 1994, p.127 - 138.

Views the transition to democracy, the demise of apartheid and the April 1994 elections in South Africa from the perspective of an historian. The end of the Cold War, the eroding effect of sanctions and ongoing domestic unrest are regarded as decisive factors which accelerated change in South Africa. The Zulu issue of secessionism and federalism is also analyzed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

**391 GUTTERIDGE, William**

The military in South African politics: champions of national unity?, London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict ..., 1994, 29 p. Conflict studies

Traces the background to the military integration process and the military in the post-election period under civilian rule and as a symbol of national unity.



(Sardius).

**392 HADLAND, Adrian**

Ambassadors meet Freedom Alliance. *Business Day*, 3 March 1994, - p.

Ambassadors representing the twelve European Union countries met the Freedom Alliance leaders and discussed the possibility of the Alliance taking part in the elections. (Sardius).

**393 HAFFAJEE, Ferial**

Access to farms still a problem. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 7, 18 - 24 February 1994, p.10.

Concise report on the ways in which election regulations have affected voter registration and electioneering on farms. Notes the reactions of the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU).

**394 HAFFAJEE, Ferial**

The sisterhood could do with some pack mentality. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, Vol. 10, no. 8, 25 February - 3 March 1994, p. 17.

Notes differences within the Women's National Coalition, the formation of two very small, very marginal women's parties - the South African Women's Party and the Women's Rights Peace Party - and discusses the role women's issues may play in determining how the female electorate votes. Argues that "Women must get their act together if they want to make the most of the opportunities the future government will offer".

**395 HAGEN, Hugo**

Commonwealth observers' neutrality pledge. *Citizen*, 12 April 1994, - p.

The Commonwealth Observer Group to South Africa (COGSA) would accomplish its mission in absolute objectiveness and neutrality, the deputy chairman and former Governor-General of New Zealand, Sir Paul Reeves said in Johannesburg yesterday. (Sardius).

**396 HALLOWES, D.**

Beyond the ballot box: OD issues in voter education. *OD Debate*, vol. 1, no. 1, February 1994, p. 1, 3.

Reports on the Voter Education and Election Training Unit's (VEETU's) Election Management Training and Voter Education programmes, the biggest mass training initiatives ever to be undertaken in South Africa. (ISAP).

**397 HAMILL, James**

'Free at last'. *West Africa*, 9 - 15 May 1994, p. 810 - 812.

The author assesses the South African elections and gives reasons for the overwhelming victory of the ANC, for the National Party's victory in the Western Cape and for the IFP, PAC and DP results. (Sardius).

**398 HAMILL, James and SPENCE, J.E.**

South Africa's watershed election. *World Today*, vol. 50, no. 7, July 1994, p. 128 - 132.

The authors interpret the election as a defining moment in South Africa's troubled history. Initially they sketch five grounds for pessimism about the outcome, then detail the results and describes developments that tarnished an otherwise triumphant "electoral coronation" for the ANC. They explain the reasons for the scale of the ANC victory and survey the post-electoral political situation, pinpointing critical issues to be handled. They conclude that the negotiations and elections have paved the way for the emergence of a "wobbly but workable, wheeling and dealing, pluralist democracy".

**399 HAMILL, James**

Who is in and Who is out and Why? Paper presented at the Conference "The South African elections - Personalities Policies and Prospects". Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 20 May 1994, - p.

Paper presented at the conference organized by the University of Birmingham, School of Continuing Studies, the Royal African Society and the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom on 20 May 1994.

**400 HAMILTON, Georgina and MARE, Gerhard**

The Inkatha Freedom Party. In: ELECTION '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 37 - 87.  
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

After a brief look at the region's history, at the interaction between the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and at the manner in which the Inkatha Movement (precursor of the IFP) used ethnicity and regionalism to further their political projects, this chapter reviews the way the KwaZulu government, the IFP, the King and Buthelezi have engaged in, spoiled, or boycotted multi-party negotiations since 1991. Examines the electoral process, voting, and the results.

**401 HARBER, Anton**

Price of an X is a queue. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p.10.

Personal account of voting in central Johannesburg in the first democratic election, and of the multicultural experience of queuing for two hours in order to do so. The author concludes: "For whites at least, democracy means having to queue".

**402 HARBER, Anton and LUDMAN, Barbara**

A to Z of South African politics: the essential handbook. Johannesburg: Weekly Mail & Guardian, 1994, 357 p.

"This book provides an assessment of the person or organization, including their strengths and weaknesses, reputation and an analysis of why they will be important in the coming elections in South Africa". (SARDC)

**403 HARGEY, Taj and ESO, Hank**

South Africa - last hurdles? *Africa Profiles International*, April/May 1994, p. 45 - 46.

Consider "whether the country's political power-sharing will mean peace and stability; two articles written

before the April multi-racial 1994 elections". (PAIS)

**404 HARVEY, Mduduzi ka**

On your knees, leaders. And we will vote. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 11.

Personal account by an observer of a visit of six VIP political leaders to Moria City at the time when six million members of the Zion Christian Church congregated to celebrate Easter. In his address Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane blesses the ANC, NP, PAC, DP, AZAPO and IFP leaders present (including Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk) and dispels rumours of an election boycott by his followers.

**405 HARVEY, Mduduzi ka**

Potential voters queue up for mock poll. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 7, 18 - 24 February 1994, p. 9.

Brief journalistic report on the mock elections held in Soweto aimed at teaching township people how to vote, and on one voter's experiences at that time.

**406 HASSIM, Shireen**

The dual politics of representation: women and electoral politics in South Africa. *Politikon*, vol. 26, no. 2, November 2000, p. 201 - 212.

This article examines the politics of women's representation in South Africa. It argues that there has been a significant shift since 1994 in ways in which women's organizations have articulated women's electoral interests. While women's organizations and women within political parties have been outwardly in agreement about the need for increasing women's representation, there are differences in their policy positions with respect to strategies for advancing equality. Within women's forums, these differences have been openly and sometimes acrimoniously debated. The article suggests that there is a dual electoral politics: an external level at which the coherence of women as a group is emphasized, and an internal level at which differences between women are recognized and debated. This dual politics is seen as inevitable in a situation in which women continue to be numerically under-represented in electoral bodies.

The article examines the consolidation of women's gains in representation in the 1994 and 1999 elections, and suggests ways in which women's constituency building may be strengthened. (Abstract). It includes a table for 'Women MPs in national legislature by party affiliation, 1994 and 1999'. The author is a lecturer in Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

**407 HASSIM, Shireen**

Gendering Parliament. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol. 14, no. 3. May 1999, p. 19 - 22.

The article first argues that "one of the most notable features of the government elected in the first South African democratic elections was the significant number of women elected - nearly 25% of all MPs", then notes the increased percentage of women members of Parliament consequent to the 1994 election, and queries to what extent gender equality has been advanced through government policies and legislation. Considers the effects of proportional representation and the list system, and the dilemmas involved in the promotion of women's issues. Discusses the accountability of women MP's, the tasks facing them and moral pressures on them. Contains two boxes: Box 1, Women MPs in the National Legislature by party affiliation, 1994; Box 2, Policy and legislative changes to end discrimination against women.

**408 HELLO** voters for the new South Africa: an independent guide for election 1994. *Hello Voter Magazine*, Roodepoort: Hello Voter Magazine, 1994, 17p. + 17p.

Hello Voters is a pre-election magazine introducing the various political organizations participating in the upcoming elections to the voters by means of presenting their manifestos, constitutions, answers to questions put forward by the voters, photographs of the five senior members and a logo or flag of each participating party. (Journal introduction).

**409 HENNING, L. and COETZER, A.**

The Independent Electoral Commission. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994,

p. 179 - 219.

Presents a discussion of the work of the IEC, its composition, objectives, structures and tasks. Major section discuss the preparation and course of the election (voter education, administration and irregularities), financial implications, the election in KwaZulu-Natal, electoral tribunals, the electoral appeal tribunals and the special electoral court, and the vexed question of "a free and fair election?".

**410 HERBST, Jeffrey**

Creating a new South Africa. *Foreign Policy*, no. 94, Spring 1994, p. 120 - 135.

At the threshold of democratic elections in South Africa, an analyst assesses political and economic issues, such as the stances of the various political parties, especially those of the ANC and the National Party. The author describes the high expectations by Blacks and doubts towards the future by Whites, and touches on aspects such as nationalization, violence and economic reconstruction. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

**411 HIGHWAYS to hell.** *Work in Progress*, no. 96, April 1994, p. 16 - 17.

Analysts were asked to survey some of the routes organized right-wing political parties might take to disrupt the elections. Some of the more prominent scenarios are focused on. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

**412 HILL, Steven**

South African elections show the way toward racial fairness. N. p.: n. pub. d.(Entire issue 3 p.).

Includes an account of the "first multiracial election in South Africa completely using party list PR", outlines various types of PR, including the German 'mixed member' system, and advocates the use of the proportional representation voting system in the United States. States that this article has been published in *The Humanist*.

**413 HIRSON, Baruch**

The election of a government. *Searchlight South Africa*, no. 12, June 1995, p. 6 - 13.

Considers the April 27 1994 election in South Africa and critically assesses its effects. The behaviour of the new government, luxurious living by cabinet members, and widespread corruption are all condemned.

**414 HIRST, Manton**

Ballot safe from seer's gaze. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, 15 April 1994, p. 9 - 10.

Advocates that the problems raised by the powers of traditional diviners, or sangomas, to reveal votes are best countered by the voter education of indigenous healers. Technically, claiming to have the power to know how people voted, is a form of illegal political intimidation that has to be met by a counter move.

**415 HOLIDAYS: elections and the factory floor. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 2, 7 April 1994, p. 4.**

Discusses attempts by employers and unions to reach agreement on the issue of election-day holidays and looks at the different positions of various unions. Highlights fears by employers about the impact of expectations on industrial relations and examines arrangements made to accommodate workers and employers. (ISAP).

**416 HORN, Pat**

Sisters are doing it for themselves. *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn 1994, p. 37-39.

Ninety-four women's organizations and coalitions joined forces to draw up the Women's Charter for Effective Equality. After April elections, armed with a Charter and taking advantage of transition, they intend mobilizing support to pressure a new government to ensure equality in a new South Africa. (Journal introduction). Includes the text of the Women's Charter adopted at the Women's National Coalition second national conference on 27 February 1994.

**417 HORN, Pat**

Women at the crossroads. *Work in Progress*, Supplement, April/May 1994, p. 2.

Summarizes the challenges facing women's movements and organizations as a new government of national unity is formed and the women's wings of political organizations find themselves in a new role.

- 418 HOW** real are the election promises? *Mayibuye*, March 1994, p. 8 - 10.

Focuses on the ANC's election manifesto, identifying its major features and discussing questions such as financial obligations. Principal areas of concern are the drafting of the new constitution, improvement in quality of life, job-creation, rural development, education, housing, health, a programme for peace and security and international relations.

- 419 HOY, M. J.**  
Voting station sizes. [Pretoria]: [Independent Electoral Commission ?], 22 March 1994, 2 p.

Memo to EAD (Election Administration Directorate) from EAD Provisioning and Procurement, Tuesday, 22nd March 1994.

- 420 HUCK, Sue**  
Suppressing the "White tribe": the war against South Africa. *Conservative Review*, March/April 1994, p. 11 - 16.

Takes the "view that popularity of the African National Congress is the result of collaboration of US capitalists, the media, communists, and others". (PAIS).

- 421 HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL.** Centre for Socio-political Analysis  
An overview of political violence and conflict trends in South Africa with specific reference to the period January - June 1994: submission to ESKOM. N. p.: n. pub.1994, 52 p.

This paper analyses political violence in South Africa, focusing on Transvaal, in particular the PWV region



(Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging), and Natal. Between February 1990 and December 1993 an estimated 12,000 people died in political violence in these areas. Since 1990, a high profile part of the political violence has been the large incidence of so-called massacres. The political violence has also found expression since 1990 in an increase in attacks on policemen both on and off-duty. The main part of the paper is devoted to an overview of protest and violent events in South Africa in the years 1991, 1992 and 1993, and in the period January-May 1994. Special attention is paid to the Katorus area (Katlehong/Thokoza/Vosloorus inclusive of Phola Park) in the PWV region, which has, since mid-1990, displayed consistently high numbers of unrest-related deaths, injuries and violent incidents. The paper also pays attention to the increase in right-wing violence and taxi violence in the period preceding the April 1994 elections, violence in prison, and witch burnings in Lebowa. (ASC Leiden abstract). Editors of the overview: Anthony Minnaar and Anthea King.

- 422 HURDLES** to be surmounted before Mandela-Buthelezi agreement can be hailed as a 'breakthrough'. *Southern Africa Report [Johannesburg]*, 4 March 1994, p. 1 - 3.

Critically examines the compromise reached by ANC President Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha. It comprises an agreement by Chief Buthelezi that the IFP will provisionally register for the April elections and an undertaking by Dr. Mandela to consider international mediation. In a short note on p.6, it is mentioned that international mediation might take place after the elections. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 423 HUTTON, Barbara**  
Voter education: manual for community educators. Bellville, Cape: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Develop, 1993, 36 p. + poster. ISBN : 1-86808-136-2

A 'Project Vote' publication: Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs,

Washington, D.C. Part of an election kit for community educators who will run voter education workshops in their own communities aimed at providing information about elections and motivating people to vote. Includes a directory of organizations involved in voter education in South Africa.

**424 HUTTON, Barbara**

Voter education: manual for trainers. Bellville, Cape: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Development, 1992, 44p. + 1 poster.  
ISBN : 1-86808-135-6-0

A 'Project Vote' publication. Published by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, D.C. Part of an election kit for trainers who will run voter education workshops with community educators, its aim is to familiarize previously disenfranchised South Africans with democratic election procedures. Illustrated. Includes a directory of organizations involved in voter education in South Africa.

**425** The IEC never again. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 46 - 47.

Surveys the IEC's mismanagement of the election, the "deluge of complaints" from political parties, procedural irregularities and the unlawful storage of ballot papers. Notes the estimated high cost of the election - R1,5 bn in all, averaging out at about R66 per voter. However, the article quotes various international observer missions as confirming the election to have been substantially free and fair.

**426 ILLING, Bronwyn, and others**

Locating polling stations in KwaZulu/Natal - a GIS case study, by Bronwyn Illing, U. Pillay and D. Scott. *In Focus*, vol. 2, no. 12, February/March 1995, p. 34 - 36.

Describes the manner in which the authors representing the HSRC, the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) and the Education Foundation respectively divided KwaZulu-Natal into Theissen polygons to create artificial catchment areas

for each polling station. Subsequently they determined the population of each area, assessed the viability of each station and dealt with the problems encountered, including time constraints for the April 27 1994 election. "A coming together of Western scientific models and African realities".

**427 ILLING, Bronwyn**

The use of Theisson polygons in the location of polling stations in the 1994 elections: KwaZulu/Natal. *Computer Graphics*, vol. 5, no. 3, June 1994, p. 14 - 15.

Reports on the exercise undertaken by the Education Foundation, Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Social & Economic research (UDW) to plot polling stations in KwaZulu-Natal for the 1994 election. Outlines the methodology used and includes an assessment of it, discussing various problems, among them that of applying the methodology nationwide. Includes maps.

**428 The IMPACT of voter education on election participation: preparing for the 1999 elections. In: EDUCATION for democracy: a series of roundtable proceedings, Eastern Cape, February - September 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1998, p.74 - 89.**

Roundtable 4. Contents: The impact of voter education in the 1994 and 1995 elections, by Bandili Sizani; Lessons from the 1994 elections: a perspective of a former IEC management employee, by Joe Jongolo; Preparing for 1999 elections: challenges for NGO's, by Ilona Tip. Mr. Sizani's assessment uses experience from work done by VEETU (Voter Electoral Training Unit).

**429 IMSSA International Conference on the South African Election: the challenge ahead. *IMSSA Review*, no. 15, March 1994, p. 31 - 33.**

As the reality of a national, democratic South African election dawned, IMSSA called a conference to discuss the challenge that elections offer countries that have little experience of democratic elections. IMSSA

invited experts from countries with similar political and economic conditions to share the lessons of their first democratic elections. The programme contents were structured to allow for a focus on the pre-election period, the election period and the post-election period. Delegates' presentations were based on experiences in Brazil, El Salvador, Bulgaria, Panama and Angola.

- 430** IMSSA voter education programme. *IMSSA Review*, no.15, March 1994, p.36 - 37.

IMSSA's experience over the past years in running ballots, shop steward elections and community elections has placed it in the position to transfer hands-on knowledge of training first-time voters in the South African context, into a comprehensive voter education programme. (Journal introduction). This article describes the choice of programmes offered by the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, their focus, methodology and success. Includes a table of voter education national statistics, July 1993 to March 1994.

**431 INDEPENDENT BOARD OF INQUIRY**

Independent Board of Inquiry: report for December 1993 and January 1994. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: The Board, 1994, 50 p.

This is a report on the situation in South Africa as elections draw near. Political violence and acts of sabotage being carried out on ANC, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), these, as well as a shortage of railway lines and electricity pylons threaten the first all race elections. (Annotated by SARDC).

**432 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

Election Administration Directorate  
Final report May 1994. Johannesburg: IEC, The Directorate, 1994, various pagings.

Includes recommendations and division reports on logistics, planning, staffing, training, special votes, foreign voting and TVC (Temporary Voting Card) task force.

**433 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

Communications Division  
Communications Report, 22 April 1994. Kempton Park:  
IEC, 1994, [7 l.].

Report from the Director, Humphrey Khoza, including approval of the contract regarding Gallaghers Estates and final arrangements for the IEC's Media Centre. Contents: Media Hall & accreditation system, auditorium, management, Media Centre launch, briefings, research, advertising, KwaZulu-Natal, IFP candidates lists & update voting station lists, deployment on voting and counting days, general.

**434 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

Election Administration Directorate  
Republic of South Africa 1994 General Election - National results by Province/District. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 26 May 1994, 15 p.

Tabulates the election results by province, subdivided by districts, arranged in alphabetical order. Includes the numbers of spoilt papers and the number of total votes cast.

**435 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

International Liaison Office  
Final evaluative report on the International Liaison National and Regional Offices. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], various pagings.

An analysis and interpretation of the tasks allotted to the ILO in the 1994 election in its overall mandate of interfacing with the international community. In each instance provides an overview, task accomplishment and task assessment. Includes recommendations for subsequent elections.

**436 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

Monitoring Directorate  
Executive summary of the final report of the monitoring directorate of the Independent Electoral Commission. [Johannesburg]: The Directorate, 1994, 154 p.+ Annexures.

The report, by the Chief Director, Peter Harris, 14 May 1994, details the activities of the thirteen divisions or

departments of the IEC. Reasons for their formation are given in the introduction which is followed by individual executive summaries from each section, conclusions and recommendations. Annexures include: Final report of the Information and Operations Department, (9 p.) Final report on Election Administration, by Fred M. Hayward, United Nations Observer, (5 p.) Report ... Re: The irregularities found on the EAD vote counting system (20 p.).

**437 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

Monitoring Directorate

Provincial monitor deployment plan 26, 27 & 28 April 1994. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 13 April 1994, 80 p + 19 p.+ 3 p.

These documents are compiled by the Monitor Planning Team of the Independent Electoral Commission. The documents are 1) Tactical Plan for Monitor Deployment for the 26, 27 & 28 April 1994: countdown. This covers the activity deadlines by day. 2) Monitor Deployment Planning Framework. This covers voting station and monitors background and allocation input and will be updated with each fresh round of information received from EAD. 3) Monitor Deployment Planning guide: election days Prepared by Jurie Van Niekerk. This covers the actual processes and forms which are needed in order to develop and produce provincial deployment plans.

**438 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.**

Monitoring Directorate

Provincial monitor deployment plan: 26, 27 & 28 April, 13 April 1994 ... set of documents. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1994, various pagings.

Contents: -1. Tactical plan for monitor deployment for the 26th, 27th and 28th of April 1994. Authors: A. Leresche, L. Levetan, P .Harvey Version 4: 14 April 1994. (8 p.) -2. Monitor deployment planning framework, 13 April 1994 ... fixed and mobile voting stations. A. Contains the list of voting stations 'per province per magisterial district' containing fixed voting station site numbers and addresses, as well as a summary list of monitor numbers, per sub - province and mobile voting stations. B. 26 April 1994: Special

votes, includes a briefing document describing the process of 'Special Votes' and the final list of Prison Voting Stations per region. (40 p.) 3. Monitor Deployment Plans, drawn up to be able to deploy the monitors in a correct way during the three days of the elections. Documents. a. Monitor deployment planning guide, election days, prepared by Jurie van Niekerk (National Development, Coordination & Assessment Officer, IEC, Johannesburg). Provides guidelines for regional action, including transport, telecommunications, accommodation and logistics. Feedback to be assessed by the National Operations Centre (NOC), to develop a National Deployment Plan for submission to IEC Commissioners and to ensure contingency planning. (19 p.) b. General Magisterial District Deployment Plan. Annexure 2. (3 p.) c. General SPOC Deployment Plan. Annexure 3. (3 p.) d. General POC Deployment Plan. Annexure 4. (3 p.) Covering note for Monitor Deployment Plans lists procedures to be followed with these.

- 439 INDEPENDENT** Electoral Commission: free and fair? *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 3, 15 April 1994, p. 24 - 27.

Reviews the difficulties facing the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in organizing the election and focuses on the appointment and role of district electoral officers (DEOs). Notes the insistence of IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler that the poll in KwaZulu-Natal should be held, then comments on securing of voting stations, procedures for handling problems, the infrastructure in rural areas and the prospects for a relatively fair election. (ISAP).

- 440 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**  
An end to waiting: the story of South Africa's elections 26 April to 6 May 1994. Johannesburg: IEC, 1995, 128 p.  
ISBN : 0-620-18625-9

An illustrated account of the 1994 elections for a National Assembly and nine provincial legislatures, and of the work of the Independent Electoral Commission. Edited by Paul Bell and Riaan de Villiers. Contents: - The Commission's Report. Extracts from

the official report submitted to President Nelson Mandela in October 1994. - "Once in a lifetime". The personal view and experience of the IEC's Director of Information, Paul Bell. - "Against all odds". The achievements of a 'substantially free and fair election', an account by Pat Schwartz.

**441 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Announcing the election results. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 15 April 1994, 1 leaf. (Independent Electoral Commission. Communications - information and issues. Fact sheet #51 (15/04/94)),

Lists nine projected steps in the procedures for the counting of votes, communication of results, release of running totals, and the final announcements of results.

**442 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Communications - information and issues. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], - p.

Document # 5 : Parties contesting the Provincial Legislatures, 3 p. Document # 6 : Voters and seats per province, 1 p. Document # 7 : List of districts and number of eligible voters, 2 p.

**443 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Counting centre layout. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], 1 leaf fold.

Coloured plan of area. No text.

**444 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Counting station procedures. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], 8 p.

Parts A - H only. Part A: Delivery to the counting station, Part B: Reconciliation of Presiding Officers statements, Part C: Delivery of reconciled ballot boxes to counting tables, Part D: Counting table procedure - sorting of votes according to political party, Part E: Counting table procedures - disputed ballot paper, Part F: Counting table procedures - counting of voters, Part G: Interim tally of votes-challenge/sealing and delivery of batch and batch statement, Part H: Calculation of



total number of votes/signing of tally statement. [ A section from IEC Election Monitoring Training Workshop, day one].

**445 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

The declaration of a free and fair election. [Johannesburg?]: IEC, 1994, 1 leaf. (Independent Electoral Commission. Communications - information and issues. Fact sheet #8),

Notes that when the Commissioners determine whether the election has been substantially free and fair they will take into account the number and nature of complaints reported, and the nature of settlements or judgments. Outstanding matters need not stand in the way of declaring a result. Furthermore: "The IEC can declare the election substantially free and fair generally, but may find that in a specific region it is not possible to make that declaration. In such cases it can order that another election be held in the region concerned". Fax dated April 22 '94.

**446 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Documentation pack for the EXCO meeting to be held on 29 June 1994. [Johannesburg]: [The Commission], 1994, various pagings.

Includes agenda, draft minutes, memoranda and a copy of the Independent Electoral Commission Amendment Bill, [B - 94].

**447 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Draft electoral regulations. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1994, 88 p.

Contains the draft regulations, as finalized on 4 February 1994, that must be approved by the IEC. Issued: A. F. Tredoux for the Independent Electoral Commission.

**448 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Electoral code of conduct for a free and fair election. N. p: IEC, [1994], 1 leaf.

Promises free political campaigning and open public debate throughout the election period. List things that

should, and should not, be done to ensure this.

**449 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Electoral regulations. *Government Gazette*, vol. 344, no. 15506, 17 February 1994, 104 p.

Regulation Gazette No. 5258. Government Notice No. R. 310. This schedule sets out regulations made by the IEC under powers vested in it by section 41 of the Independent Electoral Commission Act 1993 (Act No. 150 of 1993) and section 76 of the Electoral Act, 1993 (Act No. 202 of 1993) in seventeen chapters: Interpretation; Administration; Franchise; Voting stations; Voting procedures; Special votes and special voters; Counting stations and counting of votes; State electoral fund; voting materials and election material; Observers; Monitors; Election adjudication secretariat; Electoral tribunals; Electoral appeal tribunals; Review of decisions of electoral tribunals; General provisions; Offences and penalties. These chapters are followed by fifteen annexures containing forms and documentation.

**450 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Employment contract. *EISA*, no 84, [Johannesburg]: [IEC], n. d, various pagings.

Includes contract (4 p.), Monitoring Directorate claim form 3, Declaration of Secrecy and Protection of Transformation Act, No. 84 of 1982, sections 2, 3 and 4.

**451 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

A free and fair election for all. Final pre-election briefing and news conference ... . Johannesburg: IEC, 1994, 1 leaf.

Announces the launching of the IEC Media Centre at Gallagher Estate, Midrand on Monday 25 April 1994 with a media briefing and news conference. Explains the role the Media Centre will play in the election, including the releasing of election results.

**452 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for counting monitors. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 35 p.

Prepared by an IEC task team acknowledging contributions from thirteen organizations. Compilation by Alan Brews. In the context of the 1994 election and of the structure of the IEC, the handbook explains the roles, duties and conduct of monitors and procedures at counting stations. Workshop with exercises.

**453 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for counting officers and enumerators. Johannesburg: IEC, 1994, 36 p.

Explains their duties and responsibilities, counting station procedures, ballots and the documentation involved. Prepared with the assistance of SACHED Trust and the English Literacy Project.

**454 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for monitors. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], 44 p.

Presents key information on roles and powers, on practical aspects of their tasks, preparation, problems and codes of conduct, all in the context of the 1994 election. Compiled by Alan Brews.

**455 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for party voting agents. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 12 p.

Outlines their duties and responsibilities at the voting station and the counting station. Includes the rules of the Code of Conduct.

**456 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for presiding officers and voting officers. Johannesburg: IEC, 1994, 35 p.

Explains their roles and responsibilities on election days, the administration involved and the layout of voting stations and the part played by observers and monitors.

**457 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for presiding officers of mobile voting stations for April 27 and April 28. [Johannesburg]: IEC,

1994, 10 p.

Explains the role of the mobile voting station the duties and responsibilities of officers involved and the conduct of the poll. Written and produced by the IEC's Election Administration Directorate, Training Division.

**458 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Handbook for provincial election officers and deputies and district officers and deputies. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 28 p.

Includes sections on duties and responsibilities, documents involved, voting days and hours, party liaison, secrecy and security, voters, voting stations and general information. Prepared with the assistance of the SACHED Trust and the English Literacy Project.

**459 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

List of participating political parties in elections. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1994, 1 leaf.

Government Gazette vol. 344, no. 15508, 15 February 1994, General Notice, Notice 146 of 1994. In accordance with the provisions of section 19(5) of the Electoral Act 1993 (Act No.202 of 1993) it is hereby notified that the following applications for registration as a party to participate in the election to be held on 26, 27 and 28 April 1994, were received. Nineteen parties are listed.

**460 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Manual for the training of counting monitors. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 63 p.

Prepared by an IEC task team, with contributions from thirteen organizations. Compilation by Alan Brews, its purpose is to prepare monitors to contribute to free and fair elections by understanding the electoral process and their own roles and skills, including intervention and reporting. Workshop instructions included.

**461 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Manual for the training of monitors. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 67 p.

Compiled by Alan Brews. Prepared by an IEC task team, with contributions from thirteen organizations. Its purpose - to equip trainers with the competence to train staff to monitor the 1994 elections. Provides instructions for a three day workshop.

**462 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Manual for the training of observers and monitors. Johannesburg: IEC, 1994, 70 p.

Prepared by an IEC task team with eleven organizations contributing. Three day workshop covering the roles and duties of monitors, the reporting process, code of conduct, observation of counting and election campaigns, required skills and problem-solving. Attached a letter from Dr N. Magau, Election Administration Directorate, Isando, 11 February 1994 requesting comments from IEC Commissioners and Executive Director on this comprehensive draft manual.

**463 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Manual for the training of observers. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 46 p.

Prepared by an IEC task team with contributions from thirteen organizations, mainly NGOs; compiled by Alan Brews. Aims to provide a basis for the training and orientation of observers for the 1994 elections. Workshop with role-play. Includes instructions for the trainer and a checklist for observing the campaign.

**464 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Monitoring training update. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1994, various pagings.

Addressed to all area and regional training coordinators and monitor trainers, these amendments and updates include new and approved voting processes, voting station procedure and reporting procedures. Covering letter signed by Alan Brews.

**465 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Prospects for a free and fair election in KwaZulu-Natal. [News release]. Pretoria: IEC, 1994, various pagings.

Nine point memoranda issued in Pretoria on 24 March 1994 outlining the serious difficulties encountered in Natal by the IEC in implementing its mandate to administer and conduct free and fair elections on 26 - 28 April 1994, the meeting arranged with the King of the Zulus, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the 'amakhosi' on 23 March 1994 at Ulundi, proceedings at that meeting, and conclusions reached. Emphasizes the urgency of the situation. Appendices: A: Memorandum to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr. M. G. Buthelezi, on proposed cooperation with the IEC in executing its mandate of conducting an election within the territory of KwaZulu, 23 March 1994, Ulundi. B: The 1993 constitution, the election and democracy. An assessment by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha Freedom Party, Ulundi. March 23, 1994. C: Statement made to Judge J C Kriegler, Chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission by his Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu, King of the Zulu Nation, Ulundi, 23rd March 1994.

**466 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Publication of final consolidated lists of candidates. *Government Gazette*, vol. 346, no. 15699, 27 April 1994, 469 p.

Notice 409 of 1994. Final list of candidates duly corrected (National Assembly, National and Regional Lists) nominated by the respective registered parties, and who have accepted their nominations, listed in order of preference, giving names, identity numbers and place of residence. Issued by P.J. Colyn, Chief Director (Election Administration). Date: 27 April 1994.

**467 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Registered parties and national agents. Kempton Park, South Africa: IEC, 1994, 2 p. (Independent Electoral Commission, Communications - Information and issues. Fact sheet # 14)

Lists parties (in order of appearance on ballot paper), their national agents, telephone and fax numbers.

**468 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Report of the Independent Electoral Commission: the

South African elections of April 1994. Johannesburg:  
The Commission, 1994, various pagings.  
ISBN : 0-620-18880-4

"Describes the background to the elections prior to focusing on the Independent Electoral Commission's activities. A critical evaluation of the Commission's successes and failures is presented. Its financial affairs are examined. Finally, specific recommendations for future elections are made. Annexures contain supporting documents." In this report the IEC, created by statute in mid-December 1993 to conduct the elections, accounts for its mandate. Contents : Chapter 1. The historical context outlines the complex transitional process devised by the negotiating parties. Chapter 2. The statutory context explains the relevant features of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, no. 200 of 1993, the Electoral Act, no. 202 of 1993 and the Independent Electoral Commission Act, no.150 of 1993. Chapter 3. The political climate identifies and discusses major political constraints - time, political instability, violent crime, worsening security situation, intimidation, lack of legitimacy and the shifting political scene. Chapter 4. Composition and functioning of the IEC - the Commissioners, formal structure, essential duties, senior staff, secondees and specialist contractors, language policy, accommodation. Chapter 5. Planning the elections - operational components, election administration directorate and its components, devolution of activities. Chapter 6. The electoral campaign - participating parties, electioneering, Operation Access, liaison. Chapter 7. The voting process - foreign voting, special voting, ordinary voting, suspected sabotage, evaluation. Chapter 8. The counting process - ruling on reconciliation, transmission/collation of counting data, adulteration of RCC data, evaluation of RCC, evaluation of the counting phase. Chapter 9. Alleged irregularities and formal objections. Chapter 10. Certification and results, The final count seat allocation, certification of the elections, announcement of results. Chapter 11. Finances - general, budget, controls, winding up, electoral fund. Chapter 12. Recommendations A comprehensive list of recommendations (sixteen) is presented. The text is followed by six maps, and annexures. Annexure 1.

CEO's Report: management and organizational structure of the IEC. Annexure 2. Memorandum on preliminary arrangements made by the Department of Home Affairs for an election. Annexure 3. Investigators report on computerized procedures for the accumulation of results in the counting process. Annexure 4. Requirements for the South African 1994 election results system (seat allocation). Annexure 5. Financial statements for the period ended 30 September 1994. Annexure 6. I.E.C.: Organisational structure. Annexure 7. Comparison of successive cost estimates and actual expenditure. Annexure 8. State electoral fund.

**469 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Sample forms. N. p.: IEC.[1994], various pagings.

A series of unpublished application forms for employment, declaration of secrecy, preparation for voting day, monitoring of the count, and others.

**470 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Sample: valid ballots. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 7 leaves.

Examples of twenty four ballot papers, fifteen valid and nine rejected. Extract from "IEC Counting Officers and Enumerators", p.18 - 25.

**471 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Transport for elections. Johannesburg: IEC, 1994, [4 leaves].

Contents: Letter from Adv. E.D.Moseneke, Vice Chairperson, IEC to Transport Advisory Services, 22 April 1994, expressing deep appreciation of their resolve to render transport to and from the voting stations free of charge on the 27th and 28th April 1994 ... offering a total of 2010 busses. Together with the telefax from TAS offering this and stating conditions.

**472 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Voting station procedure. Pretoria: IEC, March 1994, 11 p. + 1 p.

Commission approved 21/03/94. Procedure written



from the perspective of the voter "intended to be applicable in respect of all ordinary voting stations, where an anticipated total of approximately 3000 voters will vote over the two day period allocated for ordinary voting".

**473 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

What you need to know about the double ballot. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1994, 4 p.

Poses and answers questions concerning the two levels of government, ballot papers and voting procedures in simple semi-cartoon style.

**474 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Your Guide to: 1. Where to vote on April 27 - 28 ... 2. Candidates for the National Assembly and the nine Provincial Legislatures. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 24 p.

The locations indicated in the schedule have been provisionally identified for use as voting stations but are subject to alteration. The lists of candidates are compiled in order of preference by the registered parties in terms of the Electoral Act 1993, section 22.

**475 INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION**

Memorandum on the provisions of an Electoral Act for the first universal suffrage election in South Africa. Johannesburg: IFEE, 1993, 7p. + 1p.

This IFEE memorandum, dated April 1993, is not a draft act, and does not purport to cover all issues and eventualities, but it does reflect aspects of concern to IFEE member organizations. The recommendations are arranged under the headings: General principles; Who should vote; How should voters be identified; How should voting take place; Administration of voting stations, The Independent Electoral Commission; Political parties; Additional matters and Conclusion - that those drafting the Electoral Act should take care to remember for whom the struggle for democracy in South Africa has been waged - the citizen. Attached to this is a single leaf providing information concerning the IFEE itself, its objectives, membership, regional

fora, commissions, and IFEE contacts.

**476 INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION**

Preparing for the elections: proposed restructuring of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education. Berea, Johannesburg: IFEE, 1993, 8 p.

This document contains motivation and proposals for changes to the membership and structure of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) which all members of IFEE and all regional forums linked to the IFEE will receive. It serves as the basis upon which decisions made at the next meeting of the national forum will be made. It includes a history of previous discussions on the subject and a code of conduct for members. A covering letter from the Administrative Co-coordinator, Pumla Gqirana, dated 18 June 1993, is attached. Decisions made will effect the monitoring of elections.

**477 INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION**

Request for meeting with the Technical Committee on Voter Education and Independent/Domestic Monitoring of the Elections. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 19 July 1993.

**478 INDEPENDENT MEDIA COMMISSION**

Information pack. Johannesburg: IMC, March 1994, various pagings.

Contents: 1. Independent Media Commission Act, 1993, no.148 of 1993 2. Independent Media Commission. Regulations 3. List of Commissioners 4. Committee on Broadcast Monitoring 5. Committee on State-Financed Publications 6. Staff of the IMC: organogram 7. Practical manual for the complaints procedure 8. Guidelines for State Publishers and State Information Services 9. Letter to all civil servants 10. Guidelines for broadcasting services, political parties and general public 11. Editorial guidelines for

broadcasters 12. Party election broadcasts: regulations and station time allocations.

**479 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

IMSSA voter education training - final update. N. p: IMSSA, 1994, 14 p. + 10 p.

"Looks at the Electoral Act of 1993 which sets out the legislative framework for the election campaign and the election process". Explains its provisions - administration by the Independent Electoral Commission and electoral regulations controlling franchise, preparations, process, security, mobile voting stations, procedure, counting, offences and general provisions. Accompanied by ten black & white illustrations.

**480 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Participant's manual for voter trainers' programme. [Johannesburg]: IMSSA, 1993, 15 p.

This manual, designed and developed by Robyn Davidson and Claire Hock for IMSSA, explains the objectives of the Voter Trainers' Programme, outlines the stages in it and the skills required to present it including hints on managing a group in a training situation.

**481 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Specialist monitoring of the National Count: report to the IMSSA board of trustees. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: IMSSA, 1994, 2 p.

Concise report by Dren Nupen, dated 11 July 1994, on the co-ordination and management of the monitoring of the counting of the 1994 election votes.

**482 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Voter education. N. p: IMSSA, [1993?], 7 p. + 10 leaves.

Simple cartoon type instruction pamphlet covering the

election and the voting process, accompanied by ten clear illustrations.

**483 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Voter education. N. p: IMSSA, 1993, 9 p.

Simple illustrated guide to voting procedure. Emphasizes individual decision and the secrecy of the ballot.

**484 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Voter educator's workshop, presented for CAST by IMSSA, June 1993. Johannesburg: IMSSA, 1993, various pagings.

Part of IMSSA's voter education workshop programme. Includes suggested problems and solutions to managing a group in a training situation.

**485 INKATHA and government: showdown looms.**  
*Financial Mail*, vol. 136, no. 3, 21 April 1995, p. 40.

Comments on accusations by the Inkatha Freedom Party that the Agreement for Reconciliation & Peace signed before the general elections in 1994, has not been met, and looks at terms of reference for international mediation. Warns of a groundswell of support from traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal for Inkatha and predicts that local elections cannot take peacefully in KwaZulu-Natal. (ISAP).

**486 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY and KWAZULU**

Heads of arguments and positions. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 13 May 1993. Unseen.

**487 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

First position paper. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 18 May 1993.

**488 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

Policy documents. Executive summaries. N. p: Mandla Publishing, 199?, 84 p.

Compendium of policies offering an immediate point of reference of the IFP vision to a broader public. "This publication is the tip of an iceberg, as it is the result of hundreds of workshops and seminars which each of the IFP study groups developed in conjunction with the affected interests and relevant role players to fine tune our policies and to achieve a clear understanding of all aspects of often intricate issues". Foreword signed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

**489 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

Reaction to the Third Report of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 8 June 1993. Unseen.

**490 INKATHA: ANC welches on deal. *Financial Mail*, vol. 135, no. 12, 24 March 1995, p. 40.**

Comments on indications that the ANC will renege on a pre-election agreement on international mediation to resolve constitutional difference with Inkatha Freedom Party and discusses the purpose of mediation. Warns that failure to implement the agreement will result in Inkatha's withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly and other political resistance measures. Warns that without Inkatha's input the new constitution will be unrepresentative of a community (ISAP).

**491 INKATHA: double ballot or bust. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 5, 4 February 1994, p. 43.**

Speculates on the chances of Inkatha's participation in the forthcoming election pending resolution of differences between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC, and singles out two fundamental points of disagreement. Notes Inkatha's intention to boycott

the election and applauds its choice of democratic ways of opposing current political developments. (ISAP).

- 492 INKATHA:** no bopping at Ulundi. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 11, 18 March 1994, p. 47 - 48.

Discusses the position of a weakened Freedom Alliance, the possibility of defections from Inkatha, it's opposition to participation in the elections, the changed political position in Bophuthatswana, and variants interpretations of recent events both there, and in Natal. Quotes the views of Inkatha 'hardliner' Walter Felgate, amongst others.

- 493 INKATHA:** sounds reasonable. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 2, 14 January 1994, p. 30 - 31.

Considers kernel issues to be addressed before Inkatha will consider participation in the April 27 election, notably regional autonomy and support for this concept by the constitution. Outlines other related issues and reports on a planned special Inkatha general party conference. (ISAP).

- 494 INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA**

You can vote: a manual for trainers. Berea, Johannesburg: IDASA, 1993, 56 p.  
ISBN : 1-874864-06-3

This training kit for voter education was produced by IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy. The Training Centre's mission is to use non-formal, continuing education strategies to empower citizens to play an ongoing role in building and maintaining democracy in South Africa. It consists of ten large posters and a training manual giving a detailed guide on how to run a voter education workshop. It was specially designed for rural communities' women, "and for those who struggle to read". Written by Marie - Louise Strom and Alison Curry.

- 495 INSTITUTE FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY**

Comments on the first draft of the IEC Act of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks

held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando.  
Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 21 June 1993.

**496 INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS**

Count down to free and fair elections. Geneva:  
International Commission of Jurists, 1993, 5 p.

Judges that the South African elections must not be postponed, but should be held on 27 April, with the inclusion of homeland voters. The ICJ believes this feasible. The Commission outlines the essentials of a free and fair election, defines the role of the police, the need for a peacekeeping force, and discusses the challenges the South African elections pose for the international community..

**497 INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS**

Voting for peace: an independent assessment of the prospects for free and fair elections in South Africa. Geneva: International Commission of Jurists, 1993?, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**498 INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**

IFES technical assistance to South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission, National and Provincial elections, April 26 - 28, 1994. Washington, D. C.: IFES, 1994, various pagings.

The mission was effective in providing much-needed advice and oversight to the Independent Electoral Commission. This report presents an overview of IFES' activities throughout the elections. Each team member prepared an activity report at the end of his or her contract. Those reports included suggestions for future elections. The consultants' submissions are summarized in this document. The appendices include technical election information, election results, and each of the consultant's reports in its entirety.

**499 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE**

Excerpt from Report of the "Democracy Forum" in Stockholm, June 12 - 14, 1996. N. p.: International IDEA, 1996, p. 6 - 13.

In this section of Democracy Forum "The Conduct of Elections" Norman du Plessis, of the former Independent Electoral Commission, gives a description of the preparations for the 1994 South African elections (p.10 - 12). He explains the constitutional parameters, the time frame and the administrative tasks facing the IEC. He briefly also refers to the local government elections in November 1995.

- 500 INTIMIDATION:** teeth will still be shown. Financial Mail, vol. 131, no. 9, 4 March 1994, p. 39.

Focuses on evidence of escalating violence, which poses a serious threat to the election, and stresses the role of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in regulating political behaviour, as well as the influence of political leaders in encouraging supporters to vote in peace. Comments on problems posed by the Freedom Alliance parties' refusal to participate in the election and hostility of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) towards black journalists. (ISAP).

- 501 JACOBS, A.**

To make the mark for freedom: an evaluation of the Voter Education and Election Training Unit. N. p.: n. pub, 1994?, 51 p.

Subject indicated by title: an evaluation of the work of VEETU. (CRLS database).

- 502 JACOBS, Sean**

Making sense of the 'Coloured' vote in post-apartheid South Africa: comparing the 1994 and 1999 provincial results in the Western Cape. Journal of African Elections, vol. 1, no. 1, May 2001, p. 23 - 35.

The Western Cape is the one province that indicates 'Coloured' voting preferences most clearly and is used in this study of voter behaviour. The key questions for this paper are: Did any fundamental take place in voting preferences among Coloureds between South Africa's first and second democratic elections? What



happened to the NNP's Coloured support? What does the provincial result mean for the long-term predictions of 'Coloured' voting preferences? And, what specifically does it mean for the ANC - strategically and organizationally - in relation to the 'Coloured' vote?

**503 JACQUES, Sally**

Voter education. *Agishanang*, vol. 1, no. 9, February 1994, p. 18 - 21.

"With elections around the corner, *Agishanang* decided to investigate who was training voter education and who they were reaching. Sally Jacques questioned a number of organizations about their voter education programmes. They were questioned on where they were conducting their programmes; who their audience was; how many people they had reached; was their training non-partisan; was the training effective; how much personnel was used for training; how this affected other programmes; and finally was funding easy to obtain." (Journal introduction).

**504 JACQUES, Sally**

Will NGOs survive post - 27 April. *Agishanang*, vol. 1, no. 9, February 1994, p. 2 - 3; 17.

Raises questions concerning the role of Non-Governmental Organizations during the election period, their support for democracy and voter education, their future position with and relationship to the incoming government. Describes the situation in which the Community Based Development Programme (CBDP) finds itself.

**505 JAMES, Alf and HEARD, Janet**

Bitter-sweet victory in an onion field. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 1, 7 - 13 January 1994, p. 11.

F.W. de Klerk's election road show through the Western Cape is drawing support for the 'new' National Party. This report describes his reception in Genadendal and in Greyton.

**506 JEFFERY, Anthea J.**

Destabilizing the opposition in 1994: the viewpoint of the Inkatha Freedom party. In. JEFFERY, A.J. *The*

Natal story: sixteen years of conflict. Johannesburg:  
South African Institute of Race Relations, 1997, p. 469  
- 520.  
ISBN : 0-86982.453.8

This chapter traces the events which appear to support the perspective of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the actions of the ANC in its continued drive for political hegemony in Natal in 1994. In its momentum to destabilize its opponents the ANC alliance sought in particular to overthrow the administrations of the three homelands, Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and KwaZulu using the power of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). This chapter presents a detailed account of happenings in KwaZulu in 1994 during the election and post-election periods and gives reasons from an Inkatha Freedom Party perspective for the continued and continuing tension and intermittent violence.

**507 JEFFERY, Anthea J.**

Subverting the transition to democracy in 1994: the viewpoint of the ANC Alliance. In: JEFFERY, A.J. The Natal story: sixteen years of conflict. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1997, p. 419  
- 468.  
ISBN : 0-86982-453-8

Developments confirm the ANC's perspective that violence in Natal stems in large measure from the illegal activities of senior security officers opposed to the transition to democracy. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and its allies in the Freedom Alliance (FA) seek to prevent their opponents from canvassing support within areas under their control. This chapter traces in detail the events which appear to support this perspective of the ANC Alliance. The author develops her theme under the headings; Denying free political activity in KwaZulu and Natal in early 1994; Violence persists in the post-election period in 1994, and Explaining continued violence after the April election.

**508 JENNINGS, Ross, and others**

Young people at the polls: youth voting in the 1994 and 1995 elections, by Ross Jennings, David Everatt and Given Masebe. Indicator South Africa, vol. 15, no. 4, Summer 1998, p. 9 - 14.

A CASE survey in SA suggests that voting in the 1994 election was indeed very high among youth, but the 1995 elections, however, showed a sharp drop-off in youth participation, with 43% not voting. It appears that the incidence of voting does not depend on the youth understanding how to vote, but rather why they should vote. (Africa Institute).

**509 JENNINGS, Ross, and others**

Youth and politics: voting patterns and knowledge among youth in the 1994 and 1995 elections. Researched for IDEA by Ross Jennings, David Everatt and Given Masebe of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: CASE, 1998, 10 p.  
ISBN : 1-919776-12-5

A report on youth voter turnout in the 1994 general election and the 1995 local elections drawing on the SABC's National Survey evaluating the impact of their voter education programme. Focuses on the respondents aged eighteen to thirty five and analyses their reactions under the headings youth and voting, voting in 1994 and 1995, reasons for non-voting, knowledge of voting procedure and implications for the future.

**510 JOHNSON, R.W.**

The 1994 election: outcome and analysis. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. London: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 301 - 322.  
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Presents an analysis by region of votes cast, turnout and party fortunes. Queries to what extent the results indicate this to have been an ethnic based election and how a more competitive party system can develop in the new South Africa.

**511 JOHNSON, R.W.**

ANC cold-shouldered its World Bank and IMF suitors. Times, 23 March 1994, - p.

Comments on the deep suspicion of international agencies, like the World Bank and the IMF, on the ambitious development plans and unrealistic economic policies of the ANC. (Sardius).

**512 JOHNSON, R.W.**

The election, the count and the drama in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W.Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 274 - 300. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Reports on logistical failures and problems encountered by the IEC in administering the election in Natal -- problems compounded by the sudden last minute decision of the Inkatha Freedom Party to enter the election. Paints a picture of general confusion, theft, emergency measures, voting shambles and a suspect count all lending colour to the idea of a fraudulent election.

**513 JOHNSON, R.W.**

How free? How fair? In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open elections, April 1994, edited by R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 323 - 352. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Discusses the IEC report on the 1994 elections in South Africa, and presents the IFP and ANC cases in KwaZulu-Natal where charges of electoral fraud were listed. Contends that, despite criticism against the IEC, it, in general, did manage to deliver an election which passed muster.

**514 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, L.**

Into the brave new world: post-election South Africa. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 353 - 402. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Mirrors the results of two post election surveys held in September 1994 - the first by Decision Surveys

International, nationwide sample of 4,003 voters, the second by HSRC's Mark Data of 2,200 voters, indicating post-election euphoria during 1994 waning in 1995. The findings are analyzed and discussed from various angles - key issues, job creation, culture of entitlement, criteria for good government, revenue-raising, government responsibilities, politicization, economic insecurities and prospects for the country.

- 515 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**  
National issues and national opinion. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 74 - 107.  
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Assesses pre-election surveys and their validity as a basis of information. Examines the extent to which the electorate were radically polarized, or expressed sympathy for, or identification with, political parties, their reaction to the election itself and their intentions to vote. Discusses constraints on freedom of choice and other influences on voter behaviour. Concludes: "Our pre-election polls reinforce the broad conclusions of the IEC that, by and large, the will of the people prevailed".

- 516 JOHNSON, R.W.**  
Parties, issues and political fragmentation. Focus, no. 7, May 1997, p.1 - 9.

This article analyses the findings of eight different MarkData surveys and their results to determine the levels of support for political parties in the 1994 and 1995 elections. It provides percentages for attitudes towards democracy, nation building and the government. Key issues include choice of a capital city, law and order, illegal immigration, privatization and the role of chieftaincy. A factor analysis reveals special categories within the African electorate as well as a mosaic of views among whites, Coloureds and Asians. The author postulates an actual or impending political fragmentation. Tables are included.

- 517 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence.**  
Political attitudes in South Africa's economic heartland.

In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 247 - 273. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Presents the results of two surveys conducted among voters in Gauteng (formerly Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging PWV)) during November - December 1993 and February and early March 1994, fieldwork undertaken by MarkData. The responses are analyzed under the headings motivation to vote, political party choice, support for alternative parties, voter literacy, political intolerance, constraints on freedom of conscience and choice and future expectations. Includes tables.

**518 JOHNSON, R.W.**

PR at work: a case study. Suid-Afrikaan, no. 43, February/March 1993, p. 20 - 21.

Considers the consequences for South Africa should the Proportional Representation system be chosen for use in the pending elections, using the Northern Transvaal as a hypothetical example. Concludes that, at a regional level, PR helps smaller parties to gain representation by enabling them to capitalize on areas of particular local strength, but that, at national level, it gives party leaders enormous power through control of lists. The author gives reasons why the First-past-the-post system fell out of favour, and argues for multi-member PR constituencies.

**519 JOHNSON, R.W. and ZULU, Paulus**

Public opinion in KwaZulu-Natal. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W. Johnson & Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 189 - 211. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Presents an overview of the findings of two large scale surveys conducted by Data Research Africa, in conjunction with the Natal section of the HSRC, on racial and partisan polarization in KwaZulu-Natal -- the first in November-December 1993, the second in 1994.

Issues discussed include partisan choice, violence, intimidation and community pressure, power sharing and federalism, acceptance of results and quality of democratic choice. Tables.

**520 JOHNSON, R.W.**

The South African electorate at mid-term. Focus Letter, no. 6, February 1997, p.1 - 6; 8 - 13.

Presents the research of the MarkData national survey of October 1996. Reports on opinions and attitudes of the electorate - constraints on freedom of choice, South Africa's dominant party system, party allegiance, fields of influence and attraction, regional loyalties and popular euphoria and dissatisfaction. Tables set out percentage support by party. Key issues affecting the African electorate include affirmative action and the presidential succession.

**521 JOHNSON, R.W.**

Through a glass darkly: the 1996 contest in the light of '94. KwaZulu-Natal Briefing, no. 2, May 1996, p. 13 - 17.

This article in the Helen Suzman foundation's analysis of events in the province contains comments of the acceptance of the 1994 election results as free and fair and on the implications of this acceptance for the local elections in KwaZulu-Natal. Analyses significant factors in the political subcultures of the ANC and the IFP that continue fuel political conflict and the 'lie factor' revealed. Touches on Indian support for the ANC and white support for the IFP. Argues that the 1994 election still provides a baseline from which to forecast developments in the 1996 local elections.

**522 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

... The transition to democracy. In: LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 1 - 15.  
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Sets the international context for the election on 27 April 1994, sketches political developments in the

decade prior to and within the transition period, and summarizes the tasks involved in this 'founding election' from which a new polity emerged.

**523 JOHNSTON, Alexander**

IFP enigma. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 3, 31 May 1994, p. 5 - 6.

Gives reasons for the relative peace and absence of violence in KwaZulu/Natal once the Inkatha Freedom Party decided to participate in the April elections. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**524 JOHNSTON, Alexander**

The political world of KwaZulu-Natal. In: *LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa: the first open election*, April 1994, edited by R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 168 - 188. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Analyses the dynamics of politics in KwaZulu-Natal, the salient factors in Inkatha's success and its strategic concerns, the condition of the ANC in the province and the approach of both parties to the election. Maintains that "the most formidable obstacle to the transition process was based in KZN. This was the constellation of forces formed by Chief Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Zulu monarchy and the KwaZulu government".

**525 JOHNSTON, Alexander**

South Africa's general election, 27 - 29 April 1994. *Electoral Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1995, p. 86 - 92.

Unseen.

**526 JOHNSTON, Alexander**

South Africa: the election and the emerging party system. *International Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 4, October 1994, p. 721 - 726.

Before South Africa's first non-racial election took place in April 1994, the African National Congress and the National Party had to agree on the nature and functions of the institutions for which votes would be



cast. The two major parties then had to ensure that the electoral process was as inclusive of disaffected minorities as possible. This all-important condition was achieved only at the eleventh hour. The distribution of support for the parties shows that there is a dominant but by no means monolithic ruling party and an opposition which is fragmented, regionally based and co-opted at the centre. The forces of ideology, class and ethnicity have all been heavily diluted at the level of national politics. (Summary).

**527 JOHNSTON, Alexander**

South Africa: the election and the transition process. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 2, June 1994, p. 187 - 204.

Offers an interpretation of the political culture which has emerged in South Africa since President's reforms of February 1990 together with a forecast assessment of the election's significance in South Africa's transition.

**528 JOHNSTON, Alexander**

Zulu dawn. *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 11, no. 3, Winter 1994, p. 23 - 26.

"As the new government of KwaZulu-Natal, the Inkatha Freedom Party should abandon the incendiary politics of culture and identity and lock itself into the politics of democracy and distribution. But with a constituency that tends to be rural, poorly educated and conservative, it faces the daunting task of satisfying expectations - under immense political pressure - without modernizing itself out of existence". (Introduction). This article analyses the consequences of the Inkatha Freedom Party's regional victory in the elections, reflects on the realities of the political situation in the context of KwaZulu's administrative culture and on the complexity of the problems presented. Options for the future are explored. Retrospectively the author surveys the IFP's pre-election strategies, its response to a deteriorating situation, its relationship with the white right and resulting confrontations, the declaration of a state of emergency, its and consequent tangible rewards. Concludes: the essential issue in post election KwaZulu-Natal will be to create a unitary entity in

politics, government and administration out of quite disparate parts.

**529 JONES, Bob**

South African election results 1994 and 1999: a digest. Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, 2001, 37 p. ISBN : 1-919814-40-X

In both April 1994 and June 1999, South Africans in each of the nine provinces voted in two elections: the first for the National Assembly, the second, for their Provincial Legislature. Tables 1 - 6 contain information on the National Assembly election results, Tables 7 - 15 provide details on the Provincial Legislature results, and Tables 16 - 17 compare the performance of the major parties in the National Assembly and Provincial Legislature elections. (Introductory notes). Includes a select bibliography.

**530 JUNG, Courtney and SHAPIRO, Ian**

South Africa's negotiated transition: democracy, opposition, and the new constitutional order. Politics and Society, vol. 23, 1995, p. 269 - 308.

In the context of the 1994 election the authors chart South Africa's transformation to a multicultural democracy. They examine the transition period, political opposition and democratic politics, consociational models of democracy, democratic opposition in the new South Africa, the dynamics of transitional negotiations and focus on the transition period 1990 to 1993. Six comparable negotiated transitions are considered.

**531 KAMBA, W.J.**

The importance of the independence of electoral commissions in the delivery of free and fair elections. In: LAUNCH conference of the SADC Electoral Commissions' Forum. Johannesburg: EISA, 1998, p. 33 - 32.

Emphasizes the importance of the independence factor for electoral commissions, highlighting the success of the Independent Electoral Commission in the South African April 1994 elections, and discusses the extent

to which these particular elections were free and fair.

**532 Empty record. Database error**

**533 KARIS, Thomas G.**

"A small miracle" continues: South Africa, 1994 - 1999. New York: University of New York. Graduate School and Univer, 1994, 15 p. (Ralph Bunche Institute of the United Nations, Occasional papers series, no. 22)

Draft survey prepared following a research trip to South Africa in July 1994 which also reflects conversations and interactions with South Africans in September and October 1993. It examines the complex structure of multilateral negotiations leading to the elections, the constitutional and political consequences of the election results and pressures from the left and from the right. Presents an optimistic view of future developments.

**534 KAUNDA, L. and VAN DER VELDEN, M.**

'Just another little hitch'; Educating Rita (and Mike, and Temba, and ...); Natal journos become journalists again; The mother of all broadcasts; Monitoring the media for fair treatment; Secrecy still stalks the corridors of power: election focus. Rhodes University Journalism Review, no. 8, July 1994, p. 29 - 39.

A special feature on the 1994 general election which provides the following information: systems which were developed to relay election results to a national news agency; voter education programmes; KwaZulu/Natal election coverage; the South African Broadcasting Corporation's coverage of the election; the contribution of the Independent Media Commission to the Freedom of Information Act; access to government information. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

**535 KEATON, C.**

All people are motivated to vote. New Ground, vol. 15, 1994, p. 21.

Reports South Africans throughout the country will go to the polls in April 1994 for the first time. Reports on a visit to rural communities in the Transkei to find out how the preparations are going. Also explains the

voting process in the April election. (ISAP).

**536 KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY**

Kiss party policy. Sandton: KISS, [1994], 2 leaves.

The party's policy is "to reduce the Central Government's power to tax to a 10% VAT". The leaflet describes the impact that this will have on the economy (jobs), land (housing) and defines its stances on violence, human rights and democracy. Name of leader is Claire Emary.

**537 KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY**

Kiss: the Keep it Straight and Simple Party manifesto. Sandton: KISS, [1994], 1 leaf folded.

Cover: coloured portrait of party leader Claire Emary. Contents: The constitution of South Africa, limiting the powers of the government to four only, and "Manifesto", limiting the size of government, curbing the spending power of 'the politician/parliamentarian class', and forcing them to focus on the basic needs of the public.

**538 KEUN, Ebenhaezer**

Voter education: a guide for trainers. Lynnwood Ridge, Pretoria: Pro Democracy Trust, 1993, 30 p. ISBN : 0-620-18345-4

Compiled by EQUIP, "In collaboration with Women for South Africa". Addendum to part III of 'Voter education: a guide for Trainers'.

**539 KEY questions for election candidates.** Agenda, no. 20, 1994, p. 7 - 21.

Provides key questions drawn up by the Agenda Collective, with which to confront candidates on the following issues (all critical to women): unpaid labour; childcare; politics; violence against women; national maternity policy; education; human rights; literacy and popular education strategies; housing; pay equity; tax; health and reproductive rights; pensions; land.

**540 KHUMALO, Bafana**

Making the images that'll win the votes. Weekly Mail &

Guardian, vol. 10, no. 5, 4 - 10 February 1994, p. 39 - 40.

Criticizes the colourless advertising campaigns that the major political parties have been running, mainly in the print media.

**541 KHUMALO, Bafana**

The white tribe that confronts the ancestors. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 8, 25 February - 3 March 1994, p. 11.

Presents a sceptical report of the visit of the National Party's Roelf Meyer to Soweto to be introduced to his ancestors.

**542 KHUMALO, Bongji**

Courting the Indian vote. Southern African Political and Economic Monthly, March 1994, p. 21.

Describes the dilemmas of Indians towards the election. Regarded as a minority group, the general feeling among Indians is that they are marginalized and without a stake in the elections. (Annotation from SAILA Bibl. 29).

**543 KHUMALO, Bongji**

Land deal changed Buthelezi's mind. Southern African Political and Economic Monthly, July 1994, p. 12.

Outlines the land deal between the then State President de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelethini two days before the April elections. The Zulu king now controls 1,2 million hectares. (Annotation from SAILA Bibl. 29).

**544 KHUMALO, Bongji**

The power of women on April 27. Southern African Political and Economic Monthly, April 1994, p. 6 - 7.

Focuses on the reports on the status of women compiled by the Women's National Coalition (WNC) recently handed over to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). This eleven-month research exercise, involving more than 23 focus groups determined as the main concerns women and law, women at work,

women and violence and political awareness among women. The data is to be used for the formulation of a Women's Charter. Political parties wanting the support of 54% of the South African voters should be alert to these issues.

**545 KIBBE, Jennifer**

South Africans look to 1994 election. South Africa Reporter, vol. 11, no. 1, March 1993, p. 1 - 7.

Outlines developments towards the first non-racial election in South Africa. The stance of the PAC, the IFP and the Indian and 'Coloured' voters is probed. The author also focuses on access to the homelands during the election campaign, the problem of intolerance, the issue of violence and the role of the media. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**546 KILKER, Jery**

With patience, joy and quiet dedication. UN Chronicle, vol. 31, no. 3, September 1994, p. 6.

The author, a former WHO official, serving with the United Nations Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) gives his personal impressions of the election process and of the reactions of voters in the district to which he was assigned - Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal.

**547 KILOH, Margaret**

South Africa: democracy delayed. In: DEMOCRATIZATION, edited by David Potter, and others. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997, p. 294 - 320. ISBN : 0-7456-1814-6

This contribution to the struggle of nation-states to move in a democratic direction and to sustain and entrench democratic political systems focuses on the political process in South Africa. Describes this in two main stages - the breakdown of authoritarian rule and the transition to liberal democracy, outlining the negotiating phase, preliminary discussions, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and the agreement on an Interim Constitution and Bill of Rights on which the 1994 elections were based.

**548 KING, Angela**

'Free and fair': can international observers help keep the elections clean? Track Two, November 1993, p. 10 - 11.

The Chief Mission, United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) argues that international observers can help to ensure free and fair elections in South Africa in 1994, but that their effectiveness depends on reducing political violence.

**549 KING, Angela**

Monitoring the elections in South Africa. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence & Reconciliation, 1994, 11 p.(Seminar no. 1, 1994)

The Chief of Mission from the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa, in her paper presented to the Seminar on 26 January 1994, examines both the obstacles to, and promise of, free and fair elections in South Africa. UNOMSA's deployment plans are described, and its new expanded mandate, as adopted by the Security Council, outlined.

**550 KING, Angela**

The role of international observer missions in South Africa. New York: United Nations, September 1993, 11 p.(United Nations. Centre against Apartheid. Notes & Documents, 7/93)

Gives details of the UN Observer Mission's establishment and part played in the conflict situation in South Africa. Assesses the possible role of the United Nations in the April 1994 elections. The author draws on the UN experience in Namibia and Angola, but regards each situation as unique. She advises South Africans to assist in the removal of obstacles to a free and fair election by supporting the peace structures under the National Peace Accord, promote voter education and avoid delays in the constitutional negotiations. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**551 KING, Angela**

The run-up to elections. Agishanang, vol. 1, no. 9, February 1994, p.10 - 13.

Presents an overview of the United Nations' perception of the South African elections and the logistical problems involved in them. Describes the background to violence and intimidation and the administrative tasks facing the IEC. Emphasizes the need for voter education. As chief of Missions she states that UNOMSA remains optimistic that the elections will be a major step forward on the path to national reconciliation. She concludes: "This election is critical ... South Africa needs a success. The world needs a success. And we are extremely positive we will have a success".

- 552 KISS and make up** [KwaZulu/Natal]. Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 45 - 46.

Describes the tense post-election situation in the province, with ballot counting problems, unresolved political rivalries and the district possibility of a hung parliament. Notes the decline in political killings and discusses the pros and cons of an alliance between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

- 553 KLEINSCHMIDT, Horst**  
The role of NGOs in South Africa's first democratic elections. Agishanang, vol. 1, no. 9, February 1994, p. 4 - 5; 21.

Kagiso Trust spokesman urges active support for elections and calls for the resolution of a difficult balancing act between conflicting demands upon staff and resources. Sets the problems in the context of the past history and future success of NGOs in South Africa.

- 554 KOMPE, Mamlydia**  
Changing the country. Work in Progress. Supplement, April/May 1994, p. 15 -16.

Looks at how political pressure can be exerted on the incoming government to address the problems of rural women beyond April 27 1994 - and the elections that bring new hope for change.

- 555 KOTSEDI, Lennox, Comp.**  
IEC Report, Springs Sub-region. Analysis Rep-UP



report 02 May 1994. N. p: n. pub, 1994, [7 p.].

"The aim of this report is to look back at work done by this department since it came to office in mid-March 1994. It covers the election campaign conducted by political organizations and parties towards the 26, 27 & 28 April democratic elections of S.A. To achieve this, the department relied primarily on reports submitted by the departments of monitoring, mediation, investigations, SPOC, and EAD to some extent. Included in this [report] are the national peace secretariat, local peace committees, the electronic and printed media, the police and international observers". (Author's introduction). The report includes material on Thokoza, Katlehong, Kwa-Thema & Duduza.

**556 KOTZE, Dirk**

What do the election results tell us of the new South Africa?, N. p: n. pub.1994?, 11 p.

The author, from the Department of Political Sciences, UNISA, analyses the election results in the context of the two-ballot system, the high level of expectations, black and white voting patterns, sectional self-determination and the ANC's defeat in the Western Cape. The results of the April 26 - 28 elections are tabulated on p.9 - 11. Typescript.

**557 KOTZE, Hennie**

Let all votes count in South Africa: choosing an electoral system for a deeply divided society. Stellenbosch: Centre for International and Comparative Politics, 1992, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**558 KRENNERICH, Michael and DE VILLE, Jacques**

Constituency elements within proportional representation systems and the electoral reform debate in South Africa. In: ELECTORAL systems for emerging democracies: experiences and suggestions, edited by Jorgen Elklit. Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997, p.75 - 91. ISBN : 87-7265-520-8

First describes the two basic principles of

representation - of majority representation and of proportional representation - their political aims, constituency elements, differences and effects. Then describes the main technical features of the South African electoral system, its defects, and issues surrounding electoral reform. This is followed by proposals by academics, political party submissions and the debate surrounding them. Includes notes, references and a table of the results of the SA election of 1994. Substantially the same as their paper presented at the Round Table "Electoral systems for emerging democracies: experiences and suggestions " held at Sorup Herregard, Denmark, 12 - 15 November 1996.

**559 KRIEGLER, Johann**

Referee for free and fair elections. RSA Review, vol. 7, no. 1, January - February 1994, p. 1 - 12.

Mr. Justice Johann Kriegler, Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) gives an overview of the legal and organizational framework in which the April 1994 election will take place. Expands on the objectives and functions of the IEC. (ISAP).

**560 KROMBERG, Marlene and VAN WYK, Alta**

Aid and trade for the new South Africa. RSA Review, vol. 7, no. 4, June 1994, p. 27 - 36.

Discusses the opening of international doors to South Africa since the April 1994 elections. Includes a table. (Africa Institute). Organizations mentioned include the Arab League, Group of Seven, ILO, GATT, OAU, USAID and the European Union.

**561 KUBEKA, Sipho**

"Taking a partisan stand". Agishanang, vol. 1, no. 9. February 1994, p. 6 - 7; 17.

The general secretary of a COSATU affiliate union explains why it is correct for COSATU - the majority of whose members are ANC supporters - to take a partisan stand in the 1994 election. He deals with the topic in four areas - South African historical contradictions in socio-political arenas, the change process since February 1990, the role of NGOs, and

the post-election period.

**562 KUZWAYO, Ellen**

The first democratic election in South Africa. In: BRINK, Andre, comp. SA 27 April 1994: an author's diary. Pretoria: Queillerie, 1994, p. 77 - 80. ISBN : 1-87490-119-8

Category: essays, autobiographical writing by literacy figures. (NELM).

**563 KWAZULU 2: King's move to mate.** Finance Week, vol. 60, no. 8, 24 February 1994, p. 9.

Speculates on the consequences of a possible refusal by the Freedom Alliance (FA) to participate in the election and looks at implications of an election boycott. Reports on growing support for the ANC in Natal and contends that the ANC could assume authority over areas of boycott, although the support of King Goodwill Zwelithini for a boycott would damage the ANC's legitimacy. Looks at the influence of the king and the future of the kingdom. (ISAP).

**564 KWAZULU/Natal Whites show the way.** Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 7, 13 May 1994, p. 47.

Argues that the double ballot was crucial to the success of the election and will be central to the consolidation of democracy. Reflects on the results of the elections and the future of White voters. Argues that White-dominated parties have no future in South Africa, and that fundamental political realignment must take place.

**565 KWAZULU/Natal: down to business.** Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 7, 13 May 1994, p. 48 - 50.

Looks at the outcome of the election in KwaZulu/Natal and comments on future political developments, particularly cooperation between the ANC and Inkatha at provincial level, and a growing emphasis on federalism. (ISAP).

**566 KWAZULU**

Comments by Mr. Armstrong on the IEC Bill.

Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 28 May 1993.

**567 KWAZULU**

Comments on the Third Report of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

**568 LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Comments on the report of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 27 May 1993.

**569 LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Further comments on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

**570 LANDSBERG, Chris**

Witness to creation. West Africa, 23 - 29 May 1994, p. 904 - 906.

A member of the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, gives his impression of the April 1994 election: the preparations, tasks facing the Independent Electoral Commission, hasty voter education, inconsistencies and logistical irregularities, and, finally, a monitored democratic election.

**571 LARDNER, Tunji**

The true meaning of Ubuntu. West Africa, 23 - 29 May 1994, May 1994, p. 902 - 907.

A concise review of the 1994 free and fair election in South Africa. Briefly discusses Mandela's role in the election as well as the emotions surrounding the election.

- 572 LAST prayer.** Financial Mail, vol. 131, no. 9, 4 March 1994, p. 40.

Describes the fourth summit meeting in Durban between Mandela and Buthelezi in search of a solution to the 'non-participation impasse'. Recounts talks held, and statements made, before the meeting, Mandela's conciliatory stance, and some bizarre constitutional proposals emerging thereafter. President F.W.de Klerk is, however, resigned to Inkatha boycotting the polls in the 1994 elections.

- 573 LAUFER, Stephen**  
IEC-SAP wrangle over polling station numbers. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p.12.

Problems centre on the number of voting stations that can be secured, especially in KwaZulu-Natal. Some details are given of the conflicting viewpoints of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African Police. A compromise figure of 8,900 stations seems likely.

- 574 LAUFER, Stephen and CHOTHIA, Farouk**  
Rising suns and waning stars. Weekly Mail & Guardian, v. 10, no. 2, 14 - 20 January 1994, p. 4.

"The ANC election nominations, to be finalised this weekend could result in some major career moves". The authors report on those tipped to rise within the party.

- 575 LAUFER, Stephen**  
Tough TEC action likely after talks break down. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 15, 15 - 21 April 1994, p. 2.

Reflects on the possible consequences of the collapse of the international mediation process, following

Inkatha's insistence that the election date should form part of the terms of reference. Quotes comments from Henry Kissinger.

**576 LAUFER, Stephen**

Wish you were there, mom and dad. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 10.

Impressionistic account of polling day in the white Johannesburg suburb of Risidale, queuing, voting and celebrating. Includes the author's recollections of times past.

**577 LAUNCHING democracy in South Africa:** the first open election, April 1994, edited by R. . W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, 412 p. ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

A comprehensive study, commissioned by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, its objective "to record and document the attitudes of voters, the level of support the various parties enjoyed before the election and the problems and opportunities that the election presented to the entire South African population". The Launching Democracy project established an observer network in the three most populous 'critical' regions - the Western Cape, the PWV and Natal and carried out two opinion surveys in them, as well as two national surveys. The information obtained by this non-partisan information service was made freely available to all political parties. It formed the basis for this work. Chapters have been individually indexed. A critique appears in: BUTLER, Anthony. Democracy and apartheid: political theory, comparative politics and the modern South African state. Basingstoke, etc.: Macmillan, 1998, p.140 - 149.

**578 LAURENCE, Patrick**

The 11th hour. Africa Report, vol. 39, no. 2, 1994, p. 36 - 39.

The author argues that, as the final countdown starts for South Africa's first non-racial election, two interrelated developments jeopardize the chances of holding a relatively peaceful poll. The first is the breakdown of concerted attempts by the De Klerk

administration and the African National Congress to coax the dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA) into participating in the election, and the second is the acknowledgment by the newly appointed commander of the National Peacekeeping Force that it is unlikely to be ready for deployment in the final weeks before the April election. The author analyzes the consequences and implications of these events and reviews other threats to the holding of a free and fair election. The danger of overt violence either from rightwing belligerents or from Zulu zealots is great. "The hour of maximum danger is at hand".

**579 LAURENCE, Patrick**

Mandela's first 180 days. Africa Report, November/December 1994, p. 63 - 67.

Assesses the successes and failures of the democratically elected South African government. The Government of National Unity has embraced the opposition of the ANC, launched the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and started the integration process of the new National Defence Force. On the negative side, there has been an increase of trade union militancy, killings of policemen and crimes, while the expectations of the majority have not been met yet. - In an insert, Colleen Lowe Morna describes South Africa's relations with its neighbours, SADC and the Preferential Trade Area. (Sardius).

**580 LAURENCE, Patrick**

The new SA: early days. South Africa Foundation Review, vol. 20, no. 3, May/June 1994, p. 1 - 2.

Reports on the election outcome and is confident about the future. However, some questions about some cabinet appointments are asked, and it remains to be seen whether fiscal discipline will be promoted. (Sardius).

**581 LAURENCE, Patrick**

South Africa: acceding to the inevitable. Africa Report, May/June 1994, p. 67 - 70.

Describes conditions in South Africa in the pre-election period, especially the demise of the homelands

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the split among Afrikaner nationalists and Chief Buthelezi's last-minute participation in the election. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 582 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.** Stellenbosch office Report 1994 election voter education programmes. Stellenbosch: The Office, 1994, various pagings.

"This report was predominantly written by Kathy Ricketts and Jolene Gabriels, with contributions from other staff. The report was compiled and edited by Stefan Raubenheimer. The report describes the programmes adopted by the Stellenbosch office in preparation for the elections in April 1994. These were: The community voter education program; The ID campaign; The program at prisons; The student volunteer farm worker voter education program; Monitoring and election Mediations". (Preface).

- 583 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**  
Representation to the Goldstone Commission on Violence and Intimidation. Re: The role of a National Peace-Keeping Force in creating an environment for free and fair elections. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 23 June 1993.

- 584 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**  
The role of NGO's in voter education with special reference to rural areas. Pretoria: Lawyers for Human Rights, 1993, 6p.

This document, issued 5th February 1993 by Cecille van Riet, Director, Human Rights Education Project first explains why NGOs should be involved in voter and election education, describes the coordination of efforts that has already taken place, and emphasizes the need for meaningful explanations. It then outlines the LHR's infrastructure and resources and follows this with a summary of the specific problems and requirements for the rural areas of Umtata, Stellenbosch, Colesburg and Pietersburg. Gives reasons why special attention is necessary for rural



areas, and advocates the setting up of well equipped and monitored mobile units to service them.

**585 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

The South African elections of April 1994: an observer's notes. N. p.: n. pub.[1994], 20 p.

Detailed day by day notes of a Canadian observer with IDASA from 23 April to 1 May 1994. Contents: 1. Introductory points; 2. Activities prior to voting days; 3. Some reflections on the context of the voting; 4. Outline of activities during the voting and counting; 5. Observation of voting: Tuesday, 26 April; 6. Observation of voting: Wednesday 27 April and Thursday, 28 April; 7. Observation of counting: Friday, 29 April; Saturday, 30 April; Sunday, 1 May.

**586 LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW**

Briefing book for foreign NGO observer teams for the South African elections 1994. Washington, D.C.: The Committee, c. 1994?, 116 p.

Title indicates subject.

**587 LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW**

Final report on the work of the South African Election Support and Observing Project, July 1994. [Washington, D.C.?]: The Committee, 1994, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**588 LAYTON, Roger**

Procedure for verification for ballot counts. Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission, 01 January 1994, 2 p.

"Special procedures for the lead monitor in the counting stations regarding ballot count verification" from the IEC's IT manager, Election Administration Directorate, 22 April 1994.

**589 LAYTON, Roger**

... Urgent information concerning transmission of vote tallies, and for the separate counting of certain voting

stations. [Johannesburg]: Independent Electoral Commission, 1994, 6 p.

An IEC internal memorandum from the IT manager, Election Administration Directorate, "Amendment to Counting Stations procedure covering the transmission of count forms from Counting Stations" to the Results Control Centre, 28 April, 1994.

**590 LE ROUX, J. H.**

Violence and intimidation during the election campaign - a review. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994, p. 82 - 112.

Contents: Introduction: the atmosphere of violence; 1. Causes of violence; 2. Geographical distribution of violence; 3. Violence and intimidation during the election campaign; 4. The Transitional Executive Council (TEC), the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and other safety measures; 5. The election campaign in the cross-fire: intimidation; 6. National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF); 7. KwaZulu/Natal - timebomb for civil war; 8. The Goldstone Commission, the SAP and a third force; 9. Violence in jails; 10. Bophuthatswana - a right-wing tragedy; 11. Right-wing violence and terror bombing. Concludes that: "For the immediate future the new government of national unity ... will be expected to contain the violence at acceptable levels and to maintain law and order".

**591 LEAP (Legal Education Action Project)**

A VEETU manual. Cover title: Voter education manual - Your vote is your power, use it!, Cape Town: VEETU, Education Resource and Information Project, [1994?], 26 p.

This VEETU manual, aimed at activists and volunteers involved in voter education in communities that have not voted before, is arranged in five sections: Pt. 1 Democracy and elections; Pt. 2 Elections, rights and IDs; Pt. 3 Teaching people to vote; Pt. 4 Voter education workshops; Pt. 5 Answering typical questions about elections.

**592 LEGISLATION on the holding of elections which relate to the conduct of the media. N. p.: n.**

pub.[1994?], various pagings.

Contents: Electoral Act 202 1993, Sections 10, 24, 58, 72 and 73 (Question raised); Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No.153 of 1993 as amended, Sections 51, 57 - 67 and Schedule 1, Code of Conduct for Broadcasting Services; Guidelines for state publishers and state information services (compiled by the Independent Media Commission), and Letter to all civil servants, from Dirk Hartford, Chief Director IMC.

**593 LEGUM, Colin**

ANC set to win. *New African*, February 1994, p. 31.

Discusses the possible outcome of the April election by assessing the strength of the political parties. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl.29).

**594 LENOIR, G.**

All-race elections in South Africa: power to the people. *Black Scholar*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1994, p. 11+.

Subject indicated by title.

**595 LESAGE, J.M.**

ANC set to sweep the board. *New African*, March 1994, p. 10 - 11.

"Likely success for the African National Congress in the first all-race elections in South Africa scheduled for April 27 - 29 1994". (PAIS).

**596 LEVITZ, E.**

Where it all began. *Publico*, vol. 14, no. 5, October 1994, p. 21 - 22.

Reports on a visit paid to the South African Embassy in The Hague, Netherlands, which was originally built for the Dutch East India Company. This building also housed celebrations for the inauguration of the first democracy in South Africa. Reports on this occasion and the excitement surrounding the South African elections (ISAP).

**597 LEVY, Moira**

Reborn SABC rides the waves. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 3, 31 May 1994, p. 8 - 9.

An assessment of the SABC election coverage and high praise for its role in the democratization of South Africa. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**598 LEVY, Moira**

Women and democracy. *Suid-Afrikaan*, no. 3, February - March 1993, p. 40; 42.

A member of IDASA's Media Department considers the many problems facing women in exercising their right to vote and in becoming effective citizens, notably accessibility, lack of information, fear, harassment and intimidation. Emphasizes the need for voter education programmes.

**599 LIEBENBERG, I.**

Stumbling blocks in the way of liberation. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1994, p. 28 - 35.

Identifies several stumbling blocks which could contribute to the forthcoming election not being free and fair which could endanger the democratization process in South Africa. (ISAP).

**600 LIEBENBERG, Johann S.**

Looking critically at South Africa's arduous road to democracy. *American Review*, vol. 14, 1994, p. 7 - 14.

Relates the process of democratization in South Africa, from the unbanning of the ANC on 2 February 1990, to the ratification of the TEC, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission in October 1993. Liebenberg explains the role and functions of these bodies, the task of the National Peacekeeping Force, the Constitutional Court and the structure of local government. He touches on the election and the role of the President. He concludes that "democracy is at present determined more by limits; by what it is not, rather than by substantive content". (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**601 LIJPHART, Arend**

Prospects for power sharing in the new South Africa.

In: ELECTION '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 221 - 231. ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Examines the provisions of the interim constitution, the idea of consociational democracy from 1971 onwards, and the spirit of reconciliation and accommodation. Sees the outcome of the 1994 election as a favourable factor for the next five years and beyond.

**602 LIJPHART, Arend**

The South African electoral system: unusual features and prospects for reform. In: CENTER FOR VOTING AND DEMOCRACY. Voting democracy report 1995. Washington, DC: The Center, 1995, p.149 - 150.

In this section of Spotlight 4: South Africa's 1994 elections, the author focuses on their unusual features: firstly on the 'almost purely' proportional PR system - one that opted for maximum proportionality and finds that it came extremely close to perfect proportionality; secondly on the party list system, using closed lists, and thirdly on the election's moderate multi-partism. All these aspects are examined in the context of the 1994 election results. The Professor of Political Science at the University of California at San Diego then considers the prospects for reform and possible changes to the system, and concludes: "South Africa's highly proportional list PR may be moderated to some extent, but my prediction is that the electoral system used in the next parliamentary election, scheduled to be held in 1999, will still be a list system with a high degree of proportional purity".

**603 LODGE, Tom**

The African National Congress and its allies. In: ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results, and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 23 - 42. ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

"This chapter will begin with a short narrative overview of the ANC's campaign before turning to more detailed analyses of its strategies, policy appeals and campaigning. A concluding section evaluates the

ANC's performance nationally and in certain regions." (Author's introduction). It also analyzes the results, and concludes that: "the achievement represented by the ANC's campaign is quite formidable. In one year it constructed a sophisticated electoral machine, and in doing so ... made a successful transition from liberation movement to political party".

**604 LODGE, Tom**

Democracy in a dominant party system. In: LODGE, Tom. South African politics since 1994. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, p. 68 - 79. ISBN : 0-86486-392-6

This survey of a democracy dominated by the ANC party contains comments on the results of the 1994 elections, and on the prospects for the party in 1999. A review of the whole work, by Anthony Egan, appears in the Mail & Guardian, vol. 15, no. 19, 14 - 20 May 1999, on p. 29.

**605 LODGE, Tom**

Election of a special kind. Southern African Review of Books, 6, no. 2, March - April 1994, p. 3 - 5.

The author considers the South African election and states that it combines the norms and values of modern liberal democracies with those of some poorer countries, where party cohesion is enhanced by rallies, and parties are based on territory, party support is often coerced, and campaigning may be extremely violent and intimidating. Both characteristics are evident in the preparation for the election in April 1994. (Sardius).

**606 LODGE, Tom**

Electoral corruption. Election Update 99, no. 7, 26 February 1999, p. 24.

Describes variant forms of electoral corruption and a range of suspect practices (some of them illegal, some not) occurring in the 1994 elections and still of possible concern in 1999.

**607 LODGE, Tom**

Intimidation and restriction on voter choice - lessons

from the 1994 election. Election Update 99, no. 2, 27 November 1998, p. 10 - 12.

The author comments critically on the findings of the Independent Electoral Commission's 'Report on the 1994 election' in this regard, analyses factors unfairly or improperly influencing electoral choice and enquires how these threats to free voter choice can be effectively addressed. Discusses what constitutes, or does not constitute, robust but fair campaigning.

**608 LODGE, Tom**

The South African general election, April 1994: results, analysis and implications. African Affairs, vol. 94, no. 377, October 1995, p. 471 - 500.

Explores three dimensions of South Africa's liberation election: the social identity of party support, the motivations underlying voter choice, and the implication of the results for the future course of South African politics.

**609 LODGE, Tom**

A year in the new South Africa. Indicator South Africa, vol. 12, no. 2, Autumn 1995, p. 7 - 10.

Critical evaluation of the new government one year on from victory in the April 1994 polls. Concludes that despite very little reconstruction and development, ANC supporters remain satisfied. (ISAP).

**610 LOUW, Antoinette**

Conflicting views. Indicator SA, vol. 11, no. 3, Winter 1994, p. 14 - 17.

"After weeks of horrifying pre-election violence levels of conflict in KwaZulu-Natal have subsided. The election illustrated that opposing political parties can participate in a fair contest and that supporters can partake in this contest peacefully". Includes material on the IFP boycott of the election, and violence by anti-election elements within the Inkatha Freedom Party in March 1994. Notes the declaration of the state of emergency on 31 March 1994 and the effects of the election on conflict in the province.

**611 LOUW, Antoinette**

Post election conflict in Kwan-Zulu Natal. Indicator SA, vol. 11, no. 4, Spring 1994, p. 14 - 15.

'Initiatives by political leaders and the police have helped reduce violence since the elections. There is less war talk and trading of accusations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. But the nature of the violence has hardly changed'. (Introduction) Statistics are provided.

**612 LOUW, Chris**

'Witdoek' leaders on NP lists. Weekly Mail & Guardian, Vol. 10, No. 5, February 1994, p. 2.

Reports that the National Party has nominated two infamous Crossroads 'strongmen' as provincial candidates for the April elections in the Western Cape, whose followers were involved in attacks on United Democratic Front members in the 1980's. They occupy the 15th and 21st position on the MP list making their election to the legislature a formality. The ANC do not regard them as popular figures even though one was later elected mayor of Khayelitsha, and claimed to have turned down overtures from them.

**613 LOUW, Chris**

Battle for positions on Nats' election lists. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 4, 28 January - 3 February 1994, p. 7.

Discusses the prospects of the National Party in the 1994 elections and some of the rivalries for positions on the Party's election lists.

**614 LOUW, Chris**

The big hole in the Northern Cape. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 19, 13 - 19 May 1994, p.12.

For the National Party the ANC's victory in the Northern Cape was one of the biggest disappointments of the elections, the results running counter to the predictions of the opinion polls and to their own hopes that the Afrikaans-speaking Coloured vote would be theirs. This article analyses the post-election socio-economic situation in the province and the many problems facing



the new Premier.

**615 LOUW, Chris**

British print SA's ballot papers. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 8, 25 February - 3 March 1994, p. 9.

The international printing company De La Rue, of Basingstoke, England has won the tender for printing the 80 million ballot papers required for the 1994 election. An estimated thirty five days will be needed to produce them. The IEC Communications Director gives security, capacity, price, and time as the key factors in the award of the tender.

**616 LOUW, Chris**

DP looks to 'when the honeymoon is over'. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May, 1994, p. 4.

Brief political analysis of the position the Democratic Party finds itself in, following its disappointing election results. The party will not transform itself into a human rights movement, but will remain a force in politics, expecting a resurgence of liberalism as disillusionment sets in with the ANC's rule. The article notes that the party's provincial support was almost double that of its national support.

**617 LOUW, Chris**

Elections can take place - IEC. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 8; 10.

The report of the joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the KwaZulu and South African governments, dated 5 April 1994, and signed by all eleven members, including those representing KwaZulu, states that an election can still take place despite the state of emergency. Sets out the requirements to be met for this to happen..

**618 LOUW, Chris**

The forlorn voters' guide to the polls. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 4, 28 January - 2 February, p. 11.

Simple guide to the 1994 election and its rules. Aims to

help voters keep up with the "bewildering changes to election rules".

**619 LOUW, Chris**

Inkatha, CP supporters intend to vote. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 1, 14 - 20 January 1994, p. 4.

Includes some results of the HSRC poll conducted in November - December 1993, giving percentages, and providing many references to the PWV area.

**620 LOUW, Chris**

Mother of all elections. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 8, 25 February - 3 March 1994, p. 10.

Reports on plans to employ as many as 180,000 people to assist in the April 1994 elections. Includes a brief account of the Independent Electoral Commission, its composition and the tasks facing it.

**621 LOUW, Chris**

Natal summit is the last chance for peace. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 2 - 3.

Describes the political circumstances surrounding the four-way summit between IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini, President F.W.de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Notes pressure being brought to bear on Buthelezi to allow free and fair elections in his homeland and the handing over of investigations into hit squad activities to an international investigating team. Reports on the attitude of IEC task groups, and on their determination not to postpone elections. Notes the reluctance of international mediators to become involved as facilitators in Natal talks.

**622 LOUW, Chris and LAUFER, Stephen**

NP accuses DEBI of ANC bias. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 2.

Criticisms and controversy surrounding the Democracy Education Broadcasting Initiative, its voter education programme, its debts and its financing are described. The accusations of bias are denied by DEBI and refuted by the ANC.

**623 LOUW, Chris**

Putting a price on the cost of democracy in South Africa. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 15.

Wages and salaries paid to staff by the Independent Electoral Commission were generous to say the least according to this survey of remuneration based on documents tabled at the Transitional Executive Council. The total IEC budget is calculated at R697 million, or R33 per voter. Officials of the Independent Media Commission (IMC) have also been well paid. National Peacekeeping Force salaries are noted and compared with those of the SADF.

**624 LOUW, Chris**

TEC launches group to police the police. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 5.

Concise account of the sudden launch in Pretoria of the National Police Inspectorate (NPI) with the specific task of monitoring policing agencies including the South African Police during the election period. It is also expected to evaluate unrest regulations and to play a constructive role in overseeing the elections. Joint Operational Centres (JOCs) are shortly to be established.

**625 LOUW, Chris and MAKHANYA, Mondli waka**

Western Cape. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 19, 13 - 19 May 1994, p. 13.

Outlines the problems facing the ANC and the NP in the political situation of forced coalition, and the battles over cabinet positions. This political analysis provides insights into existing tensions and pressures, and mentions personalities involved in the power play.

**626 LUBINSKY, David**

Southern Africa and the technology and information revolution: does Southern Africa's late entry perpetuate its under-development and dependence. In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Conference on SADC Electoral Commissions Forum,

Midgard, .... Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA,  
1998, p.37 - 40.  
ISBN : 0-620-22386-3

The problems encountered by the IEC in the use of IT during the 1994 elections are described. They present "A good case-study of what can go wrong".

**627 LUCAS, G.H.G.**

Post-election economic and socio-political expectations for 1994. Pretoria: University of South Africa. Bureau of Market ..., 1994, 28 p. (Research report, no. 209)  
ISBN : 0-947459-52-9

Focuses on economic forecasting and social prediction. (SANB).

**628 LUSO - SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY**

Manifesto. EXCOM: Luso - South African Party, [1994?], 4 leaves.

LUSAP, formed on the 2nd March 1994, has as its main objective "obtaining direct representation for the Luso-South African community in the South African parliament both at national and regional (PWV) levels". The manifesto sets out its policy under eight headings - Economic policy; Language and Culture; Bilateral agreement with Portugal; Strategies to curtail political and criminal violence, Emigration and Immigration; Participation in the elections; Voter education; Role of Luso-South African Community (after elections), President Manuel Moutinho, Vice President Antonio de Gouveia.

**629 MABUDAFHASI, R. and THABETHE, E.**

Questions of accountability. Agenda, no. 20, 1994, p. 53 - 56.

COSATU's women candidates for the ANC Regional Election List for the National Assembly explain how they will remain accountable to women and trade unions. (ISAP).

**630 MADLALA, Nozizwe**

Building a women's movement. Work in Progress, Supplement, April/May 1994, p. 6 - 8.

Comments on the formation of the Women's National Coalition (WNC), the production of the Women's Charter, the significance of this as part of the transformation process and the need for voting into power in the April elections a government sympathetic to the needs of the majority of women.

**631 MADONSELA, T.**

Beyond putting women on the agenda. Agenda, no. 24, 1995, p. 27 - 38.

Critical evaluation of the new government one year on from victory in the April 1994 polls. Concludes that despite very little reconstruction and development, ANC supporters remain satisfied. (ISAP).

**632 MADUNA, Penuell**

Towards democratic elections in South Africa. N. p.: n. pub, September 1992, p. 20 - 26.

Discussion paper focusing on three issues: the appropriate authority to conduct the elections; the electoral system to be followed and technical questions -- voter eligibility, voter registration, voter identification, registration of parties, logistics and personnel.

**633 MAHOMED, Yunus**

The IEC: inexperienced, yes. Inept, no. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 23, 10 - 16 June 1994, p. 13.

The Deputy Director of the Election Administration Directorate of the IEC, in response to the "Free-ish and Fairish" editorial, (q.v. under FREE-ISH) speaks out, attempts to analyse what went wrong and to examine objectively the strategies adopted by the IEC and their implementation. The Commission was expected to run, and attempted to run a first world election in conditions where first and third world duality existed side by side. It operated in constraints imposed by the Multiparty Negotiation Process, and the legislation emerging from it. It suffered from last minute changes, e.g. to a double ballot, and the inclusion of KwaZulu Natal which created logistical nightmares. Too many issues, too few personnel.

**634 MAIL & GUARDIAN**

South African elections A - Z: the key election issues. Weekly Mail & Guardian, Special supplement, 15 - 21 April 1994, 8 p.

Part iii in a five-part series, written by the Weekly Mail & Guardian editorial team. Contents: 1. Key issues of the election, p. 1 - 5; 2. Negotiations: a brief history, p. 5 - 6; 3. Negotiations: a chronology, p. 7 - 8.

**635 MAIL & GUARDIAN**

South African elections A - Z: the major organizations. An alphabetical list of parties, pressure groups, forums, private armies and more. Weekly Mail & Guardian, Special supplement, 31 March - 7 April 1994, 12 p.

Provides background concerning their history, leadership and objectives. Includes sections on negotiating forums (p.11) and "Armies of the Right" (p.12). Part ii of a five-part series written by the Weekly Mail & Guardian editorial team.

**636 MAIL & GUARDIAN**

South African elections A to Z: know your new leaders: an alphabetical guide to the new leaders of post-apartheid South Africa. Mail & Guardian, Special supplement, 27 May - 2 June 1994, 8 p.

Part v, and last, of a five-part series written by the Weekly Mail and Guardian editorial team presents profiles of the people now in government as a consequence of the 1994 election results.

**637 MAJOR, John**

Address by the ... Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 22 September 1994. Background (Bellville), no. 13, 1994, p. 22 - 41.

Against the background of South Africa's first democratic elections, the British Prime Minister considers future economic, political and cultural relations as well as foreign aid. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**638 MAKGETLA, N.S.**

Women and economy: slow pace of change. Agenda,

no. 24, 1995, p. 7 - 20.

Explores changes in the economic position of women since the 1994 elections. Reviews women's income and status, using a segmented labour market analysis. Concludes that a more fundamental restructuring of the economy and society is called for. (ISAP).

**639 MAKHANYA, Mondli waka**

De Lille in hot water over 'chase them away' call. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 2 - 3.

Reports that the Democratic Party is to lodge a complaint against the Pan African Congress' leader Patricia de Lille for urging supporters to drive DP and National Party election workers out of the townships in the Western Cape. Charges will be laid in terms both of the Electoral Act and of the Electoral Code of Conduct. The National Party is also considering taking action against de Lille.

**640 MAKHANYA, Mondli waka**

How the West (Cape) was won. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 19.

Compares the campaigns of the ANC and in the NP in the Western Cape and their wooing of the 'Coloured' vote. Notes the tactics of the DP, the PAC and other fringe parties. Considers the possible effects of a low voter turn-out. Forecasts a win for the National Party.

**641 MAKHANYA, Mondli waka**

IEC to hear DP complaint. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 11, 18 - 24 March 1994, p. 2.

Concise reports on complaints by the Democratic Party against the University of the Western Cape's S.R.C. which has effectively barred it from operating on campus, and on disruptions at Khayelitsha's Good Hope College during which Independent Electoral Commission monitors were overwhelmed by protesting students.

**642 MAKHANYA, Mondli waka**

In the coloured Cape Flats, Mandela's just a 'kaffir'.

Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 12, 25 - 30 March 1994, p. 16.

Examines the way the fears of the Coloured community concerning ANC rule have been exaggerated, the sources of support for F.W. de Klerk, and his status in the area.

**643 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka**

A tough guy is moved to tears. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 14.

A journalist recounts his own emotional reactions to casting his vote for Nelson Mandela in Guguletu in South Africa's first democratic election. He appeals to the African National Congress not to forget the hopes and fears of the black people once they are in power.

**644 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka**

UWC routing gives Leon the high ground. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 15, 15 - 21 April 1994, p. 5.

This brief report on the violent disruption at the University of the Western Cape during Democratic Party leader Tony Leon's address to hostile students suggests that the publicity surrounding the incident played into the hands of the DP by providing maximum media exposure for its stand against authoritarian rule.

**645 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka**

Voting - even if it's in wet underpants. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p.13.

Brief description of voting in Cape Town and in its surrounding townships, and of the enthusiasm of voters who braved the rain to cast their votes. Some individual reactions are recorded.

**646 MAKING democracy work**, written by Jeya Wilson, with Andy Mason, and others. Durban: Community Law Centre, 1994, 94 p.

Text in English and Xhosa. Translated into Xhosa by Pinkie Vutela. "Has an accompanying video". Focuses on democracy, elections, human rights, voting.



- 647 MAKING elections work.** In: BUTLER, Anthony. Democracy and apartheid: political theory and comparative politics and the modern South African state. Basingstoke etc.: Macmillan, 1998, p. 135 - 149. ISBN : 0-333-66593-7

Examines the 1994 election in South Africa through the works of political scientists and their attitude to it and analyses of it. Makes specific critical reference to "Launching democracy in South Africa", edited by R.W. Johnson and L. Schlemmer, (q.v.) and questions its political bias.

- 648 MALAN, Jannie C.** Substantially free and fair elections?, Durban: ACCORD, 1994, 67 p.(Accord special report series, no. 1) ISBN : 0-947445-22-6

ACCORD = African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes. Comprises a summary of the discussions at the election violence seminar hosted by ACCORD in June 1993, a copy of ACCORD's findings on election violence in Southern Africa and a survey of recent legislation governing the 1994 South African elections. This special report is part of ACCORD's contribution towards running free and fair elections.

- 649 MANBY, Bronwen** South Africa: impunity for human rights abuses in two homelands: reports on KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana. New York: Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1994, 23 p. (Human Rights Watch. Africa, vol. 6, no. 2)

Research carried out in Natal/KwaZulu (February 1994) and Bophuthatswana (January-February 1994) revealed evidence of continuing human rights abuses in both homelands in the run-up to South Africa's first all-race elections scheduled for 26 - 28 April. In KwaZulu/Natal the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is using its control of the homeland government to provoke violence with the purpose of preventing the election from going ahead. The present report includes numerous case studies of violence, at Esihawini, KwaMashu, Nqutu, Sundumbili and Port Shepstone, and refers to the involvement of

the KwaZulu Police (KZP), the role of the South African Police (SAP) and the recent deployment of South African Defence Force (SADF) troops. In the case of Bophuthatswana, the president, Lucas Mangope, was finally forced to abandon his boycott of the forthcoming elections on 11 March 1994. Although the right to vote has now been assured, Human Rights Watch/Africa continues to have serious concerns about the situation in the homeland. These include the failure to take any steps to bring to justice right-wing whites responsible for the deaths of unarmed black civilians; the fact that senior members of the Mangope regime responsible for serious abuses remain in power; and reports of continuing harassment of opposition parties by the Bophuthatswana security forces. (ASC Leiden abstract). Editors: Abdullah An-Na'im and Cynthia Brown.

- 650 MANDELA makes more concessions in last-ditch bid to involve Freedom Alliance in non-racial elections.** Southern Africa Report, 18 February 1994, p. 1 - 3.

Discusses four concessions made by ANC President Nelson Mandela in an effort to persuade the Freedom Alliance to participate in the April 1994 elections. These include relenting on the double ballot, granting autonomous taxing powers to provincial governments, the inclusion of self-determination under constitutional principles and the recognition that powers of provincial governments under the interim constitution cannot be diminished by the constitutional assembly. (Sardius).

- 651 MANDELA, Nelson**  
Documents on democracy: South Africa. Journal of Democracy, vol. 5, no. 3, July 1994, p. 133 - 135.

Reprint of President Mandela's inaugural address, delivered on 10 May 1994, in which he celebrates the victory for justice, peace and human dignity and commits the Government of National Unity to nation building and peace.

- 652 MANDELA, Nelson**  
Mandela on the record. [Interview with Alan Greenblo and Jenny Cargill]. Finance Week, vol. 61, no. 1, 31

March - 6 April 1994, p. 25 - 27.

In the interview on the eve of a Finance Week sponsored Conference "Getting SA Working: the ANC and Business Plan for the Future" Mandela responds to questions concerning the ANC's policies and more specifically what the business community can expect of and from the ANC. Selected issues include job creation, the tax base, socio-economic needs and RDP objectives, the restructuring of state and state-related institutions, and the role of the Reserve Bank.

**653 MANDELA, Nelson**

My fellow South Africans: the people of South Africa. N. p.: ANC, 1994, 1 leaf folded.

Dated 2 May 1994. Rejoices in the overwhelming support for the ANC shown in the provisional results of the election, thanks the people and their leaders, looks to a better life for all, holds out the hand of friendship to all parties, and invites all South Africans to celebrate the birth of democracy.

**654 MANDELA, Nelson**

Statement by ANC president, Nelson Mandela, on the event of being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize 15 October 1993. Johannesburg: African National Congress. Office of the President, 1993, 2 leaves.

Pays tribute to other South African recipients of the peace prize and to all who have struggled for democracy and peace. Looks forward to the successful conclusion of negotiations, so that the first democratic elections can take place on the 27th of April 1994, as scheduled.

**655 MANDELA, Nelson**

Year of liberation if ... "we work harder". Mayibue, February 1994, February 1994, p. 8 - 11.

An interview with Nelson Mandela, in which issues concerning the election, NP strategy, the role of Peoples' Forums, the rightwing threat and the ongoing violence are discussed. (Sardius).

**656 MANY cultures, one nation.** Pretoria: SACS

Marketing and Communications, 1994, - p.

A commemorative album of words and images reflecting the emergence of a post-apartheid society. Includes information on the election and presidential inauguration, the President and Deputy Presidents, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, historical buildings and the new national symbols. (Sardius).

**657 MAPHAI, Vincent**

Prospects for a democratic South Africa. *International Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 2, 1993, p. 223 - 237.

"Multi-party talks are the first steps in South Africa's transition to democracy. But how democratic is the reform process? How crucial is the 'Buthelezi factor'? Vincent Maphai gives a clear account of the negotiation process so far, and draws our attention in particular to those major variables of South African society - lack of a democratic culture, violence, the economy - which could be the stumbling blocks to a democratic future". (Journal introduction). He also examines future possibilities - a one party system, a coalition (ANC - NP) government and new forms of alliance, and concludes ..." although there are real obstacles to genuine democracy in South Africa, they are not insurmountable". This article is also published in: *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly*, vol. 7, no. 7, April 1994, p. 40 - 41.

**658 MAPHETO, Andrew and CARGILL, Jenny**

Art of the possible. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 10, 10 - 16 March 1994, p. 19 - 20.

Surveys the political prospects for the following few months, including the possibility of free and fair elections. Considers the state of play with and within the Inkatha Freedom Party and the right wing Freedom Alliance, their strategies and the potential for future post-election discord. Sees no likelihood of civil war.

**659 MAPHETO, Andrew**

A close call: ... but KwaZulu is not out of the woods yet. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 4, 21 April 1994, p. 14 - 16.

Comments on the announcement that Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will participate in both the national and regional elections but warns that problems in the region are not over. Discusses various developments in the region, expects protracted animosities and highlights weaknesses within the ANC's regions. Warns that the IFP may pursue a guerilla war within KwaZulu/Natal, should the IFP be defeated at the polls, and speculates on the outcome of an ANC defeat at the polls. (ISAP).

**660 MAPHETO, Andrew and CARGILL, Jenny**

Three tense months. Finance Week, vol. 60, no. 2, 13 - 19 January 1994, p. 12 - 14.

Comments on the probable 'packed' activity in the run-up to the elections in the light of the results of surveys by the HSRC, for the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD). Notes unrealistic expectations and reactions to the issues of violence, political intolerance and free political activity. Other factors and facets of the political fabric to be considered include the role of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), regional matters, internal party dynamics and voter education. The article includes two 'boxes': 'Where there's a will' (p.13) comments on the political will to deal with violence and the formation of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPF). 'Natal : more than what it seems' (p.14) reflects the HSRC survey findings in the area on violence and on political choices and attitudes.

**661 MARAIS, Hein**

'Still no easy walk'. Southern Africa Report [Toronto], July 1994, p. 3 - 9.

Focuses on the April 1994 election, the prevailing conditions, the appointment of the new cabinet and possible economic and labour policies of the new government. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29). Also listed as being published in Work in Progress, no. 97, July 1994, p. 3 - 9.

**662 MARAIS, Hein and VICK, Chris**

Amandla Ngwethu. The ANC and the elections. Southern Africa Report [Toronto], vol. 9, no. 2, November 1993, p. 3 - 6.

Assesses the strength of the ANC and outlines its campaign strategy. Notes the effects of violence on the party, especially in the townships, and the problems experienced in campaigning in rural areas. Finance and organization are troublesome, there is a reliance on Mandela's persona, but the authors maintain that "victory, conclusive or not, lies tantalizingly close".

**663 MARAIS, Hein**

History: the National Party's albatross. *Southern Africa Report* [Toronto], vol. 9, no. 2, November 1993, p. 7 - 8.

Comments critically on the NP election strategy, its attempts to enroll black support, on the reactions of white voters, and on the NP's confused campaign.

**664 MARAIS, Hein**

Killing time. *Work in Progress*, September 1993, p. 8 - 11.

Argues that the violence level in the country is being used as an excuse for postponing the April election. The author identifies reasons for the violence, and states why it is necessary to curb both intimidation and violence and to proceed with the elections. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**665 MARAIS, Hein**

Pinning the tail on the donkey. *Work in Progress*, April/May 1993, p. 16 - 19.

Examines the role and reliability of opinion polls in South African elections.

**666 MARAIS, Hein**

Topping up the tank: how the ANC has reproduced its power since 1994. *Development Update*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1999, p. 1 - 30.

"In the elections on June 2 1999, South Africa's ruling party, the African National Congress, was returned to power with an increased majority. Hein Marais analyses the ANC's enduring appeal - despite the difficulties and shortcomings of the political transition -

and how it has consolidated its support in the last five years". (Introduction). Contains a section, p.9 - 10, The 'myth' of non-delivery, indicating areas in which the ANC claim to have made good about sixty per cent of their election promises.

**667 MARAIS, Hein**

When push comes to shove. Work in Progress, no. 96, April 1994, p. 10 - 14.

Focuses on the possible effects of the right-wing political parties on the outcome of the April election. Also looks at the threat posed by the right wing to the new democracy in South Africa. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

**668 MARAIS, Hein**

Will the ANC win? Work in Progress, no. 88, April/May 1993, p. 10 - 13.

Considers the factors influencing voters in the forthcoming elections, the figures involved, the rural vote, and problems facing the ANC.

**669 MARCHING to Euphoria.** Style, July 1994, p. 40 - 42.

Some notes on the greatest party of South Africa. Reckons the election meant parties to many people including all those international journalists that were covering the elections and the inauguration ceremony. (ISAP).

**670 MARE, Gerhard and HAMILTON, Georgina**

Avoiding democracy at all costs. Work in Progress, No. 96, April/May 1994, p. 18 - 20.

Examines Inkatha's role in destabilizing the election process and explains the reasons for the party's opposition to democratically elected structures. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**671 MATLA TRUST**

Our time to choose: a voter education comic book. Johannesburg: Independent Forum for Electoral Education, [1994?], 37 p.

The Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) represents twenty seven non-partisan organizations working together on voter education to ensure that all citizens can take part in a free and fair election. Through the interaction of seven characters this production explains in simple terms the steps involved in the election process and the importance of making an informed choice.

**672 MATLALA, P.**

Voter education. New Ground, vol. 15, 1994, p. 23 - 25.

States the curtain will come down on apartheid at the end of April 1994 when voters go to polls in South Africa's first democratic election. Half of those voting will be from the rural areas and will be voting in localities with a long established political culture entrenched in patriarchy, patronage and intolerance. Reports on the voter education programmes contending with this legacy. (ISAP).

**673 MATTES, Bob**

The campaign thus far. Suid-Afrikaan, no. 48, March - April 1994, p. 14 - 15.

Takes a look at some of the most important trends during the campaign for South Africa's first non-racial election which began shortly after 2 February 1990. (ISAP).

**674 MATTES, Bob**

Can the ANC top the 'Coleman Line'? Work in Progress, no. 95, February 1994, p. 8 - 10.

There are almost as many opinion polls as there are election promises, most of them predicting landslide victories for the ANC. Offers some guidance on how to make sense of all the numbers. (ISAP).

**675 MATTES, Bob**

Seeing ain't believing. Work in Progress, no. 95, February 1994, p. 9.

Provides quick hints on how to make sense of the crop of polls vying for your trust as April 27 approaches. Suggests that when reading or reporting poll results,



tough questions should be asked. (ISAP).

**676 MATTES, Bob**

The Western Cape hangover. Work in Progress, no. 96, April 1994, p. 8 - 9.

Reports on survey results which indicate that the National Party might control a strong regional government in the Western Cape Province after the election. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

**677 MATTES, Robert**

The (limited) impact of race and ethnicity on partisan identification in South Africa's first open election. (Paper) delivered to the Colloquium on Reconciliation and Reconstruction in Ethnically Divided Societies. Johannesburg: International Political Science Association, 1995, - p.

Presented to the symposium organized by the International Political Science Association, Research Committee on Politics and Ethnicity, in Johannesburg, South Africa, 11 to 13 July 1995. Title indicates subject.

**678 MATTES, Robert, and others**

The election in the Western Cape. In: LAUNCHING democracy: South Africa's first open election, April 1994, edited by R.W.Johnson & Lawrence Schlemmer. New Haven, etc: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 108 - 167.  
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Begins with a survey of the unique 'political world' of the Western Cape that confronted political parties as they began their campaigns, next examines the campaign itself concentrating on the behaviour and strategic decisions of the political parties (ANC, NP, DP, FF and PAC) as well as on the extent to which that campaign was free and fair. The final section scrutinizes voters' reactions to the campaign. It is followed by copious notes and references (p.160 - 167). This (Chapter 5) is the result of a larger research project, and is co-authored by Hermann Giliomee and Wilmot James.

**679 MATTES, Robert, and others**

Hegemonism, dominance or weak opposition? The partisan situation on the eve of South Africa's second election campaign, by Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor and Cherrel Africa. *Transformation*, no. 38, 1999, p. 1 - 9.

Analyses a series of post-1994 public opinion surveys to illustrate the electorate's changing views on the ANC's performance in government and how this impacts on their voting intentions. (Africa Institute).

**680 MATTES, Robert, and others**

Public opinion & voter preferences 1994 - 1999, by Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor and Cherrel Africa. In: *ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, p. 37 - 63. ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Based largely on surveys carried out by Markinor, Opinion '99 and the Electoral Institute of South Africa, the authors evaluate government performance in five broad areas - economic growth, economic redistribution and equality, development and welfare, nation building and good government. They note the levels of popular approval overall, as well as on key issues. They discuss party identification, allegiances, voter support, the ANC's electoral strength (in 1994 and 1999) and the prospects for a consolidated democracy. The article includes eighteen graphs and diagrams.

**681 MATTES, Robert**

The election book: judgment and choice in South Africa's 1994 election. Cape Town: IDASA, Public Information Centre, 1995, 150 p. ISBN : 1-874864-22-5

"IDASA's Public Information Centre is an information-gathering and policy-evaluation service that aims to enhance transparency, accountability and effectivity in government." This book, produced by one of its projects, the Public Opinion Service, is intended to provide ordinary citizens, civil society and political parties with basic information about the dynamics of partisan support in South Africa. It focuses on the

voting process and influences on the voters, long-term, medium-term, short-term and on future developments including the apparent role of race and ethnicity. Copiously supported by statistical tables and graphs. Data is based on a survey conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys (Cape Town) in 1994. Tables.

**682 MATTES, Robert**

The impact of public opinion polling on South Africa's transition to democracy. Pretoria: HSRC, 1995, - p.

Unpublished report to the HSRC 'Investigation into research methodology project'.

**683 MATTES, Robert**

Public opinion polling and democracy. Suid-Afrikaan, no. 43, February - March 1993, p. 30 - 32.

Surveys the instrumental rolls that opinion polls can and cannot play in influencing public opinion and the democratic process and reflects on problems surrounding them, specifically the extent of their neutrality. Notes their possible effects on both voters and political leaders. Concludes with a warning: "The uncritical acceptance of polling in South Africa by politicians and the media may merely introduce into the political process a new set of unelected, unaccountable figures claiming to speak for the public: those who design, execute, interpret and disseminate polls and polling data".

**684 MATTES, Robert and GOUWS, Amanda**

Race ethnicity and voting behaviour: lessons from South Africa. In: ELECTIONS and conflict management in Africa, Timothy D. Sisk and Andrew Reynolds, editors. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998, p. 119 - 142. ISBN : 1-878379-79-8

"In Chapter 7 Robert B. Mattes and Amanda Gouws challenge a common assumption in the entire debate about elections and conflict management: that voting in a multiethnic society is tantamount to an ethnic census, that people overwhelmingly vote for those candidates or parties who share a similar identity rather than choosing on the basis of other issues, such as

economic policy or the performance of incumbents. Using public opinion data from the 1994 election Mattes and Gouws argue that the "ethnic census" assumption deserves reconsideration". (Introduction). The authors themselves say: "We contend that while 'census' image may provide a useful description of elections in divided societies, as an explanation of individual voting behaviour in such cases, census theory suffers from a range of methodological and theoretical problems. This chapter examines this explanation in the case of South Africa's historic election of 1994". It points out drawbacks and conceptual flaws and argues that a fuller understanding of voting in South Africa requires individual-level data, contrasts the approaches of Black and White voters and their links with political parties and analyses the election. Thereafter follow sections on ascribed identity and the vote; ethnic and racial voters?; identity related motivations and partisan support; reason and judgment; and conclusions. The authors conclude that: "Voters' values and performance evaluations played key roles in voters' judgment, and were not set aside out of deference to group attachments to political parties", but admit that some subgroups e.g. IFP, FF and PAC contradict this. Tables are included.

**685 MATTES, Robert and GOUWS, Amanda**

Race, ethnicity and voting behaviour: lessons from South Africa. Paper delivered to the United States Institute for Peace Symposium on Elections and Conflict Resolution in Africa, Washington, D.C., 9 June 1995. N. p.: n. pub.1995, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**686 MATTES, Robert**

The road to democracy: from 2 February 1990 to 27 April 1994. In: ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results, and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 1 - 22.

ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Mattes maintains that "how the elections were conducted and contested cannot be understood without reference to the negotiations that led to those

elections. In turn the first elections profoundly shaped those constitutional negotiations by casting a long retrospective shadow over the entire transition process". He further maintains that the political parties' positions were linked to their expected support from 1990 onwards. He analyses the key features of the campaigns and the election itself, the timing of it, the ground rules, the Constituent Assembly, interim government, power-sharing reactions of Inkatha, and NP concessions.

**687 MATTES, Robert**

South Africa's first non-racial election: a racial census? Paper presented to the Research Colloquium of the South African Political Science Association. Broederstroom, South Africa: , 6 - 7 October 1994, 17 p.

The author, from the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, examines the roles played by race and ethnicity in voter behaviour and submits that these are very different from the assumption usually made of the congruency of race and vote. Topics discussed include voting in 'divided societies', voters judgments about political parties and their leaders and the role of liberation experience. The essay is designed to serve as a theoretical and conceptual start of a research project into motivational forces in the election. Note: on title-page "This is very much a working draft and not for attribution".

**688 MATTES, Robert**

Votes available: anyone want them?, N. p: n. pub, 1998?, 9 p.

The manager of IDASA's Public Opinion Service argues that a number of different developments in recent public opinion surveys show increasingly greater degrees of voter fluidity, and the potential for important shifts that could leave South Africa with a very different electoral landscape. Yet there are very real reasons to doubt the abilities of most opposition parties to take advantage of these developments. The article begins with a note on reading election polls, then discusses the concept of 'partisan identification', considers the ANC government's performance and the multiple

opportunities presented to the opposition parties - NP, DP, UDM, IFP and PAC. He concludes: "Thus, the battle is waiting to be joined. While the ANC is sure to win, there are a relatively large share of voters out there who supported the ANC in 1994 but are less than enthusiastic about what has happened since then, and open to an alternative. If the results of the 1999 election come out as a repeat of 1994, or an even stronger ANC victory, the opposition parties have no one to blame but themselves". Includes tables for voting intentions 1994 - 1998, party identification 1994 - 1997, and party representation 1994.

**689 MATTES, Robert**

The wild west. Indicator SA, vol. 11, no. 3, Winter 1994, p. 7 - 9.

"This article looks at the political impact of the potential for violence in the Western Cape through the eyes of the Information Analysis Department of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for whom I worked during the April election". (Author's introduction). The fears of the IEC focused on the increase of gang activity, resurgence in taxi violence and gun-running, their possible links with political parties and possible effects on the election of April 1994. These concerns continue, and emerge as important post-election issues.

**690 MBULI, Mzwakhe**

'My experience: election '94, April 27th'. In: BRINK, Andre, comp. SA 27 April 1994: an author's diary. Pretoria: Queillerie, 1994, p. 83 - 84. ISBN : 1-87490-119-8

Autobiographical poem. (NELM - Creative poems).

**691 McDONALD, Andrew**

On the campaign trail. Work in Progress, April/May 1993, p. 14 - 15.

Notes the role of overseas consultants in the campaign strategies of the ANC and the Conservative Party and comments upon tensions within the ANC itself.

**692 McDONALD, David**

How the West was won: the Coloured vote in the Western Cape. Southern Africa Report [Toronto], July 1994, p. 10 - 13.

Gives reasons for the National Party's resounding victory in the Western Cape. Fears by Coloured voters that they would lose their privileges are regarded as the main reason for the election outcome. (Annotation from SAlIA Bibl. 29).

**693 McGREAL, Chris**

Mandela realises his dream. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 8.

A brief first hand account of Nelson Mandela voting at Ohlange High School, Inanda, and of the reactions of officials and spectators.

**694 McMAHON, Edward R.**

Lessons learned from African elections. In: The DEMOCRATIC challenge in Africa, discussion papers from a seminar on democratization, the Carter Center of Emory University, May 13 - 14 1994. Atlanta: Emory University, 1994, p. 141 - 146.

Looks at three sets of countries: elections under transitional governments, authoritarian governments managing democratization process, and countries where elections have not been held. Issues that played a role were voter registration, election administration, access to media, lack of nonpartisan domestic observers, restrictions on international observers. Also looks at election monitoring per se. (Annotated by Africa Institute).

**695 MEDIATION: rising stakes.** Financial Mail, vol. 135, no. 8, 24 February 1995, p. 46.

Examines Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's position in the government in the light of Inkatha Freedom Party's objections to the manner in which the constitution is being written and the fact that the mediation issue is being ignored. Warns that Buthelezi received a firm undertaking regarding mediation from President Mandela and former President de Klerk before the 1994 general election.

Highlights specific criticisms. (ISAP).

**696 MEREDITH, Martin**

South Africa's new era: the 1994 elections. London: Mandarin, 1994, 225 p.  
ISBN : 0-7493-1910-0

The author "analyzes the potent mix of high expectations and formidable problems faced by the new regime, examines the election campaign, portrays the leading political figures and their policies, assesses the voters' verdict, describes the new government's agenda and weighs up the prospects for peace and prosperity". (Publisher's introduction). The work is reviewed by D. Williams, in Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 12, 17 June 1994, on p. 53. In this 'View of the Bridge' Williams applauds the author's use of sources, narrative style and perspicuous analysis of political events during South Africa's transition to democracy. He also highlights minor problems of emphasis.

**697 MERLOE, Patrick**

... Guidelines for election broadcasting in transitional democracies. London: "Article 19", 1994, various pagings.

Excerpts taken from this work written by Patrick Merloe, Senior Associate for Election Processes, National Democratic Institute, include: Chapter 3. Election campaign access to the broadcast media, and Chapter 8. Guidelines for broadcast coverage of election campaigns in transitional democracies.

**698 MERTEN, Marianne**

Jamaican statesman to lead Commonwealth team. Business Day, 1 March 1994, - p.

The former prime minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, is to lead the Commonwealth observer team due to arrive in South Africa for the April elections. (Sardius).

**699 MINNAAR, Anthony de Villiers**

The impact of political violence since 1990 on the transition to democracy in South Africa. Paper presented at the International Political Science Association Conference, Berlin, 21 - 26 August 1994.



N. p.: n. pub.1994, - p.

Subject indicated by title..

**700 MINTY, Abdul S.**

South Africa - from apartheid to democracy. Security Dialogue, vol. 24, no.1, 1993, p. 69 - 84.

Unseen.

**701 MIRACLE in Natal:** revolution by ballot-box. Cambridge, U.K: Prickly Pear Press, 1995, 59 p. (Prickly Pear pamphlet, no. 7) ISBN : 1-891754-06-8

"This pamphlet is not an attempt to analyse the election in Natal or whether Inkatha should really have won, and it is not a catalogue of the errors of the IEC in the province. It is merely an attempt to inscribe something of that moment when for so many of us the world changed in a way that we could really feel and participate in. It was a moment that was filled with wonder and grace, a time of dreams and wishes and miracles". It illustrates the two senses in which the election in Natal was a miracle - in the sense that the province was preparing for war, and this was averted, and in the sense that the IEC did manage to produce an acceptable result. It is divided into two parts: Part 1: Voters, in which eleven voters' experiences have been translated and transcribed by University of Durban-Westville anthropology students, and Part 2: Counters, in which three anthropologists describe their experiences and reactions. This "two-sided collection" seeks to preserve a small fraction of what was a common experience by giving expression to the voices of some of the participants. And in this it succeeds. Reviewed by D. Hemson in *Alternation*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1995, p. 217 - 219.

**702 The MIRACLE of a freed nation:** South Africa, 1990 - 1994. Cape Town: Don Nelson, Sunday Times, 1994, 175 p. ISBN : 1-86806-105-1

Unseen, but topics are said to include the political situation and developments, political parties,

leadership, reporters and reporting, pre-election violence, right wing activities, negotiations, and the elections.

**703 MKHONDO, Rich**

Reporting South Africa. London: J. Currey, 1993, 224 p.  
ISBN : 0-85255-364-1

Outlines CODESA's first plenary session and the hopes and disappointments linked to this first move towards democratization. The author examines the leadership of both De Klerk and Mandela. Thereafter he focuses on the violence, possible security force participation and right-wing opposition. The ANC's efforts to transform itself from a liberation movement to a political party, Inkathagate, and the effects of the referendum are discussed. Finally, the countdown to an interim government and the first non-racial election are reviewed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**704 A MODERN day miracle: the South African story,**  
April 1994. Pinetown: H.G. & S.J. Publications, 2nd ed., 1995, [8] p.  
ISBN : 0-620-1906-1

Title from caption. "Collector's item" on cover. Extracts taken from Sunday Times ed. of 24th April, 1994, on colophon.

**705 MOFFETT, H.**

Women in the media: 'Little victories and big defeats'. Sash, January 1994, p. 18 - 19.

Reflects on the way women are presented in the South African media during the pre-election period. Alleges that the media collaborates with sexism. Urges women to use the April 1994 election to create a space for women in government. Includes a box: "How to lobby".

**706 MOLEFE, Popo**

Is the ANC ready? Treading the campaign trail. Interview by Dumisani Nkabinde. Mayibuye, August 1993, p. 10 - 12.

Explains the ANC's election campaign and assesses

the party's chances in a general election. Topics discussed include funding, fund-raising, and the party's hopes for a two-thirds majority.

**707 MOLEFE, T. and GQUBULE, D.**

How the wheels will turn; R40 boost for economy; What each party stands for; All set for one big party; The long walk to Presidency, Elections. Enterprise, no. 75, April 1994, p. 68,71,74-75,77....

Provides information on the April 1994 elections and also outlines the policies of the various political parties. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

**708 MOLEFE, T. and NYATSUMBA, K.**

Moment of truth arrives: do you understand the new constitution? Elections. Enterprise, no. 76, May 1994, p. 87 - 88.

Reports on the outcome of the 1994 elections; reviews the book, "Understanding the New Constitution" by Rob Amato, published by Struik. (ISAP).

**709 MOLLER, Valerie and HANF, Theodor**

Learning to vote: voter education in South Africa's 1994 elections. Durban: Indicator Press, 1995, 75 p. ISBN : 1-86840-148-0

The authors assess the impact of voter education on voting behaviour before, during and after the elections. The results were derived from a survey conducted in June and July 1994 among 2219 South Africans. According to the survey, voter education was successful, as it 'reacted' most voters before the elections, thanks to a wide range of voter educators. The education was perceived to be non-partisan in most instances.

**710 MOLLER, Valerie**

Mirror mirror on the wall, who is the happiest of us all? Information Update, vol. 5, no. 4, 1995, p. 1 - 7.

Examines public perceptions of material well-being through service delivery during the past post-election year. Looks at general levels of life satisfaction among South Africans. (ISAP).

**711 MOLLER, Valerie**

Post-election euphoria. Indicator South Africa, vol. 12, no. 1, 1994, p. 27 - 35.

For the first time, black and white South Africans have registered equal of levels of happiness and satisfaction. The challenge is to sustain these good feelings by delivering better material conditions for all. (Journal summary). The article includes a description of election euphoria, and tables of 'quality of life' trends.

**712 MOLLER, Valerie**

Voter education and older African first time voters in South Africa's 1994 elections. Southern African Journal of Gerontology, vol. 4, no. 1, 1994, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**713 MOLLER, Valerie**

Waiting for Utopia: quality of life in the 1990s. Indicator South Africa, vol. 13, no. 1, Summer 1995, p. 47 - 54.

Examines public perceptions of material well-being and life satisfaction eighteen months after the first democratic elections. Concludes that the euphoric mood recorded immediately after the elections has disappeared. (ISAP).

**714 MOLOINYANE, Edward**

PAC on the road to disintegration. Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly, November 1994, p. 16.

Describes the low-key role played by the PAC and its dismal election results. Its leadership and lack of a political programme are some of the reasons for its failure. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**715 MORNA, Colleen Lowe**

Patrolling the poll. Africa Report, vol. 39, no. 4, July - August 1994, p. 29 - 33.

An anecdotal account by the chief programme officer of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa

on conditions encountered in the East Rand township of Katshehong during election days 27 and 28 April 1994, of problems and their resolution, of frustrations and positive response.

**716 MORRIS, M.**

The good and the bad of the honeymoon: freedom of information. Rhodes University Journalism Review, no. 8, 1994, p. 5.

Examines challenges facing the media following the 1994 general election including the need to maintain pressure to ensure the refinement of the Bill of Rights, to campaign for a Freedom of Information Act, to ensure that the administration remains transparent and to protect the freedom of expression and the freedom of the press. (ISAP).

**717 MORRIS, Mike and HINDSON, Doug**

The wild card. Indicator South Africa, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn 1994, p. 21 - 26.

If a new government in KwaZulu/Natal is unable to portray the election that renders it the victor as legitimate, it will be hamstrung in dealing with violence. (Journal abstract). Against the background of the turn to negotiation the author outlines twelve new forms of violence, discusses its prospects in the build-up to elections, analyses its roots and describes its probable future role in the administrative situation in KwaZulu/Natal.

**718 MOSES, William F.**

New commission strives for fair elections. South Africa Reporter, vol. 11, no. 1, February 1994, p. 5 - 9.

Presents information on the transitional Independent Electoral Commission, the possible election turnout, monitoring activities of both the Commission and foreign observers. The issue of violence is seen as a stumbling block in holding free and fair elections. The participation of the Freedom Alliance and the role played by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are aspects examined. (Annotation from SAIIBIBL, 29).

**719 MOTOR industry: lost opportunity.** Financial Mail,

vol. 131 no. 10, 11 March 1994, p. 77 - 79.

Looks at increased demand for motor vehicles by the United Nations and the Independent Electoral Commissions (IEC) prior to the election, looks at difficulties encountered by motor manufacturers in supplying orders and notes the demand for instant delivery and conditions of sale. Comments on the effect of strikes on production. (ISAP).

**720 MSENGANA-NDLELA, Lindiwe and KILPERT, Richard**

Nokhaya remembers the great election of 1994. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1995, 11 p. ISBN : 0-86810-290

Pilot edition of an ISEA reader for new literates. Category: short stories.

**721 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS.**

Negotiating Council. Technical Committee on an Independent Electoral Commission  
Reports to the Negotiating Council .... Kempton Park, South Africa: The Council, 1993, various pagings.

Comprises the Technical Committee's reports: - 1st interim report 13 May 1993; 2nd report on the Independent Electoral Commission Act 21 May 1993; 3rd report 3 June 1993, as a result of written submissions (to the Committee); 4th report 11 June 1993, also as a result of written submissions.

**722 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS**

Resolution on an election date adopted by the Negotiating Council on 3 June 1993 at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, 1 p. Resolution, no.14)

Unseen.

**723 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS.**

Negotiating Council. Ad Hoc Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill  
Report ... 30 August 1993. Explanatory memorandum. [Johannesburg]: Independent Electoral Commission,

1993, 4 p.+ 29 p.

Includes the Fifth draft. Independent Electoral Commission Act, 30 August 1993. The Ad Hoc Committee, working in conjunction with the Task Force were asked to make recommendations to resolve differences and to simplify the Bill. The 5th Draft presents a substantial revision. The memorandum lists twenty three changes made.

**724 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS.**

Negotiating Council. Technical Committee on an Independent Electoral Commission  
Draft Electoral Bill. Kempton Park, South Africa:  
Negotiating Council, 1993, various pagings. 2 vols

Various versions, October - November 1993. 2nd, 15 October; 3rd, 3 November 1993 (clauses 2 - 42); 4th, 8 November (clauses 1 - 41); 5th, 11 November; 6th, 15 November; 7th, 16 November; 8th, 26 November; 9th and final version, 29 November - "To regulate the elections for the National Assembly and all provincial legislatures to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith".

**725 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS.**

Negotiating Council. Technical Committee on an Independent Electoral Commission  
Independent Electoral Commission Act: drafts 1 - 6.  
Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Negotiating Council, 21 May 1993 - 31 August 1993, various pagings.

Title varies. Sometimes, Independent Electoral Commission Bill: draft. 1st draft, 21 May 1993 - "To provide for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission to assume responsibility for the conduct, supervision, monitoring and evaluation of national elections. 2nd draft 14 July 1993; 3rd draft 17 August 1993; 4th draft 25 August 1993; 5th draft 30 August 1993; 6th and final draft 31 August 1993 reads - "Bill to make provision for the conduct of free and fair elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature contemplated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa ..."

**726 MULTINATIONAL PANEL APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE CURBING OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE FORTHCOMING SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION**

Towards violence free elections in South Africa. A report to the Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation [the Goldstone Commission]. Panel members: Charles Ruff, and others. Pretoria: HSRC, 1993, 63 p. ISBN : 0-7969-1539-3

This book is the testimony of the Panel, submitted to the Commission at a public hearing in Cape Town on 11 August 1993. It reflects the full range of the Panel's discussion, including both issues that relate more broadly to the overall structure of the election and those that have direct bearing on the problems of violence. The issues that are discussed include the role and composition of the Independent Electoral Commission, voter education, the scheduling of the election, the voting process, and the counting of ballots, as well as more obviously pertinent questions relating to the role of the police, the role of the international monitors and observers, and the management of campaign demonstrations. The Panel made more than fifty recommendations. Some of the more important recommendations are that the election should be held on one day only, that the Independent Electoral Commission should consist of only South African members, that a Peacekeeping Service should be established, and that rigorous voter education should get under way as soon as possible. (Publishers introduction). Appendix I: Members of the Multinational Advisory Panel; Appendix II: Media Release; Appendix III: List of submissions; Appendix IV: Summary of recommendations; Appendix V: Glossary of acronyms; Panel appointed by the Goldstone Commission in 1992.

**727 MULTINATIONAL PANEL TO INQUIRE INTO THE CURBING OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION DURING THE FORTHCOMING SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION**

Report to the Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation [the Goldstone Commission]. [Johannesburg]: The Panel,



1993, 69 p. + 7 p.

Mr. Charles F.C. Ruff, Chairman. The panel created on March 8 1993 to enquire into ways and means of curbing violence and intimidation during the election, convened in Johannesburg from 23 - 26 June, received submissions and held discussions concerning the minimization of violence before, during and after the election, and again in Cape Town at the beginning of August. The report reflects their discussions. Its analysis and recommendations cover the election process (the IEC, party registration, voter identification, voter education, campaign regulation, balloting, tabulating, certifying and the post-election period); monitors and observers; policing and law enforcement and the role of the Commission of Inquiry. Appendix I : Members of the Multinational Advisory Panel; Appendix II: Media Release; Appendix III: List of submissions.

- 728 **MUNICIPAL polls:** Cape fraud the last straw. Finance Week, vol. 66, no. 3, 20 July 1995, p. 8.

Comments on evidence of fraudulent completion of voter registration forms in ANC metropolitan strongholds in the Western Cape and looks at problems in this region during the general election campaign in 1994. (ISAP).

- 729 **MURIUKI, G.**

Separate but unequal: the Coloured people of South Africa .... Kronos, no. 22, November, 1995, p. 150 - 152.

Book review of a political history by R.H. du Pre. Traces the political history of the Coloured community from the 17th Century to present. Discusses the legislation that culminated in their forced separation from other communities during the Apartheid era and the devastating effect that this had on their social structure. Explains the 1994 voting into power of their oppressors, the National Party, rather than the ANC. Reviewer critical of a lack of factual support for certain statements and absence of an exploration of racism among Coloureds. (ISAP).

- 730 **MURPHY, John, and others**

... The legal framework of South Africa's first democratic election. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 240 - 262. ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

Offers an analysis of the provisions of new legislation "intended to level the political playing field and create the framework for the conduct of a free and fair election". Statutes examined include the Transitional Executive Council Act No 151 of 1993, the Independent Media Commission Act No148 of 1993, the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No153 of 1993, the Independent Electoral Commission Act No 150 of 1993 and the Electoral Act No 202 of 1993. Also touches on the provisions of the Interim Constitution of 1993.

**731 MURPHY, John**

An independent electoral commission. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 25 - 56. ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

This chapter examines the role played by electoral commissions in the management of free and fair elections. Its main purpose is to outline the legal framework within which electoral commissions operate. It studies the structures and functions of commissions, their appointment and composition, staffing, powers, legislative functions, jurisdiction and suitability as models for South Africa. Concludes that a pro-active electoral commission offers the means of inculcating faith in the electoral process.

**732 MURPHY, Mike**

A shaky alliance: COSATU and the ANC. Indicator South Africa, vol. 11, no. 3, Winter 1994, p. 52 - 56.

"This article reflects firstly on the ANC-COSATU relationship during the Alliance stage. It then considers their relationship in the next, the Reconstruction and Development (RDP) stage. Economic and political challenges will confront old Alliance partners in a new South Africa which is subject to the geo-economics of the post Cold War period". (Introduction). The guest

editor of the South African Labour Bulletin argues that although the ANC and COSATU could drift apart in the post-election period, the arguments for constructing a consensus conducive to social peace will be very compelling.

**733 MURRAY, Martin J.**

Revolution deferred: the painful birth of post-apartheid South Africa. London, etc.: Verso, 1994, 272 p. ISBN : 0860913651

The objective of this book is to explain the nature and character of the current political transition in South Africa and to establish the inner connections between the rise of post-apartheid parliamentary democracy and the 'dead weight' of embedded structural continuities left over from the past. As such, the analysis is guided by three logically distinct but overlapping antinomies: continuity and change; organization and spontaneity; and surface appearances and structural underpinnings. Contents: introduction - shifting political alignments in the twilight of apartheid rule - the fateful bounty of apartheid - on the edge of extinction: black South Africa in town and country - destabilizing and counter-revolutionary warfare - the roots of political violence - the political spectrum - the trade unions and the working class - civic associations and popular democracy - the brokered eclipse of white minority rule. Postscript: entering the political kingdom. (ASC Leiden abstract). This work is a sequel to: South Africa: time of agony, time of destiny.

**734 MUTHIEN, Yvonne**

Democratic consolidation in South Africa, 1994-1999. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HRSC Publishers, 1999, p. 5 - 20. ISBN : 0-7969-1943-3

Chapter 2 examines the extent of democratic consolidation on the eve of the election, through the prism of public perceptions. The chapter examines a number of key indicators of democratic consolidation including public support for democracy, public optimism about the future, deracialisation, gender equality and the strength of civil society. (Introduction). The author

concludes "that the new state contains both the seeds of repression and the seeds democratic maturity. The key pillars of a formal democracy, embedded in the twin imperatives of transformation and development are in place, but the sustainability of democratic behaviour is not guaranteed. South Africa has made a good start... Given the scale of operations, the tight time frames and lack of experience, the first democratic election was an extraordinary feat of human resolve, dedication and bold spirit, borne out of passion to deliver freedom, justice and democracy to the entire nation". The article includes figures and diagrams.

**735 MUTHIEN, Yvonne and KHOSA, Meshack**

Divided we fall. Indicator SA, vol. 11, no. 3, Winter 1994, p. 27 - 32.

Reports on South Africa's final provincial boundaries which were drawn by experts but political parties tinkered with them behind closed doors. Includes maps. (Africa Institute).

**736 MVOKO, Vuyo**

The ballot's been the bullet for the PAC. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 4.

The Pan Africanist Congress' poor showing has taken the party's leaders by surprise. Deputy President Johnson Mlambo suggests reasons for this - the lack of money to run an election, the failure of the IEC to act on irregularities, and the desire of foreign observers to have the election declared 'free and fair' at all costs. He dismisses the idea that members of the PAC might have boycotted the election because of the suspension of the armed struggle. A change in strategy is needed.

**737 MVOKO, Vuko**

COSATU warns: free elections or we'll strike. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 11.

'COSATU will start a two-week strike if its demand for the deployment of the Defence Force and National Peacekeeping Force in Natal is not met.' Its "Defend Peace and Democracy" campaign is to last from 11 - 24 April. Other resolutions taken at a recent COSATU

conference are included in this brief article.

**738 MYAKAYAKA - MANZINI, Mavivi**

Women empowered - women in Parliament In: WOMEN in Parliament: beyond numbers, by Azza Karam, and others. Stockholm: International IDEA, 1998, p. 175 - 180. Handbook series, 2

Examines the effects of the election of women members to the National Assembly (109) and to the Senate (8), as a consequence of the April 1994 elections, and of government policy on women's issues.

**739 NASH, Andrew**

Legitimizing capitalism: the June 1999 election. Election Watch, no. 2, 15 May 1999, p. 7 - 8.

An opinion piece taking a critical look at the forthcoming election. It examines the way in which democracy works in the context of capitalism, and the reasons why the democratic election of 1994 changed so little for the majority of South Africans. The author fears that the most important result of the June 1999 election will be "to integrate the representatives of the electorate more completely into the management of capitalism".

**740 NATAL: local logic.** Financial Mail, vol. 131, no. 2, 14 January 1994, p. 30 - 31.

Comments on implications of the election of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma as candidate for the Natal regional premiership in terms of Natal's part in mainstream politics and anticipates Zuma's role in facilitating reconciliation in Natal. (ISAP).

**741 NATAL: the toughest nut.** Financial Mail, vol. 131, no. 12, 25 March 1994, p. 45 - 46.

Considers the position of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the anti-election alliance has crumbled and comments on various political statements by the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini. States that the Zulu king has not made a declaration of independence or secession and contends that

Buthelezi will settle for a delayed election in KwaZulu/Natal. Looks at implications of this decision in terms of the Electoral Act. (ISAP).

**742 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Evaluating elections: basic principles and issues and selected case studies. South African Elections Studies Project March 8, 1994. Washington, D.C.: NDI, 1994, various pagings.

This paper examines essential principles and issues used to evaluate elections. Part One provides a generalized synthesis of election standards. It identifies the important issues and factors to consider in the process of evaluating an election. Part Two lists provisions contained in major international human rights instruments. Part Three presents selected case studies from the growing body of election assessments out of which an unofficial "common law" of election standards is being developed. Directly and indirectly, each of these case studies illustrates some aspect of the methodology, issues and/or reasoning employed in evaluating the component parts of an election process. Evaluation case studies include relevant excerpts from NDI election reports on Cameroon, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Zambia. Paper written by Michael D. Stoddard, NDI's Assistant Counsel for Election Processes, with comments and editing by Patrick Merbe.

**743 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Preparing for national elections: workbook. A civic education programme... November 6 - 10, 1991. Cape Town, etc.: The Centre and the Institute, 1991, various pagings.

Includes guidelines for analysis of electoral process, voter registration and election administration, political parties, election campaign, election day, and video presentation.

**744 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Uneven paths: advancing democracy in Southern

Africa. Windhoek: New Namibia Books, 1993, 139 p.  
ISBN : 99916-31-18-6

"This publication presents the proceedings of an historic colloquium sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) at Mount Etjo, Namibia, in January 1992. NDI convened representatives of all major political parties from the nine countries in the Southern African region engaged in transition towards multiparty democratic systems. The 60 delegates conferred with political party and labor leaders, lawyers, judges, academics, journalists and elections technicians from Europe, the Western Hemisphere and other regions of Africa. They examined key constitutional and institutional aspects of the electoral process including the role of election commissions, political parties, the media and international observers ". (Extracted from 'Acknowledgements'). Also contains sections on the rule of law, the pros and cons of voter registration, a Code of Conduct , the role of the non-governmental organizations, and women in politics. Compiled by Padraig O'Malley, with editorial assistance from Carol Lynn Martin.

**745 NATIONAL PARTY**

At last! The truth about negotiations. Johannesburg: Sunday Times, 1994?, [12 p.].

Supplement to the Sunday Times, "compiled and edited in its entirety by the National Party", celebrating the achievements of the National Party at the Multi-party Negotiating Process. Includes information on the transitional government, on provincial powers, on South Africa's transitional constitution and on the party's policies for the 1994 election.

**746 NATIONAL PARTY**

Election '94. Johannesburg: NP, 1994, [4p.].

Coloured illustrated news-sheet, compiled by Daryl Swanepoel and Juli Coetzer; contributions multilingual, but mainly in English. Encourages voters to oppose the ANC and the Freedom Front, and to support a changed National Party.

**747 NATIONAL PARTY**

National Party manifesto 27 April 1994, edited by Stoffel van der Merwe. Lynnwood: Olaus van Zyl, 1994, 36 p.

Based on the Party's Programme of Principles, the manifesto sets out its vision for a 'New South Africa' and explains its aims - peace, security, non-racial democracy, federalism, justice, freedom, protection of rights, job creation, decent, affordable and efficient education, health care and social services, a thriving economy with equal opportunities for all and freedom of religion. Also published in Afrikaans as: "Nasionale Party manifes".

**748 NATIONAL PARTY**

National Party policy, edited by Stoffel van der Merwe. Cape Town: Olaus van Zyl, 1993, 82 p.

"Sets out the policies and goals as well as values for which the National Party stands. It reflects the essence and basic philosophies of the party". NP policy is set out fully in seven sections: I. Constitutional, II. Economic activities, III. Social, IV. Security, V. Cultural, VI. Foreign affairs, VII. The civil service. It presents a programme for renewal shedding all forms of discrimination and racism, based on a set of principles adopted at its four Provincial Congresses in 1992. Annexure I: Manifesto for the New South Africa. Annexure II: Programme of principles. Also published in Afrikaans as: "Nasionale Party. Nasionale Party Beleid".

**749 NATIONAL PARTY**

[NP Leaflets: election 1994]. Johannesburg: National Party (SA), [1994], single leaves.

Election leaflets issued by the NP includes: For your place in the sun; The future is at your feet; Korrupsie is soos 'n dief in die nag ...; Letter from Roelf Meyer, Negotiations you've won! ; Now is the time to make the change; Now is the time to make your choice; "Please stop the violence"; Pleased to meet you..., I'm the new National Party; South Africa is changing: we've made the change; Where can you vote?



**750 NATIONAL PEACE CONVENTION**

National Peace Accord. [Johannesburg]: The Convention, 14 September 1991, 33 p.

Text of the Accord, signed on the 14th of September 1991 at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, creating a network of peace structures and dispute resolution committees across the country, under supervision, with the task of monitoring political activities and resolving crises quickly. Its stated aim; "To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal". Set out in ten Chapters: Principles; Code of Conduct for political parties and organizations; Security Forces: general provisions; Security Forces: police Code of Conduct; Measures to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development; Commission of Enquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation; National Peace Secretariat, Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committee; National Peace Committee; Enforcing the Peace Agreement between parties; Special criminal courts.

**751 NATIONAL Peace Keeping Force - who will guard the guards? Financial Mail, 11 February 1994, p. 45.**

Discusses the collapse of the NPKF at De Brug training camp despite advice given by various authorities about the viability of such a force and whether it will play an effective peacekeeping role during the 27 April 1994 elections. (Sardius).

**752 NATIONAL Peacekeeping Force, violence on the East Rand and public perceptions of the NPKF on Katorus: report on a joint project between the Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Defence Policy. Halfway House, Transvaal: Institute for Defence Policy / Human Sciences Research, 1994, 51 p.**

Focuses on the National Peacekeeping Force. Initially, an interpretative history of the NPKF is presented. Thereafter, the authors analyse violence on the East Rand from 1990 to April 1994, when the NPKF was deployed in Katorus. A representative sample of

Katorus residents were interviewed and expressed their perceptions of the Force. These results are published. In conclusion, the report explains why the NPKF failed where the SADF succeeded. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

**753 NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY**

Comments on the Third Report of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

**754 NCHOLO, Paseka**

The right to vote. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 57 - 72.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

Discourses on the nature of this right, its history in South Africa and the legal factors involved in the conferring of it - eligibility, citizenship, marriage, naturalization, residency, age and disqualifications. Queries the necessity for voter registration. Concludes that all South African citizens should be entitled to vote.

**755 NDEBELE, Njabulo S.**

Elections, mountains, and one voter. In: BRINK, Andre, comp. S.A. 27 April 1994: an author's diary. Pretoria: Queillerie, 1994, p. 93 - 95.  
ISBN : 1-87490-119-8

Category: essays, autobiographical writing by literary figures. (NELM).

**756 NEFOLOVHODWE, Pandelani**

International involvement. Interview with Mr. Pandelani Nefolovhodwe Deputy President of AZAPO. Barometer on Negotiations, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1993, p. 17 - 18.

The Deputy President expresses AZAPO's views on the election process, emphasizing the need for international supervision, a peace keeping force and measures against corruption. He also comments on various constitutional matters.

**757 NELAN, Bruce W.**

Breaking point in Zululand. *Time*, 11 April 1994, p. 28 - 31

Focuses on the State of Emergency which was declared in Natal after widespread violence and a threat of civil war. The Inkatha Freedom Party's unwillingness to participate in elections is also discussed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**758 NELAN, Bruce W.**

A nation born anew. *Time*, 9 May 1994, p. 22 - 27.

Based on reports from Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, Nelan correlates journalists' views on the "astonishingly peaceful" election, Black expectations, the ANC's five-year plan, the cost of this, accountability, problems facing the incoming government, and the threat of violence. Includes a box on 'The ugly fight for White rights'.

**759 NEW era: Mandela takes charge after thirty years of White rule. *Weekly Review*, 13 May 1994, p. 34 - 44.**

Several articles focus on the election process, the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela, speeches at the inauguration, the new cabinet and the interim constitution. (Sardius).

**760 A NEW last outpost? *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 1, 1 April 1999, p. 50.**

This forecast of the results of the election in the Western Cape, based on the survey conducted there in February 1994 by Market and Opinion Surveys for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD), includes comments on and interpretations of the results of the survey by various political analysts. It provides percentages and predicts a win for the National Party (NP).

**761 The NEW South Africa. *Black Scholar*, vol. 24, no. 2, Summer 1994, p. 2 - 47.**

Covers the "First all race elections in 1994, the

Reconstruction and Development Program, and roles of the African National Congress and the conservative Afrikaners; nine articles". (PAIS). Includes tables.

- 762 NICE** white it lasted. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 47.

Documents the "virtual annihilation" of minor parties and speculates on the number of seats a few of them may win.

- 763 NINETEEN** parties register for election. *Southern Africa Report*, 18 February 1994, p. 3 - 4.

Lists the political parties that have registered for the election, but focuses especially on the stance of the Freedom Alliance. The parties of the Alliance have not registered, but might still do so. Considers their prospects in the election should they decide to take part in it.

- 764 NJANANA, Rhoda**  
South African polls hold hope beyond violence. *Southern African News Features*, 14 April 1994, p.1 - 2.

Against the background of continuing violence and Chief Buthelezi's refusal to participate in the elections, the writer predicts harmonious post-election conditions. (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).

- 765 NOLLER, J.F.**  
Results of the elections in South Africa. *Gegenwartskunde Gesellschaft Staat Erziehung*, vol. 43, no. 3, 1994, p. 353 - 357.

Unseen.

- 766 NUPEN, Charles**  
Election authorities. Seminar on current trends in electoral systems, Amman, Jordan, September 1994. Amman: n. pub.1994, 15 p.

"This paper explores the role of election authorities in the context of the measures needed to enable them to function in an impartial manner and earn the requisite

degree of legitimacy to deliver free and fair elections". The author draws on his experience as a member of South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission to illustrate his arguments with descriptions of the situation in South Africa in 1994 regarding electoral law and the role, functions and responsibilities of the Independent Electoral Commission.

**767 NZIMANDE, Blade**

What went wrong in Natal? Overcoming the obstacles and moving forward. *African Communist*, 2nd Quarter 1994, p. 38 - 46.

States that much of Inkatha's success in the April elections in Natal can be attributed to fraud. However, the aim of the paper is to contribute towards strategic discussions concerning the post-election political situation in the province. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. No.29).

**768 NZIMANDE, Blade**

The Zulu Kingdom: Buthelezi's short-cut to power. *African Communist*, no. 136, 1994, p. 6 - 20.

Buthelezi's struggle for the recognition of the Zulu Kingdom is in fact an attempt by him to retain political power in a democratic South Africa without going through a democratic election. This is the real agenda behind the protection of the Zulu Kingdom from the IFP's (Inkatha Freedom Party's) point of view. The author argues that this question is not being adequately dealt with by the national liberation movement. It is necessary to understand the IFP in class terms, and to focus on the role of the chieftaincy and the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie in the Bantustans. ANC's strategy and tactics must be sharp enough to cut through Inkatha's Zulu nationalism by grasping the fact that what is essentially at stake is the defence of the class interests of a bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie fearing the impending democratic transformation of the country. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**769 O'MALLEY, Pdraig**

"Reflections on the miracle". In: The PEOPLE's voices: views on attitudes on democracy. An analysis of public opinion surveys conducted throughout Southern Africa,

1994 - 1998. N. p.: Publication proof, 1999?, 92 p.

"This essay examines the findings of a number of public opinion surveys reports carried out between September 1992 and October 1998 with a view to ascertaining the dynamics behind the transition in South Africa and to probing the nature of transitions in emerging democracies to see whether there are conclusions we can draw and lessons we can learn that can be applied to other countries undergoing similar transformations". The author pinpoints and discusses the socio-political issues raised by the responses to the following surveys: the September 1992 Focus Groups; the August 1993 HSRC survey; the November/December 1994 Focus Groups; the June/July 1996 HSRC OMNIBUS survey; the November/December 1996 FGR; the October 1998 FGR; Opinion'99; the October 1998 Suzman Foundation poll. His analyses are followed by his afterthoughts on the political situation and the support for democracy as reflected in the pre-1999 election findings.

**770 O'MALLEY, Padraig**

The point of no return: the politics of South Africa on election day April 1994. Washington, DC: NDI, 1994?, 78 p.

This publication, issued ahead of the elections by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, is intended to serve as a context for those who are observing, studying and evaluating the electoral process. Contents cover: The negotiation process, The Interim Constitution, The Transitional Executive Council, Constitutional principles, The electoral framework, Violence, The economy, and Political actors. Appendices include the Harare Declaration, Regional map, Voting and seats per province, Voting population by racial groups, Voting population by province and racial groups, National sample ballot paper.

**771 O'MALLEY, Padraig**

South Africa: reflections on the miracle. In: SOUTHERN Africa: the people's voices; perspectives on democracy, edited by Padraig O'Malley.

Johannesburg: NDI & The University of the Western  
Cape, 1999, p.115 - 199.  
ISBN : 0-620-24215-9

"This essay examines the findings of a number of public opinion survey reports carried out between September 1992 and October 1998 with a view to ascertaining the dynamics behind the transition in South Africa, and to probing the nature of transitions in emerging democracies to see whether there are conclusions we can draw and lessons we can learn that can be applied to other countries undergoing similar transformations". (Author's introduction). Surveys include:- September 1992: Focus Group Surveys; August 1993: HSRC Survey; November/December 1994: Focus Group Survey; June/July 1996: HSRC Omnibus Surveys; October 1998: Focus Group Study Opinion '99; October 1998: Suzman Foundation Poll. For each, comments and opinions by Focus Group participants and political analysts are included, as well as the author own observations, separately presented.

**772 OBSERVING** the Natal election. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, July 1994, p. 14 - 17.

Two election observers from a delegation mounted by OXFAM-Canada give their impressions of the atmosphere, problems and euphoria experienced during the South African elections in Natal. Contents: 'An Empangeni journal', by Linda Slavin, reports on the actual voting in Empangeni and the counting of the ballots, and 'The Natal exception', by Marlea Clarke, notes that it was in Natal that the election process experienced the greatest difficulties, by far - "Prior to the IFP's entry into the race, its position was to actively oppose the election through various forms of intimidation, violence and prohibition".

**773 OF** polls and power. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol. 9, no. 2, November 1993, p. 1 - 2.

Editorial reflecting a Canadian view of relations between the ANC and Canada and the possible consolidation of ties between them. Considers the ANC's future prospects and reports on view expressed

by Albie Sachs in Toronto regarding Canadian "critical support" and the future role of activists.

**774 OMOND, Roger**

Socrates would have done it better. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 10.

Colourful description of the situation at the Greek polling station in Marousi (a suburb of Athens) where overseas South Africans battled to vote, and overwhelmed officials struggled with a lengthy queue and dedicated enthusiasm. An estimated 1,500 had cast their votes by 3 pm, nevertheless voting hours had to be extended to midnight.

**775 ON** a plate [KwaZulu/Natal]. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 2, 8 April 1994, p. 40.

Quotes figures and percentage from the second regional opinion survey conducted by Data Research Africa, for the Launching Democracy Project, sponsored by the MPD (Institute for Multi-Party Democracy) and the HSRC. Findings of this 'demographically representative poll' indicate a fairly even division between pro-and anti-ANC support in KwaZulu/Natal with the ANC having the edge. Speculates on the consequences of the boycott and claims that Inkatha have lost nearly 25% of its mainstay black support. Notes a surprising amount of enthusiasm for President F.W. de Klerk.

**776 ONE** more cup of coffee for the road. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 2, 8 April 1994, p. 39.

'Buthelezi and the election'. Investigates the possibilities of Inkatha participating in the 27 April general election. Reports on talks being held regarding international mediation on constitutional matters, and on the present violence. Notes logistical problems facing the Independent Electoral Commission and examines the options facing Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Includes comments by Robert Schrire and Ian Philips.

**777 OZINSKY, Max and RASOOL, Ebrahim**

Developing a strategic perspective for the Coloured areas in the Western Cape. *African Communist*, no.



133, Second Quarter 1993, p. 39 - 47.

A discussion document covering demographic issues including socio-economic features of the Coloured community, religion, culture and group identity. Describes the partial success only of the Communist Party in organizing the community, and its relations with the African National Congress in the pre-election period.

**778** The **PAC** manifesto. *Challenge*, no. 22, 1994, p. 8.

A summary of the PAC's manifesto for South Africa's first democratic elections. (ISAP).

**779 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

Election manifesto, the PAC of Azania: it's PAC for true liberation. N. p.: n. pub.[1994?], 26 p.

1994 election material includes poster: "The land first, all shall follow," and badge : Clarence Makwethu, the Africans' hope. The manifesto claims to identify the key problems facing our people, which they promise to address as a matter of urgency when given the mandate to do so. Contents: Violence; The Land-Izwe Lethu; A Caring economy; Affirmative action; Workers' rights; Housing; Education; Health; Last word - a brief history of the PAC. Includes a list of offices of the PAC.

**780 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

Input by the PAC on the second draft of the Independent Electoral Commission Act at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre. Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, 13 p.

Submitted: 23 July 1993.

**781 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

Input regarding the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 28 May 1993, 2 p.

Submitted: 28 May 1993.

**782 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

The land policy of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Discussion document prepared by the Department of Land and Environmental Affairs. Johannesburg: PAC, 1992, 29 p.

This policy document focuses on land redistribution as a fundamental constitutional issue. The land question is examined under the following heads: the land question and the national liberation in Azania; the present structure of an agrarian sector; land reform strategy; redistribution; mechanisms for selection of beneficiaries; systems of tenure; state intervention and agrarian transformation; other productive land and activities; urban transformation; institutional framework for land reform; conservation; conclusion. The election campaign of the PAC was largely fought on this issue.

**783 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

PAC position on provinces and regions. N. p: PAC Headquarters, n. d, 3 leaves.

Outlines their "rationale for regionalism" and their policy for regionalization and federalization of the state.

**784 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

Towards a democratic and caring society: summary of PAC's election manifesto. N. p: n. pub, [1994?], 1 leaf folded.

Outlines the policy of the PAC on violence, the land questions, housing, economy and jobs, affirmative action, workers, education and health. Major emphasis is laid on the return of the land.

**785 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

Transport policy. Johannesburg: PAC, Dept. of Transport, 1991, 14 p.

Document 1/91 represents "a broad indication of ideas and direction of PAC's transport policy".

**786 PARKS, Matthew**

The four most hotly contested provinces. *Election Watch*, no. 3, 15 July 1999, p.10 - 12.

Compares the election results in 1994 and in 1999 in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Northern Cape and Western Cape and argues that "due to the particular demographics and natures of these four provinces they provide us with indicators of significant shifts in the South African scene, i.e. racial, class and geographical". His conclusion: "The shifts include Coloured and Indian voters returning to the ANC they had supported before and the DP regaining its English supporters and taking the NNP's Afrikaner heartland. The IFP and NNP just survived and are likely to do better in the future. The winners are the ANC, DP and most importantly the people".

- 787 PARLIAMENT:** birth of a nation. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 7, 13 May 1994, p. 47 - 48.

Discusses parliamentary proceedings in which MPs were sworn in and comments on the election of Nelson Mandela as President and Frene Ginwala as Speaker. Quotes from Mandela's address on Cape Town's Grand Parade, in which he stressed reconciliation. (ISAP).

- 788 PARLIAMENTARY** elections in South Africa, edited by Wilfred P.C.G.Derksen. N. p.: n. pub.1996, 2 p.

Provides percentages and figures for the number of seats held in the National Assembly and the Senate, by the different political parties, as at 15 August 1995. Table. No text. Source: <http://www.universal.ul/users/derksen/election/home-afr.htm>

- 789 PARTY** political support: May/June 1994. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1994, p. 34 - 35.

Reflects the public's closeness to and alienation (distance) from various political parties. (ISAP).

- 790 PARTY** political support. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1994, p. 15 - 16.

Reflects South Africa's choice of leader and feelings of sympathy towards and alienation from the various political parties. (ISAP).

- 791 PARTY** political support. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1994, p. 12 - 13.

Latest data showing the public's support of, or alienation from, the major political parties. (ISAP).

- 792 PATERSON, Lynette**  
Voter education. *Sash*, January 1994, p. 45.

Brief report on the Black Sash's voter-education workshops, including a teaching play by Glenn Hollands.

- 793 PEACE**, prosperity and political developments 1994-1999. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1994, p. 3 - 5.

Summarizes the visions and expectations of the six major political parties concerning post-1994 election developments in South Africa.

- 794 PEARCE, Justin**  
Vetkoek in the voorkamer for the N Cape brown ous. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 6.

Provides a personal account of conditions at a mobile polling station in the sparsely populated Northern Cape and reactions of 'Coloured' farm workers to the electoral process. Opinions expressed by political parties seeking the support of Coloured voters at the municipal voting station in Sutherland are quoted.

- 795** The **PEOPLE** go to the polls. *Work in Progress*, April/May 1993, p. 9 - 20.

Several articles, focusing on South Africa's first democratic elections, when more than 21 million people were eligible to vote. Articles by Hein Marais and Andrew McDonald are separately indexed.

- 796** The **PEOPLE** wait: governance. *Financial Mail*, vol. 137, no. 1, 30 June 1995, p. 19.

Comments on the non-delivery on election promises

and the RDP of the ANC government and highlights various other examples of misgovernance and skewed priorities. Criticizes the attendance on demands by trade unions, stresses that South Africa should play a leadership role in Africa and notes the benefits of economic growth to the population. (ISAP).

**797 PEREIRA, Paul**

The election: free and fair or foul and fraught? *Fast Facts*, no. 2, 1994, p. 2.

Lists and gives brief details of twenty-four incidents of violence and coercion between October 1993 and January 1994. Promises future regular updates of possible events that could impede free and fair elections.

**798 PEREIRA, Paul**

How the DP came second. *Finance Week*, 18 June 1999, p. 22.

Speculates on reasons why voters supported the Democratic Party, analyzes the party's situation in 1994 - 'in philosophical disarray' - and the reasons for its poor showing at that time, and argues that its internal disputes, focusing on the nature and role of liberalism, refined its policies and contributed to its subsequent growth and success.

**799 PFISTER, Roger**

Perceptions of the 'black-on-black violence' in South Africa and their relevance in the democratization process. (February 1990 - April 1994). Bern: University of Bern, Institute of Modern History ..1995, 161 p.

Thesis. The killing of at least 13,000 South Africans (99% of them being black) during the four years preceding the April 1994 democratic elections constitutes a form of conflict perceived as black-on-black violence. In this thesis the author examines "why which of the numerous perceptions were advocated by whom, with what background and with what political intention, and also in what way these perceptions are connected with the democratization process". He argues that it was some of these perceptions that significantly influenced the course of the political

progress. He outlines the political events, focusing on the negotiation process, the extent of the violence and the four dominant perceptions concerning the causes of the violence. Finally he concludes: "It is hardly exaggerated to say that it was first the 'black-on-black violence' and then the 'Third Force' perception which decisively influenced the negotiations process". Appendix F IV. Goldstone Commission: Second interim report. Bibliography p.138 - 161.

- 800 PICK your party.** *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1994, p. 14 - 17.

Presents an overview of the 'lesser parties', listing eighteen of them, and summarizing their policies and agendas.

- 801 PIENAAR, P.A.**  
Results of the April 1994 election. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1994, - p.

Unpublished ms.

- 802 PIPER, Lawrence and PIPER, Steven**  
Hit and myth: Zulu ethnicity and the 1994 elections in KwaZulu-Natal. Paper presented for the SAPSA Conference, University of Stellenbosch, 27 - 29 September 1995. N. p.: n. pub.1995, - p.

This is a first draft of the paper presented to the South African Political Studies Association Conference: Not to be quoted without permission. "The victory of the IFP in the 1994 election in KwaZulu-Natal appears to redeem its claim to an ethnically-justified federal state. But just how important was Zulu ethnicity in the election? Not only do events leading up and during the election cast doubt on the outcome, but the general pattern they reflect does not redeem the IFP's claims concerning Zulu ness and politics. Simply put, ethnicity was not a good predictor of party preference with Zulu-speaking people divided roughly 60:40 between the IFP and ANC. A better predictor appeared to be the rural-urban divide, with some evidence that ethnicity was a useful indicator within rural areas. However, not only are there exceptions to these general trends, but they do not explain political party affiliation in and of themselves.

For this we must turn to the history of political competition between the IFP and ANC, tracing how conflict in the province spiralled into a process political cleansing where authority was asserted in spatial terms through control of local areas. Only insofar as it contributes to the 'regime of power' of the IFP, its political style and its institutional and discursive dimensions, does ethnicity contribute to an understanding of political allegiance. In brief then, it is argued that, despite the ethnic rhetorical flourishes by both IFP and ANC prior to the election, the basic pattern of political allegiance was already established, and the political styles of the two parties remained largely unaffected". (Abstract).

- 803 PLUMBING** the political factor. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 1, 1 April 1994, p. 22; 25 - 26.

The Financial Mail Board of Economists reply to questions posed by Raymond Parsons reflecting the importance of the general election to economic policy. Replies, by Aubrey Dickman (Wits Business School), Ronnie Bethlehem (JCI), and Charles Simpkins (Professor of Political Economy at Wits) cover a wide spectrum: topics include the ANC's economic approach, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) - its benefits to the economy and specific significant aspects - the possible influence of other political parties, restructuring government spending, reduction of the tax burden, exchange control, the National Economic Forum, violence and investment.

- 804 POGRUND, Benjamin**  
South Africa goes to the polls. In: ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 159 - 181.  
ISBN : 0-864-6-276-8

Gives a chronological description of the election from 26 April 1994 to 29 April 1994. Relates anecdotes and specific incidents from across South Africa.

- 805** The **POLICIES**, perceptions, positions, postures, powers, preferences, principles, programmes,

promises, prophecies, proposals and prospects of political parties. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1994, p. 6 - 9; 18.

Major political parties reply to questions concerning post-election expectations and problems.

- 806 POLITICAL** negotiations. *N.T.C.I. Current Affairs Update*, no. 1, February 1994, p. 5 - 10.

Reports on negotiations which took place in South Africa during the period mid-December 1993 to mid-February 1994. The successes achieved at the multi-party negotiations process were totally overshadowed by the continued negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and NP during this period of review. Outlines the 15 chapters and 7 schedules of the Interim Constitution. Also briefly outlines the chapters of the Electoral Act. (ISAP).

- 807 POLL** watchers hail from near and far. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, 15 April 1994, p. 11.

Sketches the roles of election observers and monitors in general terms and then, more specifically, their functions in a South African context.

- 808 POLLING** in proportion. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 9, 4 March 1994, p. 44 - 45.

This 'Election Brief' argues that the provision of a double ballot, with separate papers for the National Assembly and the nine Provincial Legislatures, will boost the chances of smaller parties with strong regional backing. Explains the amended situation, in terms of the constitution, the calculation of seats, the advantages of proportional representation and the implications for voters.

- 809 POSSIBLE** criteria for determining whether the election was substantially free and fair. N. p: n. pub, 1994?, 7 leaves.

Lists thirty eight relevant questions to be answered, grouped in three categories: 1. Did all parties have the equal chance to canvass all potential voters? 2. Did all



potential voters have the opportunity to vote and to vote for whom they wanted? 3. Was the conduct of the voting, counting, and application of the tallies conducted properly in accordance with law? Attached: Scenario One, Two and Three.

- 810 POSSIBLE** impact of the 1994 election on prison violence: an exploratory descriptive study of the perceptions of South African prison managers. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, c. 1994, - p.

Cover title: The 1994 election and prison violence: prison managers views. Project leader: Willem Schurink, Focus Area for Crime and Related Studies in collaboration with: Division for Socio-Political Monitoring and Analysis of the HSRC. This is the final report to the Department of Correctional Sciences who commissioned the research.

- 811 POST** election thoughts: industrial relations. *Chamber Digest. Durban Regional Chamber of Business*, no. 16/94, 30 April 1994, p. 7.

Gives advice on how to deal with problems (affecting industrial relations) arising as a result of the general election. (ISAP).

- 812 POST-ELECTION** politics: party divisions not set in stone. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 3, 21 January 1994, p. 24 - 25.

Comments on the current popularity of the ANC, in spite of division within the party, addresses immediate pressing problems of government which the ANC must face and notes the importance of Nelson Mandela's personal prestige. Focuses on the other political parties and their aims, stresses the importance of a new government's centrist character and speculates on a split within the ANC. Outlines issues at stake during the election of 1994. (ISAP).

- 813 POTTIE, David**

The first five years of provincial government. In: *ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip,

1999, p.16 - 36.  
ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

The author surveys South Africa's provincial government in the period 1994 to 1999 under the headings: building provincial government, provincial representation, provincial powers, the provincial legislative record, provincial governance, financial sustainability, political intrigue and provincial performance, provincial government prospects. He concludes ..."Provincial government will remain an important centre of attention for reform and debate. While the debate between those who advocate a unitary and centrist conception of the state and those who prefer a strongly federal South Africa has been settled in favour of the compromise of co-operative governance, provincial government's relative status is still open for discussion. This fluidity will also persist in terms of provincial government performance. Some provinces will shine, while others will continue to struggle to achieve their policy goals. The one certainty is that the debate will remain vigorous". Table 1: Seat allocations to provincial legislatures, 1994 and 1999. Table 2: 1994 Provincial Legislature election results. Table 3: Regional ("Provincial to National") allocations to National Assembly, 1994 and 1999. Table 4: Delegates to National Council of Provinces. Table 5: Regional laws, 1994 - 1997.

**814 POTTIE, David**

The politics of money: funding political parties. *Election Update* 99, no. 9, 26 March 1999, p. 21 - 24.

This overview discusses party funding, campaign spending and the dangers associated with both external and internal sources of funding. It then surveys and compares the legislative contexts in 1994 and in 1999, with specific attention to the Electoral Acts of 1993 and 1998, the 1996 constitution and the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, noting the major difference - the decision to fund only currently represented political parties i.e. the seven parties in power. The reactions of several new minor parties are described and future challenges are suggested.

**815 POTTIE, David**

The role of political parties in election monitoring and observation. *Election Update 99*, no. 6, 12 February 1999, p.17 - 18.

Outlines the provisions of the Electoral Act relating to party behaviour and party agents during the election period and the dynamics surrounding their role in election monitoring. Examines their conduct in the 1994 election and their future role in 1999.

- 816** The **POWER** of women's vote. *Speak*, May 1994, p. 24 - 25.

Encourages women to vote for a South Africa free from gender discrimination. Emphasizes that their votes are their own, and the ballot secret. Describes the role of the Independent Electoral Commission and explains the procedure for reporting threats or intimidation.

- 817** **POWERS, Cathy**

Counting the empty helicopters. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 9.

A personal account of the frustrations experienced by electoral officers and voters in Alberton in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, and other places on the East Rand, over the failure of supplies to polling stations, and the disruptions caused by these delays.

- 818** **POWERS, Cathy**

How did the celebs vote? Only some will say. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 16.

The author sought out a dozen known names and questioned them concerning their political allegiance and attitude to voting. Eight responses are quoted, most from the world of entertainment.

- 819** **PREDICABLE** vote from the press. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May, p. 17.

Brief report on the stances taken by South African newspapers in endorsing political parties. "The bulk of the English press backed the Democratic Party, the Afrikaans press voted against the ANC and those

papers that identified with the liberation struggle backed 'liberation' parties".

**820 PREECE, Howard**

ANC's inheritance. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 4, 21 - 27 April 1994, p. 10; 12.

Presents a 'non-partisan audit' on the South African economy at the time of the 1994 election, and considers its prospects under an ANC government - "pluses and minuses of the SA economy as it moves towards fundamental change of political control".

**821 PREECE, Howard**

Small print. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 4, 27 January - 2 February 1994, p. 12.

Appraises the ANC's draft Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and its significance for business, treating it as a major policy statement, on economic and social issues, of the next government. Selects major points and discusses the possible consequences of their implementation. Concludes "business should read ANC programme with utmost care".

**822 PREECE, Howard**

Wealth and worries. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 9, 3 - 9 March 1994, p. 10; 13.

Discusses best money management options in the period before the end of the April elections, in the context of the economic and financial policies likely to be pursued by the ANC in government, as these are revealed in its draft Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

**823 PREPARING** ourselves for power. Albie Sachs in Toronto. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol. 9, no. 2, November 1993, p. 13 - 15; 18 - 19.

Reports on Sach's visit to Toronto as a member of the African National Congress's Constitutional Committee and on his presentation of the ANC's preparations for the elections themselves and on the organization of its campaigns. Discusses South Africa's transition to

democracy, the ANC's conversion from a liberation movement to a political party, its drafting of a code of conduct, socio-economist policy making and current constitutional negotiations.

- 824 PREPARING** the electorate. *Mayibuye*, June 1993, p. 19 - 20.

As the possibility for fair and free elections emerge, the urgent need for a prepared electorate is stressed.

- 825 PRISONS:** give them cake, too. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 12, 25 March 1994, p. 50.

Looks at the demands by various groups for voting rights in the 1994 elections for all prisoners, at the prison riots following the Transitional Executive Council's decision that certain categories (defined in the Electoral Act) will not be allowed to vote, and at the issues surrounding the possible reversal of the TEC's ruling.

- 826 PROFILE**, Manuel Moutinho, President of LUSAP. N. p: [LUSAP], [1994 ?], 1 leaf.

Lists the personal details, career history, community, involvement, and other achievements of the President of the Luso-South African Party that contested the 1994 election.

- 827 PROJECT VOTE**  
A South African story. Cape Town: Project Vote, c.1994, 35 p.  
ISBN : 0-620-18544-9

Focuses on voter education and the electoral process in South Africa. Coloured illustrations. (SANB).

- 828 The PROSPECTS** for a free democratic election, inhibiting and facilitating factors in voting intention, by Chris de Kock, and others. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, c. 1993, -p.

Subject indicated by title.

- 829 PSOULIS, Christine**

COSATU members' attitudes towards the 1999 elections. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 23, no. 2, April 1999, p. 24 - 29.

A researcher at the Sociology of Work Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand reports on a 1998 survey undertaken to assess the political attitudes of the labour movement, and of COSATU members in particular, towards the forthcoming 1999 elections. Covers the method and the sample, the people surveyed, union democracy and political democracy. Draws comparisons with a similar 1994 survey where a similar technique was used. Concludes: "The research has shown once again that there is a consistency and persistence of a commitment to participatory democracy in the workplace and an expectation that this will take place in the parliamentary arena as well". Tables and graphs.

**830 QWELANE, J.**

Gentleman's agreement. *Tribute*, June 1995, p. 42 - 47.

Discussion of the agreement reached between the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress before the 1994 general elections, to deal with outstanding constitutional matters through international mediation. (ISAP).

**831 QWELANE, J.**

When God blessed South Africa. *Tribute*, January 1995, p. 58 - 115.

Overview of the political, social and economic situation in South Africa since the 1994 elections. (ISAP).

**832 RAGHAVAN, S.**

Liberation for whom? Indians wonder where they fit. *Newsweek*, vol. 125, no. 6, 6 February 1995, p. 29.

Reports Indians think twice about their longstanding ties to the African National Congress (ANC) and even their future in South Africa. Relates that a poll for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy found that 71 percent of Indians voted for the National Party during South Africa's first democratic elections. (ISAP).

- 833 RAINBOW** nation finally united in peace. *Impact International*, May 1994, p .7 - 12.

Several articles on the South African democratic elections, the inauguration of the President and Muslim participation in the country's political life. (Sardius).

- 834 RAKE, Alan**  
South Africa on the brink. *New African*, April 1994, p. 10 - 11.

Discusses the possibility of a civil war in South Africa where the chaos in Bophuthatswana was a grim warning. Tribal and racial confrontations abound, arms are freely available. (Sardius).

- 835 RAKE, Alan**  
South Africa: after the party. *New African*, June 1994, p. 9 - 10.

Relates features and highlights of the April 1994 elections. As predicted, the ANC has a landslide victory, but now the real social challenges have to be addressed. (Sardius).

- 836 RAMAPHOSA, Cyril**  
Features interview with the ANC Secretary-General, by Jendayi Frazer. *Africa Today*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1994, p. 7 - 10.

Outlines the agenda and scope of problems which should be addressed by the post-election South Africa. (Sardius).

- 837 RANDALL, E.**  
Fighting fire with water. *Work in Progress*, no. 95, February 1994, p. 11.

Looks at what the prospects for peace are if Natal manages to have a free and fair election. Forecasts that Jacob Zuma will soon become Premier of Natal. Speaks to Jacob Zuma. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP)

- 838 RANTETE, Johannes M.**

The African National Congress and the negotiated settlement in South Africa. Pretoria: Van Schaik Academic, 1998, 323p.  
ISBN : 0-627-02329-0

Subject indicated by title.

**839 REBEHN, Michael**

Learning to trust democracy: voter education in South Africa for the first General Election on 27 April 1994: structures and problems of a media-pedagogically produced social learning process. Freiburg I. Br.: Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut, 1999, 350 p.  
ISBN : 3-928597-28-0

Written originally as a doctoral thesis at the Institute of Media Pedagogy for the Hochschule der Kuenste, Berlin, "this book shows how African, Coloured and Indian voters learned the fundamental concepts of democracy and the role of the state in the new South Africa, as well as the purely technical procedures of voting. But the interpretation also elucidates another successful learning process that was as important to make that miracle happen - their learning to trust democracy". Chapters: 1. Introduction and theoretical considerations (Democratic change in South Africa, the need for trust in the democratic system, learning processes during the transition to a democracy, voter education in South Africa); 2. Democratic change as a communication challenge (The interim constitution, the institutions that implemented the transformation, the electoral law, voter education suppliers); 3. Educating first-time voters (Demographic profile, electoral profile, defining the target group, communications strategies for voter education); 4. Voter education in the mass media (Use of and trust in the media, television programmes, radio programmes, newspapers and magazines); 5. Voter education in direct contact (Training the trainers, workshops in practice, teaching materials, give-aways); 6 The outcome of the First General Elections (The run of the elections, preparation of first-time voters, voter education on two channels, election day); 7. Consolidating the democratic system (The establishment of a democratic conflict culture, the transition to an open society, communications towards citizenship, conclusions:



learning from history). Coloured illustrations. Bibliography, p. 341 - 350.

- 840 REBIRTH** of a nation. *Newsweek*, 2 May 1994, p. 12 - 23.

A photo-article on South Africa's preparations of the general election - views, interviews and description of voters' expectations. (Sardius).

- 841 REED, Daniel**

Beloved country. London?: BBC?, 1994, 210 p.  
ISBN : 0-563-36963-9

Insights into factional violence in the Black townships in context of social upheaval caused by the end of apartheid; focuses on Southern Transvaal and Zulu-speaking Natal. Companion volume to the BBC television series first broadcast in spring 1994. (PAIS).

- 842 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

The case for democratic hope in Africa. Paper prepared for round table on "Electoral systems for emerging democracies: experiences and suggestions" 12 - 15 November 1996. Sorup Herregaard, Denmark: n. pub.1996, 22 p.

This article argues that a clear pattern is emerging which suggests that those countries which have institutional mechanisms which create an atmosphere of 'inclusion' are doing considerably better than the states which opted for structures with an exclusionary bent. When looked at under the microscope there is strong evidence to suggest that parliamentarism, proportional representation, and power-sharing structures provide the foundational level of inclusion needed by precarious divided societies to pull themselves out of the maelstrom of ethnic conflict and democratic instability. South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, and Sierra Leone contain elements of the inclusive typology and they have all significantly reduced the specter of political violence and represent the best hopes for democratic consolidation in Africa. (Author's abstract).

- 843 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Electoral systems and democratization in Southern Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, 341 p.  
ISBN : 0-19-829510-3

This work deals with the region of the Southern Africa in relation to democratic consolidation, dynamic modes of representation, and the mitigation of ethnic (and regional) conflict. It starts with the premise that all three objectives are desirable (although not necessarily mutually dependent or exhaustive of all goals one might wish for a new democracy), and poses the question: "Which institutional arrangements will best facilitate effective representation, political stability and inter-ethnic accommodation in the emerging democracies of Southern Africa?" I seek to answer this question through a comparative analysis of the effect of institutional structures in five case study countries: Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. (Author's introduction). Chapter 6: PR case study election results ... examines the 1994 South African elections (p.182 - 190) under the headings transition to democracy, electoral system choice, free and fair elections?, and the 1994 election results. Chapter 7: Discusses and reruns the SA election under alternative electoral systems (p. 222 - 226). Reviewed by Shaheen Mozaffar in *Representation*, vol. 37, no. 1, Summer 2000, p. 77 - 78.

**844 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Electoral systems and democratic consolidation in Southern Africa. In two parts. San Diego, CA: The author, 1996, various pagings.

D.Phil. Thesis, University of California. "The effect of constitutional design upon representation, political stability, and inter-group accommodation, in the emerging democracies of Southern Africa -- A comparative study of the Republics of Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe". Chapter 6: 'PR case study results: South Africa and Namibia' contains sections on the transition to democracy in South Africa, electoral system choice, free and fair elections?, and general election results 1985 - 1995. Bibliography, p. 604 - 635.

**845 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

The importance of electoral system and constitutional design to the new democracies of Southern Africa. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Toronto Ontario, Canada, 3 - 6 November 1994. Atlanta: African Studies Association, 1994, 21 p.

Subject indicated by title

**846 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Re-running the 1994 South African and Malawian Parliamentary elections under alternative electoral formulae. : , 1995, - p.

Unpublished manuscript. (Unseen).

**847 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Re-running the South African and Malawian general elections under alternative electoral systems. Paper presented to the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) symposium 'Elections and Conflict Resolution in Africa'. Washington, DC: USIP, 1995, -p.

Subject indicated by title.

**848 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

The results. In: ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 182 - 220.  
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Explains that the ANC was relieved that they did not end up with a 66% vote. Presents election results, turnout and estimated electorate, spoilt ballot papers, ethnic breakdown, white electorate, regions in detail, provincial results and other figures in tables, and looks at what alternative systems could have achieved. 'This chapter is the product of a larger collaborative research project (with Bernard Grofman of the University of California, Irvine, and Arend Lijphart of the University of California, San Diego) on Electoral Laws, Electoral Lists, and Campaigning in the First Non-racial South African Elections, supported by the National Science Foundation of the United States, Award No. SBR-9321864'.

**849 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Testing voting systems in South Africa. Re-running the 1994 elections with different systems. In: CENTRE FOR VOTING AND DEMOCRACY. Voting democracy report 1995. Washington, DC: The Center, 1995, p. 151 - 156.

This article concentrates on the constitutional issue of whether to constitute parliament by a plurality, majoritarian, or proportional representation type electoral system - so critically important to the prospects for democratic consolidation in a divided society. The author states: "By re-running the national parliamentary elections in South Africa we can assess how the use of alternative electoral system formulae would have changed the composition of government and parliament. The resulting empirical evidence can then be used to assess how stable the system would have been likely to be considering the pre-existing divisions within each society. For purposes of this exercise I have re-run the election under: (1) single member district (SMD) plurality; (2) a majoritarian system (the Alternative Vote, or AV) in the same member districts; (3) regionally based constituency list proportional representation (PR). To these main electoral systems I have added: (4) the Alternative Vote in multi-member districts (MMD)... Reynolds explains his methodology and assumptions, overviews the current South African system, re-runs the election with plurality, describes its effects (one party domination, total exclusion of smaller minority parties, incentives for violence, regional fragmentation, re-runs it under the Alternative Vote(AV) and under Alternative Vote in Multi-Member Districts (MMD AV)and explains their impact and results. Finally he re-runs the election on a Provincial List PR basis noting four important respects in which it would have been detrimental. A table sets out the results of the various methods for the seven major parties by % of vote and seats. The author concludes: "The evidence from this case study is not definitive but the results do highlight clear trends which have become apparent during the 'third wave' of democratization, i.e., that plurality or majoritarian systems are detrimental to democratic consolidation in ethnically divided fledgling democracies and that

proportional representational type systems are necessary to provide the inclusive ground rules to enable party compromise and ethnic accommodation to flourish".

**850 REYNOLDS, Andrew**

Voting for a new South Africa. Cape Town: Masker Miller Longman, 1993, 130 p.  
ISBN : 0-636-01780-X

Sponsored by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy to help focus debate on devising the most suitable electoral system for South Africa. Examines needs and choices, and puts forward proposals. Concludes that: "by using the party list system in small multi-member constituencies, proportionality in Parliament is ensured and a geographical link is maintained between the electors and the elected". Maps, tables and lists of constituencies. Reviewed by F. Basson in *Politikon*, vol. 21, no. 1, June 1994, p. 86 - 87.

**851 RICHARDS, Robin**

Managing democracy: the problematic birth of the Electoral Commission. *Focus Letter*, no. 4, October 1996, p. 11 - 16.

Outlines the activities of the IEC in the 1994 elections, presents a critical analysis of the provisions of the Electoral Commission Act of 1996, and lists the responsibilities and tasks facing the Electoral Commission just established, including its future role in voter education. Argues that its independence is clearly in question and that "the Act makes it certain that the commissioners will be subject to the will of the governing party in the National Assembly, and the leader of that party who is President". Illustrated by photographs of the 1994 election.

**852 The RIGHT Wing: broedertwis over poll. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 10, 11 March 1994, p. 48.**

Considers problems in the ranks of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and predicts participation in the election by General Constand Viljoen and the Freedom Front. Speculates on future support for the Conservative Party (CP) and efforts to establish a

'volkstaat', and comments on talks between Inkatha and the ANC. (ISAP).

- 853** The **RIGHT**: up in smoke. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 46.

Voting trends point to a massive shortfall in the votes Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front believed would compel the new government to accept rightwing demands for a 'Volkstaat' (homeland). Fewer than 400,000 votes (2% of the poll) have so far been cast for them, and support is scattered over a wide geographical area. The right-wing terror campaign also appears to be crumbling.

- 854** **RIGHTWING** Conservative Party is collapsing. *Southern Africa Report*, 15 December 1994, p. 4 - 5.

Reports on the declining support for the CP since the elections. As rightwing fears of widespread violence are waning, co-operation with provincial governments, who are extending a hand of friendship, is growing. (Sardius).

- 855** **RIGHTWING**, Inkatha refusal to meet deadline for names of candidates deflates hopes of inclusive election. *South Africa Report [Johannesburg]*, 11 March 1994, p. 1 - 2.

Describes moves by the Freedom Alliance to forego registration for the election. Implications and reaction are discussed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

- 856** **ROBERTSON, Claire C.**  
Contesting the contest: negotiating the election machinery. In: *The SMALL miracle: South Africa's negotiated settlement*, edited by Steven Friedman and Doreen Atkinson. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1994, p. 44 - 67.  
ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

Reviews the way South Africa ran its own election under the eye of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the relative success it met with. (Africa Institute).

**857 ROBINS, Steven and PRINSLOO, Mastin**

"The fortune is in the sky! Both Black and White will worship one God!": Representations of homogeneity and the assertion of difference in the 1994 South African elections. Durban: University of Natal, 27 - 30 June 1994, 32 p.

Paper presented at the Fourth International Conference on Oral Tradition: oral tradition and its transmission: the many forms of message... The authors, from the Department of Adult Education University of Cape Town question how an apparently common citizenship was constructed, overnight, and how such a unanimity of purpose was achieved Their interests are in the elections as a literacy event, and as oral history, and in the elements of ritual characterizing the event. This study of communicative practices focuses on the role of literacy, on voter education and the differences and resemblances in reactions (with many specific references to the Western Cape) and on the role of the media.

**858 ROBINS, Steven**

The Northern Cape: Coloured support for the ANC in Namaqualand. *Election Update* 99, no. 5, 29 January 1999, p.11 - 14.

This case study seeks to understand the reasons for Namaqualand's Coloured voters support for the ANC in both the 1994 and 1995 elections by investigating land and identity issues in the Reserves during the 1980s and 1990s.

**859 ROBINS, Steven**

Western Cape: local expectations and party loyalties. *Election Update* 99, no. 6, 12 February 1999, p.10 - 13.

Uses the results of the 1994 elections to explain the change in attitude of the Coloured community and its disillusionment and voter apathy. Analyses the reasons for low registration and takes the example of Worcester and its local government and local grievances to indicate broader trends in the Western Cape generally.

**860 ROLLER-coaster ride into new SA. *Negotiation News*, no. 15, 20 April 1994, p. 1 - 2.**

Gives an overview of pre-election events in South Africa: the strenuous efforts to include both the conservative right and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the position of the former self-governing and 'independent' states and the ongoing violence. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29)

- 861** **ROUNDTABLE ON HATE SPEECH**, Cape Town, 11 - 12 March 1999. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, various pagings.

Folder with loose contents:- Preface, signed by Dren Nupen, Director of the Electoral Institute of South Africa, which states: "The objective of the Roundtable on Hate Speech and the Conduct of Elections was to stimulate debate on the implications of the proscription on freedom of expression. The Roundtable provided the forum for political parties, representatives from the Electoral Commission and members of civil society organizations to discuss the occurrence of 'hate speech' in electoral campaigns and other electoral activities. As a prelude to the election on 2 June 1999, the roundtable afforded the audience the unique chance to assess what constitutes 'hate speech', the extent to which it may cause harm, and how it may exclude people from participating in elections"; Copy of Project proposal - Hate speech and electoral conduct, with covering letter from Gideon Pimstone to Dren Nupen, 10/02/97, developing points of intersection between freedom of expression, hate speech and the conduct of elections, 9 p.; Pimstone, Gideon. Hate speech, the constitution and the conduct of elections, 62p. The author, Chief Researcher, HSRC Group Democracy and Governance, states "This article attempts to make sense of what is colloquially known as the hate speech provision of the Constitution. As a significant sub-theme, this provision will be examined in the context of electoral policy and conduct". Also included, an Executive Summary, and a twenty-one page précis, under his main headings; Copy of article by Carolyn Massey, "Race-hate speech: to be, or not to be, that is the question", which contains sections on 'The South African debate: to be or not to be, free with speech' and 'Will SA explode on 27 April 1994 - was



asked in 1993'. The reference for this article is given as University of the Witwatersrand Student Law Review, (1995) 7, 63 - 80.

**862 RSA 1994** [ballot paper]. N. p: n. pub, [1994], 1 leaf.

Sample ballot paper listing the nineteen participating parties, including IFP (added). Laminated, coloured.

**863 RUDMAN, T.D**

Estimates of expenditure: Independent Electoral Commission: 20 December 1993 to 31 May 1994. Pretoria: Transitional Executive Council, 1994, 2 p.

The Executive Director of the Transitional Executive Council in a letter to Dr Renosi Mokate, Chief Executive Director, Independent Electoral Commission, states that the TEC "has approved the Estimate of Expenditure of the Independent Electoral Commission: 20 December 1993 to 31 May 1994". With covering fax dated 23 March 1994.

**864 RULE, Stephen**

South Africa. In: RULE, Stephen. Electoral territoriality in Southern Africa. Aldershot, etc.: Ashgate, 2000, p. 215 - 257.  
ISBN : 0-7546-13100

Rule's work on electoral territoriality focuses on the regional distribution of population with different 'ethnic' identities, ethnicity and voting behaviour and residence in urban and rural constituencies. In Chapter 6, South Africa, he first presents an historical overview covering the origins and consolidation of the South African state, opposition to white minority rule and the formation of the Union of South Africa and De Klerk's reforms. This is followed by sections on the 1994 election, and on population distribution: 1996 census, before the author addresses his major topics in the sections: Pre-election public opinion in 1999 (on the economy, crime situation, governance, race relations and overall satisfaction); The 1999 electoral geography; Voting patterns; Conclusions. These conclusions include the following: Provincial variations in the degree of support for each political party in South Africa's June 1999 election were largely but not exclusively attributable to

the spatial distribution of the black and non-black sectors of the electorate. Public opinion polls about voter trust in and satisfaction with the national government before the election correlated strongly with variations of support received by the ANC in the election. The electorates of the provinces of Mpumalanga, the Northern Province and North West, with strong black and mainly rural and poor majorities were in most respects more satisfied than those of the other provinces. Highest levels of ANC support occurred in these provinces. Likewise, voters in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape expressed consistently lower levels of satisfaction than the rest of the country, corresponding with high levels of support for the IFP and NNP respectively. The correlation of the ranked aggregated satisfaction index for each province with the proportion of votes won by the ANC in June 1999 was unsurprisingly strongly positive. The high level of voter dissatisfaction in the Western Cape correlated with a population composition unlike any of the other provinces, namely a majority of white and coloured voters. In KwaZulu-Natal, on the other hand, most voters are black speakers of isiZulu. In both cases surveys found repeatedly that the voting behaviour of most members of these groupings could be expected to constitute opposition to the ANC, as turned out to be the case. Support for the other major parties, namely the DP and UDM correlated primarily with the distribution of white voters and Umtata-region speakers of isiXhosa, respectively. Broadly, support for the ruling ANC in 1999 was unrelated to public perceptions about its degree of control over the crime situation in the country or to satisfaction with the economic situation at either the national or household level ... Rather, a widespread sense of trust in the incumbent government, satisfaction with the way it has governed the country and a perception that race relations had improved since April 1994 accounted for the high proportion of votes cast in its favour on 2 June 1999". His arguments are based on and supported by survey data collected by the Human Sciences Research Council, and are presented with thirteen detailed tables and two maps.

**865 RUMNEY, Reg**  
Business lends a hand for elections. *Weekly Mail &*

*Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 21.

Article providing several specific examples of businesses giving aid and equipment to the Witwatersrand/Vaal Peace Secretariat, especially to the Joint Operations Communication Centres (JOCCS) being set up in the area.

- 866 RURAL** media: communicating electoral audience. Grahamstown: Rhodes University. Dept. of Journalism & Media Studies, [1992?], 42 p.

Research for this pilot study was undertaken by senior students in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Grahamstown; co-coordinated by the Media Research and Training Unit, Project Co-coordinator Don Pinnock, editing by Margit Polacsek and Don Pinnock. The study considers the political process, lessons from previous elections in other countries, problems of language and illiteracy, the use of visual media and its pitfalls, the role of radio, and concludes with some proposals and suggestions.

- 867 RWELAMIRA, Medard and AILOLA, David**  
International monitoring of free and fair elections. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta & Company, 1994, p. 209 - 262.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

In discussing this, the authors "have attempted to project the view that international monitoring must be seen as part of a broader strategy to enforce and implement various human rights already recognized by the international community". Topics addressed include: objectives; international law justification; impact of the United Nations Charter and human rights instruments; involvement of the international community in South Africa. Concludes that 'in so far as the international community is able to facilitate a smooth transition to a democratic era, its involvement is a necessity'.

- 868 RYAN, C.**  
Election dilemmas. *People Dynamics*, vol. 12, no. 4, March 1994, p. 19 - 21.

Discusses the vital role business has to play in guaranteeing the legitimacy and fairness of the April election. (ISAP).

**869 SACHS, Albie**

"Preparing ourselves for power". *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol. 9, no. 2. November 1993, p. 13 - 15.

Sub-title: Albie Sachs in Toronto. The article relays opinions expressed by Sachs, emphasizing the importance of the forthcoming elections and electoral processes for the ANC, and outlining the problems involved in the transition to democracy and the transformation of the ANC into a political party functioning in a parliamentary context. Notes some reactions of his interlocutors to his socio-economic viewpoints.

**870 SAILS in the sunset [Western Cape]. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 2, 8 April 1994, p. 39 - 40.**

Quotes figures from the Sunday Times and Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD)'s opinion polls indicating a close finish between the National Party and the ANC in the Western Cape, and describes some of their campaign strategies. Notes the personal popularity of President F.W. de Klerk.

**871 SANDF support for the election process. *Bulletin [SANDF]*, no. 1, 30 April 1994, 2 p.**

Describes the assistance given by the South African National Defence Force to the Independent Electoral Commission to facilitate a free and fair election. (Sardius).

**872 SARKIN, Jeremy**

The South African media in the transition to democracy. In: *FREE and fair elections*, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta & Company, 1994, p. 154 - 184.

ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

"This chapter will focus on the media during the period

of transition. It will investigate the shape of the media at present and examine the possibilities that exist of ensuring that the media perform a positive role during the elections in informing the electorate. Both the state-owned media and the privately owned media will be discussed. The two themes that are of particular interest are, firstly, the extent to which the media are free to play this positive role in spite of the many restrictions which limit them and secondly, how to ensure that the media will play a fair role and not favour one party over others". (Chapter introduction). It also includes material on the role of an Independent Media Commission, and on specific laws in need of review.

- 873 SATGAR, Vishwas and JARDIN, Conrad**  
COSATU and the Tripartite Alliance. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1999, p. 6 - 11.

Draws on surveys conducted among COSATU members in 1994 and again in 1998, aimed to assess attitudes and aspirations towards South Africa's democratic elections. This paper interprets the survey's main findings on the Tripartite Alliance. It focuses on worker's motivations, commitments and on their expectations that they will be able to exert worker control over parliamentarians and over alliance partners.

- 874 SAUL, John S.**  
"Now for the hard part". *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol. 9, no. 5 - vol. 10, no. 1 (Double issue), July 1994, p. 18 - 19.

Recounts his experiences as a Canadian observer of the 1994 elections and questions the results in the Western Cape and in KwaZulu-Natal. Notes that, despite the ANC's development programme for the future, the real economics of South Africa's liberation remain to be defined.

- 875 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence, and others**  
Polls vs. reality. How well did polls predict the election results? *Information Update*, Second quarter 1994, p. 1 - 5.

This article examines the validity of opinion surveys. The April election results are used as a test case to see how well polls reflect political support patterns in South Africa, a country where survey research is much more complex than in developed societies. The support levels for particular parties, discrepancies and factors which might have influenced the results are looked at. The authors conclude that socio-political surveys - and especially longitudinal surveys - remain extremely valuable tools for policymakers in developing countries and that these should form an integral part of the process of democratization in South Africa over the next decade or more. (Journal abstract).

**876 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence, and others**

Pre-election polls. *Indicator South Africa*, Vol. 11, no. 1, Summer 1993, p. 7 - 10.

Considers various pre-election surveys which gauge support for the ANC and for the National Party. The author gives reasons for the increased popularity of the ANC and the waning support of whites for the National Party.

**877 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

The anatomy of expectations: a brief review of evidence. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1994, p. 1 - 4.

Examines the multitude of expectations which exist among the South African electorate. Concludes that most expectations are for basic reforms which should have been addressed a long time ago. (ISAP).

**878 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

Birth of democracy. *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 11, no. 3, Winter 1994, p. 17 - 22.

"South Africa's first democratic elections took place under a multi-party commitment to accountable, non-racial and interest-based democracy. Schlemmer looks at voter choices and what they mean for parties and democracy". (Journal introduction). He examines the management of the election campaign, incidents of violence and intimidation and some findings of two pre-election surveys focusing on the relevance of party

politics, reasons for political allegiance and attitudes to power sharing. He argues that the pattern of results comes uncomfortably close to being a census of mobilizes racial-cum-ethnic categories, and concludes: "The outcome of South Africa's first democratic election shows clearly that voter sentiments do not match the high ideals within which the election was negotiated and planned. As in most poor and deeply divided societies, our new democracy has yet to survive a number of complex challenges. Democratic consolidation may take a long time".

**879 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

South Africa's first open election and the future of its new democracy. In: *The BOLD experiment: South Africa's new democracy*, edited by Hermann Giliomee, and others. Halfway House, South Africa: Southern Book Publishers, 1994, p. 149 - 167.  
ISBN : I-86812-556-4

Considers the prospects which may flow forth from the 1994 election in South Africa by reviewing the country's history, the process out of which the election emerged, and the economic and other policy challenges the new government will face. Compares the support of the different racial groups (African, Coloureds, Indians and Whites) for the different political parties, and concludes that economic growth is the only way to overcome contradictions still existent in South African society. Includes tables.

**880 SCHNEIDMAN, Witney W.**

Post-apartheid South Africa: steps taken, the path ahead. *CSIS Africa Notes*, no. 156, January 1994, (entire issue: 11p.).

Examines the steps taken by South Africa towards democratization: talks about talks, CODESA I and II, the Multiparty Negotiating Forum, the TEC, the planned elections, and the proposed Government of National Unity. Attention is also given to the rightwing challenge, the violence factor, military restructuring and the economy, including the nationalization issue. (Annotation from SAILA Bibl. 29).

**881 SCHOEMAN, Elna, compiler**

South African elections 1994. *Southern African Update*, vol. 9, no. 2, October 1994, p. 42 - 59.

Presents a bibliographical overview of the elections in South Africa in 1994.

**882 SCHREINER, Jenny**

Woman can vote you off that list. *Mayibuye*, October 1993, p. 31 - 32.

Considers the potential role of women voters in elections, and explains how women should act in order to ensure that women's issues receive their due attention.

**883 SCHRIRE, Robert T. and SILKE, David**

The mass media and the South African election. In: ELECTION '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 121 - 143. ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

"During the election, the press, radio and even the mass marketing and advertising campaigns of the participating political parties all contributed to an ideological liberalization of the society. However, past loyalties did remain, and this chapter deals with the beginnings of a drift away from patronage to a more independent approach across the media spectrum". (Introduction). Topics discussed include the historical picture, the influence of personalities, the alternative press, the electronic media, party political press advertising campaigns and the future role of the mass media.

**884 SCHRIRE, Robert**

Party tricks. *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn 1994, p. 7 - 10.

The South African election has been dominated by the debate between participants and non-participants, between those who accept the rules of the new electoral game and those who do not. Schrire analyzes electoral issues and campaigns focusing on those of the ANC and the National Party and describing the dangers posed by potential political violence from right



wing groups, dissident IFP supporters, and Zulu nationalists.

**885 SCHURINK, Willem, and others**

The possible impact of the coming election on prison violence: an exploratory - descriptive study of the perceptions of South African prison managers. First report, by Focus area for Crime and Related Studies, Willem Schurink (Project leader) .... Pretoria: HRSC, 1994, 28 p.

Report commissioned by the Department of Correctional Services, 20 December 1993. The HSRC to conduct in-depth research into the increased potential for prison turmoil that the April 1994 election presents, and the direct implications of this for prison management. Appendix A: Methodological strategy employed in the research; Appendix B: Theoretical framework for the study; Appendix C: SAPOHR question posed to delegates. Chairperson: G.M.Bhudu. References. Cover note from Paul Bell. Final Report later issued by the HSRC c.1994. Other contributors, Evanthe Schurink and Charl Schutte, Chris De Kock and Nic Roodie from the Division for Sociopolitical Monitoring and Analysis.

**886 SCHUTTE, P.**

Debate strategies and tactics: from the past (1994) to the future (1999). *Communicare*, vol. 18, no. 1, May 1999, p. 68 - 89.

Focuses on the verbal strategies and tactics used in the Mandela/De Klerk debate as a step towards understanding and evaluating the processes involved in debating. (ISAP).

**887 SCOTT, Christina**

I spy with my little eye... something beginning with 'X'. *Leadership*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1994, p. 56 - 66.

Tells the story of the peace monitors, who do far more than observe. They suffer between combatants and are sometimes killed. During the election they played a vital role. (Sardius).

**888 SEEKINGS, Jeremy**

From boycotts to voting? The extra-parliamentary opposition in transition. *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, no. 43, February - March 1993, p. 32 - 34.

Argues that the transition to democracy requires a shift from protest to participants, from boycotts to voting on the part of activists who face the challenge of adapting to a strategy of involvement in elections. Describes the transformation of civic movements and extra-parliamentary opposition into new identities with new problems and new roles. Focuses on SANCO (the South African National Civic Organisation) and the ANC and their preparations for post-election politics.

**889 SEEKINGS, Jeremy**

From independence to identification. In: *NOW that we are free: Coloured communities in a democratic South Africa*, edited by Wilmot James, and others. Cape Town: IDASA & Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, 1996, p. 28 - 38.  
ISBN : 1-874864-25-X

Edited by Wilmot James, Daria Caliguire and Kerry Cullinan. First addresses the importance of the Coloured vote in the Western Cape, then discusses the national Party's success in the region, political party partisanship, voter identification and how this concept relates to the situation among Coloured voters. Notes their relative independence from competing parties, and surveys their voting intention as shown in opinion polls in mid-1993, contrasted with estimates in April 1994. Examines election issues of importance in mid-1993, and in the post-election period and discusses them in the context of the community's perceptions of the ANC and the NP. Questions whether the current voting pattern represents a period of lasting realignment. Seeking's discussion draws primarily on two opinion polls: the first conducted eight months before the elections in July/August 1993, organized by Research Initiatives, the second conducted in August/September 1994, commissioned by IDASA. He maintains: "The NP campaign constantly flirted with racism as it contrasted the new NP and its leader, F. W. de Klerk, with an ANC committed to Africanisation and responsible for disorder. The NP succeeded in defining the way in which the issues were understood -

to its advantage and the ANC's disadvantage".

**890 SEEKINGS, Jeremy**

From the ballot box to the bookshelf: studies of the 1994 South African general election. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1997, p. 287 - 309.

"This paper surveys the development of election studies in South Africa up to 1994, and then examines critically three book-length academic studies of the 1994 election. Each of these books provides different insights into the elections. Each has a different approach. Reynolds' collection falls firmly within the existing mainstream tradition in South African election studies. Johnson and Schlemmers' book uses opinion poll data, but does so within an analytical framework based primarily on racial groups, and with no recognition of international scholarship on voting behaviour. Mattes' book, in contrast, breaks with the mainstream tradition in South Africa in both analytical and methodological terms, using opinion poll data and drawing on international work to develop a new approach to understanding the South African voter." (Introduction). Books discussed: Election '94 South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. David Philip, Cape Town, 1994. xvii + 237 p. including index, photographs and tables. Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994, edited by R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996, xiv + 412 p. including index and tables. The Election Book: Judgment and Choice in South Africa's 1994 Election by Robert Mattes. Institute for Democracy in South Africa, Cape Town, 1995. vii + 150 p. including tables. The author reviews the substantial literature on the election and the contrasting views expressed under the main heads: A disconnected tradition; Electoral studies in apartheid South Africa; The 1994 election: the context, campaigns and conduct of the election; The bases of voter choice: the supposed abnormality of South African voters; Party identification and issue-voting; After the founding election.

**891 SEILER, John**

Who you gonna call? *Work in Progress*, Issue 96, April/May 1994, p. 21 - 22.

Examines the role of the South African Police during the election and discusses a general plan devised for police behaviour. (Sardius).

**892 SELFE, James**

Absolute power brings instability. Interview with Mr. James Selfe, Executive Director of Information of the Democratic Party. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1993, p. 14 - 15.

Encapsulates the DP's views on various aspects of the election process - proportional representation, the IEC, monitors, reduction of violence, merger of armed forces, possible strategic alliances, the interim constitution and CODESA.

**893 SHAW, Mark**

The bloody backdrop: negotiating violence. In: *The SMALL miracle: South Africa's negotiated settlement*, edited by Steven Friedman and Doreen Atkinson. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994, p. 182 - 203. ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

Reports on negotiations on violence 1990 - 1994, focusing on the setting up of the Technical Committee on Violence, reasons for its existence, submissions to it and reports from it. In discussing violence and the elections the author notes the sharp drop in violence on polling days and immediately thereafter but suggests that especially in Kwan-Zulu/Natal violence retains its own dynamic and new conflicts may emerge and flare up. "The evidence since the election days suggests that the real negotiations on violence were those which sought to create a compromise ... on a new state which all citizens could respect and security agencies with enough popular support to secure the public peace".

**894 SHAW, Mark**

The final countdown: peacekeeping and the election. *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 10, no. 4, Spring 1993, p. 13 - 18.

"Conventional South African political wisdom holds that violence will increase as the elections set for 27 April 1994 draw near. This perception may not be a bad thing. It may force political parties, private institutions, overseas interests and the security apparatus to overreact in an attempt to ensure peace. At the moment, however, South Africa is woefully unprepared for large-scale electoral violence. Indeed, the adversarial nature of election politics suggests that conflict will increase as the day draws nearer." The author discusses the possible scale of conflict, its control, the National Peace Accord, its success and failure, the concept of a National Peacekeeping Force called for by the Goldstone Commission and debated at the Negotiating Council, and the problems inherent in its establishment.

**895 SHAW, Mark**

Voting for peace. *Indicator South Africa*, Conflict Supplement no. 2, June 1994, p. 19 - 22.

The changing nature of violence during the election period and its subsequent decline is significant. It indicates how central the political impasse, police illegitimacy and the political power play were to sustaining conflict. Violence is bound to continue in some areas, but essentially political conflict may have been a transitional phenomenon. (Introduction). The article provides details of the peaceful poll.

**896 SHEPHERD, Anne**

Vetting the vote. *Africa Report*, November/December 1993, p. 22 - 25.

Against the background of escalating violence, which could jeopardize the April 1994 elections, the TEC plans the establishment of a National Peace-Keeping Force, drawn from different armed groups in the country. The training is to be undertaken by the SADF, with assistance from foreign advisers. However, a number of problems will have to be overcome.

**897 SHEPHERD, Anne**

A wing and a prayer. *Africa Report*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1994, p. 40 - 43.

Against the background of an escalating number of politically related deaths and widespread violence, the author analyses the political situation, focusing on factors that heighten tension and geographical areas of extreme political intolerance. Questions of major concern include the availability of weaponry, security arrangements and the conduct of security forces. Notes plans in hand to hold the peace, and organizations involved in this. The author concludes: "Their bigger prayer will be that South Africa's election is peaceful enough to render a new government the legitimacy it needs to take charge of a country bordering on anarchy, and nullify any excuse by those likely to question the result to go back to war".

**898 SHILOWA, Sam**

Watchdog lobbying: COSATU's future role? *People Dynamics*, vol. 12, no. 8, July 1994, p. 10 - 14.

COSATU general secretary, Sam Shilowa, reflects on where the election of SA's first democratic multicultural Government of National Unity leaves COSATU and collective bargaining.

**899 SINDANE, Jabu**

Democracy and political tolerance. [Pretoria]: HSRC, Centre for Constitutional Analysis, 1994, 37 p.

Topics discussed include differing aspects of multiparty democracy, the constitution, an electoral system, political tolerance and nation building.

**900 SINDANE, Jabu and DICHABA, W.**

The need for voter literacy after April 1994. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1994, p. 25 - 27.

Provides compelling evidence for ongoing voter literacy programmes in a democratic South Africa. (ISAP).

**901 SINGH, Roshene**

Designing and implementing electoral education in South Africa: reflections on an action research project conducted by VEETU. [Johannesburg]: [University of the Witwatersrand], 1996, 67 leaves.

Thesis M.Ed. University of the Witwatersrand. "This

study gives an account of a mass election training programme for the ANC conducted by the Voter Education and Election Training Unit (VEETU) in the context of South Africa's first democratic election in April 1994. The overall aim of this study is to reflect on the mass electoral education experience of the VEETU programme and to draw lessons which could inform future electoral education programme for political parties." (Introduction). This research report submitted to the Faculty of Education covers the VEETU Action Research Project in every aspect - design, delivery, impact management, scale, training courses, manuals, workshops, and results. Special emphasis is placed on action research. Typescript. Appendices include VEETU's 'Voter education manual'.

**902 SISK, Timothy D.**

Choosing an electoral system: South Africa seeks new ground rules. *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1993, p. 79 - 91.

"Designing an electoral system is a crucial - if often overlooked - challenge facing a new democracy. Theory and history alike prove that different ways of tabulating votes produce different winners. In South Africa the racial distribution of the population is important given the enduring legacy of apartheid, but so is the country's ethnic composition."

**903 SISK, Timothy D.**

The democratization pact. In: SISK, T. D. Democratization in South Africa: the elusive social contract. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 200 - 248.  
ISBN : 0-691-03622-5

"This chapter explores the substantive talks on a new political order during the period from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), held in late 1991, to the democratization pact of late 1993. By tracking convergence in these negotiations, I demonstrate how the major parties' institutional choice preferences for the transition (which were an integral element of their overall institutional choices for a post apartheid polity) were reconciled. The convergence on a democratization pact illustrates that the core centrist

parties committed themselves to jointly writing the rules of the new political game." (Author's introduction to Chapter 6). Sisk focuses on negotiated change, CODESA I and CODESA II, the Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992 and the reactions of the international community to it, the march on Ciskei's capital Bisho, internal differences within the ANC, the Multiparty Negotiating Process (MPNP), interim institutions, the final package of related agreements, the final package of related agreements, and the challenges posed by a first non-racial election. This chapter includes: Figure 6.1: The transition process, September 1993. Figure 6.2: Violence and negotiation, from October 1991 to July 1993. Table 6.1: Interim institutions: the Multiparty Negotiating Process, 1993. Table 6.2: Highlights of the Interim Constitution and Electoral Act 1993 (As approved by the Negotiating Council, 18 November 1993).

**904 SISK, Timothy D.**

Electoral system choice in South Africa: implications for intergroup moderation. *Nationalism and Intergroup Politics*, no. 2, Summer 1995, - p.

Subject indicated by title.

**905 SISK, Timothy D.**

Epilogue. In: SISK, T.D: Democratization in South Africa: the elusive social contract. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 291 - 299. ISBN : 0-691-03622-5

Brief assessment of the 1994 election - pre-election crises and negotiations, prospects for a peaceful process, the election itself, the results, and remaining conflicts of interest. Includes a table of official results by party giving votes and percentage, and National Assembly seats and Cabinet seats.

**906 SISK, Timothy D.**

South Africa in transition, 1989 - 1993: a negotiation chronology. In: SISK,T.D.: Democratization in South Africa: the elusive social contract. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 301 - 304. ISBN : 0-691-03622-5



Appendix. Title indicates content.

**907 SISK, Timothy D.**

South Africa's National Peace Accord. *Peace and Change*, vol. 19, January 1994, p. 50 - 70.

Discusses "Effectiveness in providing alternatives to political violence; ways of strengthening the 1991 Accord". (PAIS).

**908 SISK, Timothy D.**

A US perspective of South Africa's 1994 election: In: ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 144 - 158. ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Provides a US perspective of the election, reviewing coverage of the campaign and voting in major US newspapers, and the reactions of public and policy-makers to its outcome.

**909 SISULU, Elinor**

A new beginning. *Speak*, July 1994, p. 5 - 7.

User personal anecdotes to illustrate the joy experienced by voters participating in the country's first democratic elections, the patience of the people and the underlying sadness for some who had suffered under apartheid. Compiled from reports from The Star, Sowetan and New Nation.

**910 The SKUKUZA summit: an exercise in futility?**  
*Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 3, 15 April 1994, p. 20 - 24.

Assesses the implications of the failed Skukuza Summit which was characterized by confrontation between President F.W.de Klerk, Zulu King Zwelithini, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC President Nelson Mandela, and reports that constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house has been referred to a joint working group. Focuses on the immediate outlook for the KwaZulu/Natal region and the country, notes that the election will be held there and speculates on the polls. Discusses the future of Inkatha and the implications of a postponed election.

(ISAP).

**911 SLAVIN, Linda**

An Empangeni journal. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol. 9, no. 5 - vol. 10, no. 1 (Double issue), July 1994, p. 14 - 17.

A Canadian observer and peace monitor describes her experiences in the 1994 elections in Northern Natal - roles undertaken, security problems encountered, irregularities noted and procedures investigated.

**912 The SMALL miracle: South Africa's negotiated settlement**, edited by Steven Friedman and Doreen Atkinson. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994, 337 p. ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

Compilation of twelve chapters concentrating on the negotiation process leading up to the 1994 election. Topics covered include CODESA, the Multiparty Negotiating Forum, the Transitional Executive Council, the constitution, the Bill of Rights, regional government, violence, intelligence structures, foreign influences and the 1994 election. Selected chapters are separately indexed in this bibliography.

**913 SMITH, Charlene**

*A Mandla! Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, p. 54 - 56.

Recounts the views of the Chief Electoral Officer of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Mandla Mchunu, on the handling of the forthcoming elections, based in part on his experiences in the 1994 elections in KwaZulu-Natal. Gives an account of his background and career development. Includes a coloured portrait of Mr. Mchunu.

**914 SMITH, David L.**

Votes for Africa ... and koeksusters for Canada. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 11.

Personal account of voting day in Montreal, Canada, and of the scene at the polling station where about 200 people turned up to cast their votes.

- 915 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Auditor General Report ... on the financial statements of the Independent Electoral Commission for the period 12 December 1993 to 30 September 1994 and related matters. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1995, 54 p. R.P.77/1995  
ISBN : 0-621-16739-8

In English and Afrikaans. Contents: General Report on the Independent Electoral Commission; Report on the normal Regularity Audit of the financial statements of the Independent Electoral Commission; Report on the Regularity Audit of the financial statements of the State Electoral Fund; Report on the Performance Audit of the Procurement of Ballot-papers, IFP stickers and Additional Ballot-papers by the Independent Commission.

- 916 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills  
Electoral Amendment Bill, 1996. N. p.: n. pub, 1996, 26 p.

Bill: To amend the Electoral Act, 1993, so as to delete, insert or amend certain definitions; to repeal obsolete provisions with regard to the erstwhile Transitional Executive Council and temporary voters' cards; to make a new arrangement as regards the entitlement of persons to vote; to make provision for one national common voters' roll at elections for the National Assembly and the legislatures of the provinces; to re-regulate the registration of political parties, the proclamation of elections and the submission of lists of candidates; to amend the provisions regarding voting stations and counting stations and repeal those regarding foreign voting stations; to re-determine the provisions regarding places of voting, the manner of voting and special voting; in section 44 to dispense with the provisions requiring elections for the National Assembly and those for the legislatures of the provinces to be held and dealt with together; to repeal the provisions relating to the determination of the result of an election for the legislature of a province and to the number of seats therein to which registered political parties are entitled following the conclusion of an election in which they participated; to repeal the provisions relating to (1) the designation of the

representatives of registered political parties in the respective legislatures following the conclusion of an election (2) the supplementation of lists of candidates (3) the review of lists of candidates by those registered parties and (4) the filling of vacancies in a legislature; to make new provision for the destruction of election material after the conclusion of an election and for the institution of proceedings on account of the contravention of the Electoral Code of Conduct; to repeal section 74 (relating to the State Electoral Fund) and section 75A (containing obsolete special provisions in relation to the Inkatha Freedom Party); to restrict or abolish the power of the responsible Minister to make regulations regarding certain topics; and to make provision for matters connected therewith.

**917 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills**

Electoral Bill. N. p.: n. pub, 1993, 7 p.

Bill: To regulate the registration of voters and the election of members of the Constitutional Assembly (Houses of Parliament) and to provide for incidental matters. Fax dated MAR.05 '93 to ANC Election Commission (incomplete).

**918 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills**

The Independent Electoral Commission Bill. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 10 June 1993.

**919 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills**

Independent Electoral Commission Bill: Fourth draft, 25 August 1993. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 33 p.+ 5 p.

Dated 24 August 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council. Bill: to make provision for the conduct of free and fair elections for the National Assembly and any other legislation contemplated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; to make provision for free and fair referenda; and to provide for matters in connection therewith. Accompanied by an explanatory memorandum

prepared by the Negotiating Council Technical Committee drawing attention to salient changes.

- 920 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills  
Promotion of Democracy Bill. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 13 May 1993.

- 921 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills  
[Electoral Bill]. Eighth version of the Draft Electoral Bill, 26 November 1993. Status of clauses. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 2 p.+ 7 p.

Lists old clause, new clause and present status. Attached to Schedule 2. System for the election of the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures.

- 922 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills  
[Electoral Bill]. Eighth version of the draft Electoral Bill, by the Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill, 26 November 1993. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 53 p.+ 6 p.

Dated 26 November 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on Friday 26 November 1993. Bill: To regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.

- 923 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills  
[Electoral Bill]. First version of the draft Electoral Bill by the Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill, 29 September 1993. N. p.: n. pub.29 September 1993, 6 p.+ 28 p.

Dated 28 September 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on 29 September 1993. p.1 - 6 Contain comments on this Bill, drafted to cover electoral arrangements for the first election, "that is for the election of the Constitutional Assembly and other legislatures". Explanation of various clauses. p.1 - 28 The Bill: to regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.

- 924 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills [Electoral Bill]. Fourth version of the Draft Electoral Bill clauses 1 - 41, by the Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 27p.

Dated 8 November 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on Wednesday 8 November 1993. Bill: To regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.

- 925 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills [Electoral Bill]. Ninth and final version of the Draft Electoral Bill by the Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 55 p.+ [5 p.].

Bill to regulate the elections for the National Assembly and all provincial legislatures to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith. Together with:- Schedule1: Sample voting paper. Schedule 2: [Sections 69 and 70] Electoral Code of Conduct. Schedule 3: Laws repealed or amended (section74).

- 926 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills [Electoral Bill]. Seventh version of the draft Electoral Bill, by the Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill, 1993. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 46 p.

Dated 16 November 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on Tuesday 16 November 1993. Bill: To regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith. Attached: Schedule 1: Sample Ballot papers, Schedule 2: [Sections 63 and 64] Electoral Code of Conduct, Schedule 3: Laws repealed (Section71).

- 927 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Bills  
[Electoral Bill]. Third version of the draft Electoral Bill, clauses 2 - 42, by the Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill, 3 November 1993. N. p.: n. pub.1993, 27 p.+ [ 9 p.].

Dated 3 November 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on Wednesday, 3 November 1993. Addendum "A" attached: CSIR, Second interim report on ink and sensors to be used in the April 1994 General Election, compiled by Annelie Forbes. Bill: to regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.

- 928 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Board on Tariffs and Trade  
Investigation into the temporary exemption from payment of customs duties and surcharge on election paraphernalia. [Pretoria]: [The Board], [1994], [13 p]. (Report, no. 3473)  
ISBN : 0-621-26986-7

Synopsis in English and Afrikaans. Text in English. (SANB).

- 929 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Government  
Joint press statement. De Klerk F.W.; Mandela N.; Buthelezi M.G. Cape Town: The Government, 1994, 3 p.

"This is an agreement that facilitated the participation of Inkatha Freedom Party in the all race elections in South Africa". (SARDC annotation). Following an inconclusive meeting between the three leaders at Jakkalsbessie in the Kruger National Park on 8 April the three met again in the Union buildings in Pretoria on 19 April 1994. There, with the intervention of Kenyan Professor Washington Okumu, an agreement was reached. The necessary amendments to the constitution regarding the Zulu Kingdom were agreed to by Parliament on Monday 25 April, only two days before the election.

- 930 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993. [Cape Town]: Olmesdahl, 1995, 106 p.

... As amended by Acts 2/1994, 3/1994, 13/1994, 14/1994 and 29/1994. Act: "To introduce a new Constitution for the Republic of South Africa and to provide for matters incidental thereto". Schedule 2: p. 92 - 97, provides 'System for election of National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures'.

- 931 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.  
Electoral Act, 1993 (Act No. 202 of 1993). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1994, 85 p.

Government Gazette, vol. 343, no. 15436, 14 January 1994. Act: "To regulate the election for the National Assembly and all provincial legislatures to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith".

- 932 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.  
Electoral Amendment Act No.1 of 1994. Cape Town: Government Printer, 1994, various pagings.

"To amend the Electoral Act, 1993, so as to make provision for the late registration or amendment of the registration of participating parties in the elections for the National Assembly and provincial legislatures; to further regulate the qualifications of a candidate; to make provision for two separate ballot papers in respect of the said elections; to further regulate the payment of grants to participating parties in the elections; to effect consequential amendments; and to emend the text; to make provision for the application of the said Act as amended by this Act to the said elections; to empower the State President to amend certain Acts by proclamation in the Gazette; and to make provision for matters in connection therewith." Assented to 2 March 1994. Includes Electoral Act No. 202 of 1993 as amended by Electoral Amendment Act, No.1 of 1994. Assented to 12 January, 1994.

- 933 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.  
The Independent Electoral Commission Act ... submitted for the consideration of the Negotiating



Council, Multi-party Negotiating Process, by the Technical Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission. [Kempton Park, Isando: The Negotiating Council], 1993, 33 p.

Second draft, 14 July 1993. "To provide for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission to assume responsibility for the conduct, supervision, monitoring and adjudication of elections ..."

- 934 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc. Independent Electoral Commission Act, 1993 (Act No. 150, 1993). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1993, 35 p.

Government Gazette, vol. 340, no. 15183, 27 October 1993. Act: "To make provision for the conduct of free and fair elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected contemplated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; to make provision for the conduct of certain referendums by the Independent Electoral Commission; and to provide for matters in connection therewith". The act covers the establishment, constitution, powers, duties and functions of the IEC and of its directorates and tribunals.

- 935 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc. Independent Electoral Commission: amendment of the Regulations for the registration of parties and the submission of lists of candidates, 1994, and amendment of the Electoral regulations, 1994. Cape Town: Government Printer, 1994, 4 p.

Government Gazette, vol. 345, No. 15548, 3 March 1994, Regulation Gazette, No. 5270. Government notices No.R.453 and No.R.454, 3 March 1994. Schedules of amendments to be called the First amendments, issued together, R.453 p. 1 - 2, R.454 p. 2 - 4.

- 936 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc. Independent Electoral Commission: electoral regulations. Cape Town: Government Printer, 1994, 103 p.

Government Gazette, vol. 344, No. 15506, 17 February 1994. Regulation Gazette No. 5258. Government Notice No. R.310, 17 February 1994. Contains the schedule of regulations made by the IEC under the powers rested in it by section 41 of the Independent Electoral Commission Act, 1993 and section 76 of the Electoral Act, 1993.

- 937 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc. Statutes of the Republic of South Africa - Elections. [Extracts]. [Cape Town: Government Printer], 1983 -, various pagings.

Compilation. Contents: Independent Electoral Commission Amendment Act, No. 56 of 1995, 1p.; Independent Electoral Commission Amendment Act, No. 5 of 1994, 1p.; Electoral and Related Affairs Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1985, 1p.; Elections and Identification Amendment Act, No. 92 of 1989, 1p.; Referendum Act, No.108 of 1983 ... as amended by Transfer of Powers and Duties of the State President Act, No. 97 of 1986 [and] Referendums Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1992, 7p."To provide for the holding of referendums in order to ascertain the views of voters in the Republic or any part thereof on any matter." Referendums Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1992, 1p.; Elections: subject matter index, 1p.; Elections: supplementary subject matter index, 1p.; Elections: references to decided cases, 6p.; Elections: alphabetical table of cases, 2p.; Elections: references to regulations, 2p.

- 938 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). National Assembly Debates...(Hansard). First session - first Parliament, 9 to 27 May 1994, ... State of parties (as at 27 May 1994). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1994, [p. xv].

Table setting out the 1994 election results analyzing the number of National and Regional (Provincial) representatives by party.

- 939 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic). President's Council. Committee for Constitutional Affairs Report... on the desirability and, if necessary, the scope of an ethical code of conduct or statutory framework for the functioning of South African political

parties in terms of commonly prevailing democratic norms and guide-lines. Cape Town: Government Printer, 1992, 160 p.  
ISBN : 0-621-14004-X

Chairman: Mr. J. H. Heyns. The most important aspects include the following:- The status of political parties in the process of democratization; the requirements that political interest groups have to meet in order to function as political parties; the nature of the interaction between political parties and interest groups; the desirability of statutory control over party financing; the role and function of political parties and the South African government in national elections; the drafting of an ethical code of conduct and party act for South Africa. Chapter 5 'National election campaigns' covers: General points of departure and principles; the financial contribution of political parties to elections; state funding of elections; statutory control; election periods; political socializing; the registration of candidates/parties; the control over and regulation of elections; violence, intimidation and electoral malpractices; co-operation agreements, alliances and coalitions; foreign involvement and observation, (p.40 - 54). Chapter 7 Includes findings and recommendations on these points (p.76 - 82).

**940 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)**

Amendment to proposal 1 - Independent Electoral Commission. Submission to the Technical Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: May 1993.

**941 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)**

Election results - 1994. N. p.: ANC, 1997, 3 p.

Tables of election results, 1994, for the National Assembly and Provincial Parliaments. No text. Source: <http://www.anc.org.za/misc/elecres.html>

**942 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)**

Election results. N. p.: n. pub.1997, 3 p.

Tabulates the results for the National Assembly and nine Provincial Parliaments by party giving percentages, votes and seats. Includes for each, total votes, spoilt ballots and percentage poll.

**943 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic)

Enquiry into ways and means of curbing the potential for public violence and intimidation in and in relation to the national election. Submission to the Technical Committee on Violence at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 30 June 1993.

**944 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic)

Government's approach to the report of the Technical Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission at the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted 27 May 1993.

**945 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic)

Position paper: voter education. Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted: 25 May 1993.

**946 SOUTH AFRICA** (Republic)

Principles governing constitution making in South Africa. Submission to the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, 5 p.

Submitted: 25 May 1993.

**947 SOUTH Africa and the end of apartheid.** *Yearbook of the United Nations*, vol. 48, 1994, p. 261 - 266.

A concise but detailed account of the last phase of the

elimination of apartheid, from the United Nations point of view which describes the transition to democracy, the Multi-party Negotiating Process in 1994, the work of the Transitional Executive Council, the elections, the announcement of the results on 6 May 1994 and the termination of the mandatory arms embargo and all other measures against South Africa. It includes a review of political violence in the months of March and April 1994 and ends with the hopes of the Security Council for the successful completion of the electoral process. This is followed directly by an account of the "UN Observer Mission in South Africa", q.v. under that title.

- 948 SOUTH** Africa and the international community: politics and finance. Edited by Martin L. Kingston and Jack Spence. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University. Centre of African Studies, 1994, 8 p. + 17 p. (Occasional papers, no. 53)

"This publication contains the text of two papers on the international investment and international political climate in South Africa, delivered in Edinburgh in November 1994 to an audience which specifically included members of the Scottish business and commercial community. Martin L. Kingston, from Morgan Grenfell, gives a merchant banker's perspective on developments in South Africa and the region. Professor Jack Spence, Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, looks at the results of the 1994 elections, President Mandela's commitment to government by 'consensus and compromise' and the politics of coalition, sources of opposition, the country's economic prospects, the prospects for democratic consolidation, and South Africa's foreign policy aspirations." (ASC Leiden abstract). Contents: Politics and finance, by Martin L. Kingston. "Everybody has won, all must have prizes": reflections on South African elections, by Jack Spence.

- 949 SOUTH** Africa election notebooks: Vryheid and Mmbatho - Mafikeng. *West Africa*, 30 May - 5 June 1994, p. 956 - 957.

Two election observers describe their experiences during South Africa's first democratic elections -- Kaye

Whiteman (European Union) in Northern Natal, and Tunji Lardner (United Nations) in Bophuthatswana.

- 950 SOUTH** Africa expects. *Economist*, 23 April 1994, p. 13 - 14.

An editorial, discussing the forthcoming elections, the role of the Zulus and prospects for a new, democratic South Africa. (Sardius).

- 951 SOUTH AFRICA FREE ELECTIONS FUND**

[SAFE/Ecumenical Assistance Trust: meeting. Documents]. Johannesburg: SAFE, 1994, various pagings.

Fax Transmission from Loren M. Braithwaite to Judge Johann Kriegler, date: February 14, 1994, re: Meeting 2 pm today - SAFE/Ecumenical Assistance Trust enclosing the following information:- (i) List of EAT Trustees to attend the meeting; (ii) SAFE Fact Sheet; (iii) List of programs funded by SAFE/EAT; (iv) EAT criteria for funding. The SAFE fact sheet notes that SAFE has already awarded grants of R7,000,000 and has raised \$4.5 million towards its goal of \$10 million. 'Projects recommended for funding by the EAT' describes twenty seven separate projects, their focus, specialties and special needs relating to voter education.

- 952 SOUTH** Africa looking at the future. *West Africa*, 31 January - 6 February 1994, p. 162 - 165.

Comprises two articles: - The moment of truth, in which the political scene leading to elections in April 1994, is examined, and - Business and investment, by Guy Arnold, in which the author discusses the economic problems which will face the new government. (Sardius).

- 953 SOUTH** Africa rejoins the world community: Nelson Mandela elected President. *UN Chronicle*, vol. 31, no. 3, September 1994, p. 4 - 14.

Focuses on the UN Observer Mission's account of the South African democratic elections and its restored membership of several international organizations.

Surveys political developments in the pre-election period and the United Nation's involvement in South Africa from 1946 to 1994. Summarizes the activities of the UN's Special Committee against Apartheid, the General Assembly's conventions and declarations and the actions of the Security Council.

- 954 SOUTH** Africa sharing power. *Africa Confidential*, 20 May 1994, p. 1 - 5.

Examines the Government of National Unity's task to govern the country and mentions critical areas which have to be addressed. Also lists the names of the new cabinet with commentary on background and stance. (Sardius).

- 955 SOUTH** Africa the mandate for Mandela. *Africa Confidential*, 6 May 1994, p. 1 - 3.

Outlines the positive and peaceful trend of the South African elections, which have strengthened the culture of negotiation and reconciliation. (Sardius).

- 956 SOUTH** Africa's 1994 election: free and fair?, N. p: n. pub, 1994, 1 v. various pagings.

Collection of articles from various journals prepared for Project Shelf. (Don Africana).

- 957 SOUTH** Africa's 1994 elections: the birth of democracy, its future prospects and Norwegian development aid, edited by Elling N. Tjonneland. Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Human Rights, 1994, 117 p. (Human rights report, no. 3)

Reports on the South African democratic elections. Examines the role of the international observers and analyzes the challenges facing the new democracy. Thereafter an overview of Norwegian assistance during the election is provided and guidelines for future Norwegian support to the new South Africa proposed. Chapter 5. 'United Nations in South Africa' contains excerpts from official documents concerning UNOMSA official mandate and final reports. Appendix I lists Norwegian peace monitors and election observers in South Africa.

- 958 SOUTH** Africa's election: a celebration of democracy - and patience. *The Parliamentarian*, vol. 75, no. 4, October 1994, p. 220 - 230.

Reports on the Commonwealth Observer Group to the South African election, who "watched ordinary South Africans of all races overcome obstacles of the past and administrative confusion to participate in the country's first non-racial elections". Describes the composition of the observer groups and monitors, their tasks and accomplishments with specific reference to Kagiso, the electoral process in the Orange Free State, voter education, campaigns and ballot counting. Notes incidents of violence and elements of uncertainty as well as IEC successes. Includes 'Interim statement by international observer missions' (p. 229) as well as 'Departure statement' by Michael Manley, Chairman, Commonwealth Observer Group.

- 959 SOUTH** Africa's election: the second struggle. *Economist*, 23 April 1994, p. 21 - 24.

Reflects on the South African democratic elections and the daunting tasks that the new government will have to address. (Sardius). Predicts a victory for the African National Congress, led by Nelson Mandela.

- 960 SOUTH** Africa. *Africa Report*, vol. 39, July/ August 1994, p. 13 - 14.

"Nelson Mandela's cabinet and plans for redressing economic inequities, position of the Coloreds against the African National Congress, role of foreign experts in the electoral process, and women's rights; seven articles". (PAIS).

- 961 SOUTH** Africa: a winning ticket for the ANC. *Africa Confidential*, 3 December 1993, p. 1 - 3.

Gives an overview of the ANC election campaign, speculates on the possible outcome of the election, and mentions possible candidates for cabinet posts. In an insert entitled: 'Viljoen and the Volk', protest action by the rightwing movements are discussed . (Annotation from SALLA Bibl. 29).



- 962 SOUTH** Africa: Assembly, council support steps to promote first non-racial, democratic elections. *UN Chronicle*, vol. 31, no. 2, June 1994, p. 10 - 12.

This official survey describes the activities of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council in support of peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa. It provides details of UNOMSA's expanded mandate, (including the increase of the number of observers from 100 to nearly 3,000) and of the role and tasks envisaged for the Mission by the Secretary-General and of its revised structure. It reports on UNOMSA's past activities, notes its concern with public violence and 'war talk' and confirms its encouragement of a peace process leading to free and fair elections.

- 963 SOUTH** Africa: between yesterday and tomorrow: AWEPA electoral observing in South Africa, edited by J.A. Balch and K.L. Roskam. Amsterdam: African-European Institute, 1994, 104 p.  
ISBN : 90-72458-41-9

Gives an overview of AWEPA's activities in South Africa for the period April 1993 - April 1994. These comprised a number of observer missions and cooperation with the Independent Forum for Electoral Education and others. The issue of fundamental transition was apparent throughout this period. AWEPA records its commitment to make the transition both successful and sustainable. Includes addresses by Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on 9 May 1998, and in Pretoria on May 10 at his inauguration as President. Lists AWEPA participants in these activities.

- 964 SOUTH** Africa: biting the ballot. *Africa Confidential*, 10 September 1993, p. 1 - 3.

Examines factors which compel President de Klerk to proceed with the April 1994 elections. A multi-option strategy will try to overcome the NP's divisions over support for Buthelezi. The involvement of foreign governments is noted. An inset: 'Viljoen unites the Volk' details a plan for multi-racial alliance to challenge the ANC. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 965 SOUTH** Africa: elections under threat. *Africa Confidential*, vol. 34, no. 17, 27 August 1993, p. 3 - 4.

Considers the possibility of a postponement of the election date in April 1994, due to the high levels of violence and the growing opposition of the right-wing parties, such as the IFP and the Afrikaner Volksfront. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 966 SOUTH** Africa: preparing for power. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol. 9, no. 2, November 1993, p. 1 - 12.

Comprises several articles on the ANC and elections, constraints of the National Party, Women's Charter and the future of the SACP. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 967 SOUTH** Africa: rewriting party politics. *Africa Confidential*, 16 July 1993, p. 3 - 5.

Assesses possible developments in the election period - the position of the various parties and their strategies. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 968 SOUTH** Africa: the National Party buries its past. *Africa Confidential*, 17 December 1993, p. 3 - 4.

Assesses the National Party's prospects in the April 1994 elections. The standing of President de Klerk and its possible support by 'Coloured' voters in the Cape are regarded as advantageous to the Party's role in the new government. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 969 SOUTH** Africa: waiting for KwaZulu. *Africa Confidential*, 18 March 1994, p. 1 - 2.

Identifies the anti-election militants in the South African election process as Zulu nationalist (Inkatha Freedom Party) and Afrikaner nationalist (AWB and Conservative Party) and explains why KwaZulu would be a much more difficult area in which to intervene than Bophuthatswana. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29)

- 970 SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY**  
Chris Hani. Johannesburg: SACP, 1994, 4p.

Includes material on Chris Hani, on the reason why the South African Communist Party supports the ANC in the April elections and a double page spread:- " The three lies they tell about the SACP".

**971 SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONER'S ORGANISATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

Join SAPOHR!! Voice of apartheid's prisoners....  
Johannesburg: SAPOHR, 1994, 2 p.

Leaflet includes SAPOHR's founding statement, calls to action against human rights abuses, calls to release all political prisoners and calls to amend the Electoral Act so as to allow all prisoners to vote in the April 27 election.

**972 SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONERS ORGANISATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

Press release ... Thursday, 21st April 1994.  
Johannesburg: SAPOHR, 1994, 2 leaves.

"SAPOHR Chief Executive Officer Golden Miles Bhudu and co-workers will not leave the Braamfontein offices of the National Party until State President de Klerk signs the proclamation allowing prisoners to vote". Mass action in prisons is threatened. At issue is the amendment of Section 16 of the Electoral Act which currently prevents inmates from voting.

**973 SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTY**

Working document: South African Women's Party: take charge of your future! = Ambutho Wamaklo ikazi: ASemzantsi - Afrika: thabathela ikamva. Mowbray, Cape: SAWP, [1994], 9 p.

Includes its purpose, aims objectives and its policies - to correct gender imbalances, develop an anti-sexist culture, to unite women and empower them to independently take charge of their future through political action. Its priority, to address the status of women in politics. The document describes the party's stance on economics, land reform, violence, the workplace, housing, health, education, animals and the environment. Ecology, community, and human rights for women are the foundations of its policy. SAWP is to

contest the elections in the Western Cape only.

- 974 SOUTH Africa.** *Annual Register*, vol. 236, 1994, p. 311 - 318.

Concise review of major political events during the year 1994. Notes political reforms and constitutional developments, including the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission, all designed to ensure a free and fair election. Surveys the violence in the run-up to the election, the election itself and the ANC victory in it, the post-election government of national unity and South Africa's international acceptance.

- 975 SOUTHALL, Roger and SZEFTTEL, Morris**

Choosing 'The Freedom to be Free': the South African general election of 1994. In: *VOTING for democracy: watershed elections in contemporary anglophone Africa*, edited by John Daniel, Roger Southall and Morris Szeftel. Aldershot, etc.: Ashgate, 1999, p. 206 - 237.

ISBN : 1-85521-996-4

The authors argue that the ANC's convincing victory was a triumphant realization of its historic fight for democracy, successfully legitimated the democratic transition, a miracle achieved through compromise, leaving however some fundamental questions of social justice and political power unresolved. They cover their topic under the headings: Violent negotiations and the end of apartheid (fundamental difficulties confronting negotiations, negotiations and violence, the threat to elections, the breakthrough); The general elections (the outcome, the ones that got away); The Government of National Unity (provincialism and the making of a new constitution, the structure of the local elections, the outcome of the local government elections). The authors conclude:...For all the problems they encountered, there was little doubt that the overwhelming majority of South Africans voted for liberation and democracy. History may even judge that the irregularities of the elections, by forcing the parties to negotiate an outcome, bound their leaders together in a commitment to this political transition. Certainly, for

all that the crisis in KwaZulu-Natal continued, the developments which took place after the election indicated a remarkable degree of settling down to 'normal politics' ... Yet it cannot be stated that with any certainty that democracy inaugurated can be consolidated easily. A daunting agenda remains ... As Mandela put it after the elections: "The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free". The article includes four tables: National and regional representation under the South African interim constitution; 1994 South African election results - National Assembly; 1994 South African election results - regional assemblies (seats won/percentages of votes); Racial composition of ANC and NP vote 1994.

**976 SOUTHALL, Roger and WOOD, Geoffery**

Political party funding in Southern Africa. In: *FUNDING democratization*, Peter Burnell and Alan Ware, editors. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998, p. 202 - 228.  
ISBN : 0-7190-5033-2

This chapter examines political party funding in South Africa's new democracy, with some comparative reference to funding practice in some countries elsewhere in the Southern African region. Pages 210 - 223 focus on funding for the 1994 elections, first describing provisions in general, then considering the particular situation of the specific parties (the ANC, NP, DP, IFP, FFF, PAC, ACDP), and other political actors, and the financial resources available to them. The authors pay special attention to the pros and cons of external funding and the dilemmas that it poses.

**977 SOUTHALL, Roger**

South Africa's 1994 election in an African perspective. *Africa Insight*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1994, p. 86 - 98.

Questions whether the South African election of 1994 can be labelled a 'liberation election'. Rather, it is proposed that South Africa has "crafted a transition to democracy, which is buttressed by political realities and firm constitutional guarantees". These ambiguities are discussed in the article. The author argues that African experiences are a useful backdrop against

which to assess South Africa's prospects. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29). The author describes the background of negotiations, the conduct and results of the elections, and claims that voting was overwhelmingly along racial lines.

**978 SOUTHALL, Roger**

The South African elections of 1994: the remaking of a dominant party state. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 4, 1994, p. 629 - 656.

Focuses upon "an aspect which has not been extensively commented upon: just as the National Party (NP) monopolized and manipulated political institutions following its electoral victory in 1948, so the 1994 elections provided a base for the reconstruction of South Africa as a dominant party state. This it will be argued poses awkward dilemmas for the making and sustaining of South Africa's new democracy". The author follows this theme through the negotiation of the political transition, the framework, prediction and outcome of the election itself (with special attention to Kwan-Zulu/Natal), to the transformation of the ANC from a liberation movement into the predominant party in power, whose dominance at both national and provincial levels poses the danger of a new authoritarianism. Includes tables.

**979 SPEAK** election special. Johannesburg: Speak, 1994, 8 p.

Coloured supplement to the journal. Contents: One woman, one vote!!; Party promises; What parties say on gender issues; Issues they don't speak about; You can vote twice for the same party; Choose for yourself. Includes a poster.

**980 SPECIAL** edition on the South African elections. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994, 322 p.

Comprises the following articles: Negotiations for a democratic South Africa, by A.H. Marais; Negotiating a democratic South Africa: bilateral and multiparty negotiations, June 1992 to December 1993, by J.A. du Pisani; Violence and intimidation during the election

campaign - a review, by J. H. le Roux; The election campaign of the general election in South Africa in 1994, by D. P. Wessels; The Independent Electoral Commission, by L. Henning and J.A. Coetzer; Opinion polls and opinions on the results of the election of 1994, by P.W. Coetzer; In search of acceptable national symbols for South Africa, by A. Wessels; Reaction to the 1994 South African general elections, by A.C.P. Strauss. The contributions by J.H. le Roux, S.L. Barnard, D.P. Wessels, L. Henning and J.A. Coetzer, P.W. Coetzer and A.C.P. Strauss have been separately indexed and included in this bibliography.

**981 SPEED, Steyn**

The early, hurly-burly days of the TEC. *Mayibuye*, February 1994, p. 15 - 17.

A discussion with Mac Maharaj, joint Executive Secretary of the TEC on the Council's composition, role, achievements and constraints. In an insert, information on the Independent Electoral Commission is supplied. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**982 SPENCE, J.E.**

Everybody has won, so all must have prizes: reflections on the South African general election. *Government and Opposition*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1994, p. 431 - 444.

Spence, Professor and Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, first considers the results of the 1994 election in terms of seats won and votes cast, then discusses the extent to which the outcome was contrived. He continues with a political analysis of the composition of the new coalition cabinet, of problems facing the government of national unity, and of sources of political opposition. Economic prospects and foreign policy aspirations are examined, and the likelihood of democratic consolidation assessed. He concludes: "Thus the hope remains that, by a combination of debate, constitutional revision and learning from experience, a peculiarly South African version of democratic government may well emerge. It will certainly be difficult, it will not necessarily reflect in detail the theory and practice of democracy elsewhere, but it will, with luck and judgment, be homegrown - that

is, autochthonous".

**983 SPENCE, J.E.**

Reflections of a first time voter. *African Affairs*, vol. 93, no. 372, July 1994, p. 341 - 342.

Spence relates his personal observations and feelings on the first democratic elections in South Africa. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**984 SPENCE, J.E.**

South Africa: countdown to election. *Round Table*, vol. 49, no. 8 - 9, August - September 1993, p.148 - 149.

Traces steps taken towards general elections in South Africa and lists constraints such as the ongoing violence, the far right movements, divisions in the NP cabinet, preparing the country for elections and the Inkatha issue. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**985 STACK, Louise**

Election surveys. What do they really tell us? *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 16, no. 1, Autumn 1999, p. 24 - 31.

This researcher at the Centre of Policy Studies claims electoral surveys cloud rather than deepen public understanding of the political landscape. She provides pointers towards proper interpretation and appropriate responses. Problematic points include comparison of survey results directly with those of elections, uncertainty over the size of the total voter population and the extent of illegal voting and errors in sampling and in inferential statistics. The article analyses patterns of political party support, by race and by province, includes charts showing support for the seven largest parties based on selected survey data from October 1992 to November 1998 and states: "What is striking about the charts is the difference between survey results at the time of the 1994 election and the actual election results". She adjusts the survey data from various sources and concludes: "Contrary to widely held current opinion, ANC levels of support appear to be rising rather than falling". Most data is taken from MarkData survey reported July 1998, Markinor survey reported November 1998 and Marketing and Media Research survey reported



January 1999. Graphs and tables. Executive summary, p. 6 - 7.

**986 STACK, Louise**

The new face of South Africa's legislatures. *Synopsis*, vol. 3, no. 2, August 1999, p. 4 - 6.

"The election has substantially changed the composition of South Africa's national and provincial legislatures. Louise Stack records the changes, and traces the likely impact on national and regional politics". (Journal introduction). Notes that there seems to be both a consolidation of black support for the ANC, and a diversification of black support for a wider range of opposition parties. Table 1: Seats in the national parliament, by party, 1994, 1999 and change. Table 2: Party seats in the provincial legislatures, with changes since 1994.

**987 STACK, Louise**

Ringling the changes - how the ANC's top 50 has shifted. *Synopsis*, vol. 3, no. 1, March 1999, p. 11 - 13; 15.

"The release of the ANC's list of candidates for the 1999 election allows a number of interesting comparisons to be made. First, it allows one to determine how many ANC MPs have fallen by the wayside during the past five years - and how many are up for re-election. Secondly, it allows one to establish how its top 50 candidates have changed over the past five years, and also to compare this with the results of its national executive committee elections in 1994 and 1997". (Journal introduction). Tables include: 'Changes among ANC Provincial representatives to the National Assembly' and 'The ANC's top 50, 1994-9: ANC election lists, 1999; 1994 and ANC NEC elections 1997; 1994'.

**988 STACK, Louise and MACKAY, Shaun**

Shrunken NNP faces unenviable array of choices. *Synopsis*, vol. 3, no. 2, August 1999, p. 9 - 11; 16.

The NNP has lost about three quarters of its electoral support. Where, and among which populations groups, has it lost most ground, and what are the implications

for the party's future? Louise Stack and Shaun Mackay make the calculations. The authors contrast the June 1999 election results with those of 1994 and analyses them in terms of race. Focus is on the Western Cape. Tables for White voters for parties other than the NNP are included.

**989 STADLER, Aif**

Behind the stonewalling. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 10, 11 March 1994, p. 50.

The author, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, explains the motivations behind the refusal of the Freedom Alliance to participate in the 1994 general election. He explores the vexed questions of its legitimacy, the consequences of a possible rejection of the results, the minorities' search for constitutional privileges and weaknesses in the previous negotiation process.

**990 STENGEL, Richard**

The making of a leader. *Time*, 9 May 1994, p. 29 - 30.

Portrait of Nelson Mandela as a leader of strength and subtlety, his transformation from the principle figure in the liberation struggle to the head of government and the influences that have helped to mould him.

**991 STEWART, John**

Era of pre-democracy. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 5, 5 - 11 May 1994, p. 2 - 3.

Communicates comment and information given to the Finance Week Breakfast Club by Lawrence Schlemmer concerning reactions to the election results in the 'period of pre-democracy'. Quotes figures and percentages from HSRC voter surveys focusing on key findings on political party partisanship, pressures on voters and levels of intolerance.

**992 STEWART, John**

Thin khakhi line: severe manpower limitations of SADF to ensure peace (sic). *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 1, 31 March 1994, p. 2 - 3.

Warns that the South African government cannot

muster sufficient security forces to pacify KwaZulu/Natal and ensure peaceful elections. Gives figures relating to the standing force, the conventional reserves or the Citizen Force (CF) and territorial reserves, notes reasons why the South Africa Police (SAP) cannot function as an upholder of law and order in the run-up to elections and outlines problems relating to the various SADF units. Comments on the role of the National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF). (ISAP).

**993 STEYTLER, Nico**

Free and fair polling. In: FREE and fair elections, edited by Nico Steytler, and others. Kenwyn, Cape: Juta, 1994, p. 185 - 208.  
ISBN : 0-7021-3063-X

"This chapter will discuss the detailed rules for free and fair polling which have developed over the years in a number of countries, highlighting the basic principles underlying the specific rules." The author emphasizes the importance of the following criteria - accessibility (place, time and special categories of voters); 'one person one vote' (safeguards and protection); free and independent choice (and secrecy); tabulation (accuracy, verification and certification); enforcement, and acceptance.

**994 STOBER, Paul and POWERS, Cathy**

All the world's an observer in SA's poll. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 8.

An estimated 5,000 international observers are arriving in South Africa to witness the elections. Observer status has been granted by the Independent Electoral Commission to seventy seven international organizations, as well as to twenty six local ones. This report outlines their role in the context of the activities of South Africa's own National Electoral Observer Network (NEON). Touches on some of NEON's problems with domestic observers and their expectation of payment.

**995 STOBER, Paul**

ANC ready to defy Bop ban. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 4, 28 January - 3 February 1994, p. 3.

Reports that the ANC will defy a probable banning of its election campaign meetings in Bophuthatswana. Questions how the people of the territory will be able to take part in the election and what role the Transitional Executive Council can play in resolving the issue and ensuring free political activity there.

**996 STOBER, Paul**

Blame it on miscalculation. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 9.

The failure of ballot papers to arrive at the polling stations is attributed simply to miscalculation and maladministration on the part of the Independent Electoral Commission. Distribution problems added to the delays and shortages are evident, especially in the Eastern Cape where the volume of equipment and resources required were underestimated. The IEC Chairman Justice Johann Kriegler sees no evidence indicating a crime, but the South African Police will investigate any possible interference with the IEC's distribution system.

**997 STOBER, Paul**

Borrowed babies get you to the front quickly. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 11.

Impressionistic account of the atmosphere in the voters queue in the Coloured township of Eldorado Park.

**998 STOBER, Paul**

Election fever hits Lebowa. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 11.

Voter education sessions have been remarkably successful and, despite vote registration problems, Lebowa residents are eager to go to the polls.

**999 STOBER, Paul**

Everything but the Monster Raving Loony Party. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 7, 18 - 24 February 1994, p. 8.

Looks at seven of the smaller opposition parties

registered to take part in the 1994 election - the Realists, the Keep it Straight and Simple Party (KISS), the Northwest Democrats, the Workers List Party (WLP), the Workers International for the Fourth, International (SA)(WI), the Islamic Party, the South African Women's Party (SAWP) and the Woman's Rights for Peace Party (WRPP). Presents a concise account of their foundation, beliefs and policies.

**1000 STOBER, Paul**

No plan for polling security. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 5.

Provides some details of the complicated structure envisaged to secure the at least 9,000 voting stations across South Africa. This involves a National Security Management Centre (NSMC), falling under the Independent Electoral Commission, and a network of Joint Operational Centres. Notes points of confusion over lines of command, but takes comfort from the fact that the IEC is flooding the country with monitors who will watch every step of the election process.

**1001 STOBER, Paul**

Not guilty verdict for Kriegler. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 19, 13 - 19 May 1994, p. 6.

"Despite the barrage of criticism during the election, Judge Johann Kriegler's reputation as an outstanding legal mind remains intact". Includes tributes paid to him as a fair and liberal lawyer and judge, whose qualities made him ideally suitable for the Independent Electoral Commission.

**1002 STOBER, Paul**

Police plan to block peacekeepers. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 2, 14 - 20 January 1994, p. 3.

The South African Police, in confidential strategy documents, have admitted they do not have the manpower or ability to maintain law and during the April election, but nevertheless confirm it is the duty of the SAP to do so, and to clamp down on intimidation. The Police express reservations about the composition and capacity of the NPKF (the National Peacekeeping Force) and put forward their own recommendations

and plans.

**1003 STOBER, Paul and LOUW, Chris**

Poll bill heads for R1-billion. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 15, 15 - 21 April 1994, p. 2.

Notes that the Independent Electoral Commission has submitted a R700-million budget and has outlined the expected cost of the election in its document 'Estimated expenditure December 20 1993 - May 31 1994'. The article gives details of predicted expenditure on monitoring, voter education, communications, election adjudication, salaries, equipment and transport. Touches on the role of the Transitional Executive Council in meeting election expenses and on the financial contribution international missions will make.

**1004 STOBER, Paul**

The pressure's on to declare the poll fair. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, - p.

Describes the pressures, and explains how the decision will be made.

**1005 STOBER, Paul**

The PWV. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 19, 13 - 19 May 1994, p. 13.

Outlines the ANC's post-election policies for its regional government in the PWV (Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging region). Focuses on its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RPD) and mentions costs and personalities involved.

**1006 STOBER, Paul**

Short time for long list of IEC tasks. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 12.

Details the daunting list of tasks facing the Independent Electoral Commission with only nineteen days left before the election. These include training 193,000 electoral officers and over 10,000 electoral monitors as well as locating some 3,000 of the 8,500 voting stations. Despite logistical and communication difficulties the IEC remains optimistic.

**1007 STRAUSS, A.C.P.**

Reaction to the 1994 South African general elections. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 21, October 1994, p. 288 - 322.

The author examines reactions to the possibility of an election, to the mandate in the 1992 referendum to proceed towards an election 26 - 28 April 1994. The counting of the votes and the announcement of the results is followed by reaction to the results with major emphasis on the reactions of political parties, the ANC, the National Party, the IFP, the minor parties and the extra-parliamentary opposition. Local and international reactions are also described.

**1008 STREEK, Barry**

Campaign battles begin: every trick in book awaits confused voters. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 2, 15 April 1993, p. 1; 6 - 7.

Forecasts some of the campaign strategies lying ahead in the 1994 elections emphasizing the importance of credibility, the images of the political parties and the effectiveness, or otherwise, of their grassroots structures.

**1009 STREET LAW**

Democracy for all: education towards a democratic culture. Written by David McQuoid-Mason, and others. Kenwyn: Juta, 1994, 131 p. ISBN : 0-7021-3099-0

A manual aimed at youth and adults. It explains democracy, looks at government, elections and participation. Chapter 5. Elections (p. 84 - 100) explains, with illustrations and exercises, why voting and elections are important, who can vote, the role of political parties, who should stand in an election, the importance of free and fair and frequent elections, voting procedures, political tolerance, and the acceptance of election results. illustrated by Andy Mason, and others.

**1010 STROM, Marie - Louise**

Clearing a path through voter confusion. *Democracy in*

*Action*, vol. 7, no. 2, 15 April 1993, p. 18 - 19.

Reports on a research workshop, hosted by IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy, held to clarify what rural people, especially illiterate and women voters, knew, thought and feared about elections. Notes the lack of training material, the urgent need for this, and the prospect of a training package to be developed by the Centre.

**1011 STROM, Marie - Louise**

Voter alert: growing demand for voter education amid anxiety about free and fair elections. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 1, 28 February 1993, p. 3; 5.

IDASA 's tutor comments on the establishment of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE), its focus areas and on the role IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy plays within its working groups. An increasing demand for voter education is foreseen, and problems and anxieties already encountered are noted.

**1012 SZEFTTEL, Morris**

'Negotiated elections' in South Africa, 1994. *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 21, no. 61, September 1994, p. 457 - 470.

The process of reconstituting the South African State on a democratic basis achieved a definitive step with the general elections of April 1994. Despite numerous irregularities and organizational problems, the elections were relatively peaceful and their result was decisive. The ANC's landslide victory was a culmination of its long struggle for democracy and gave it a conclusive mandate to govern. For the future, however, a daunting agenda remains to be confronted. This article discusses the negotiations and violence that preceded the elections in South Africa, the role of the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, the threat to the elections posed by right-wing opposition groups, the election procedure, and the outcome of the elections. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**1013 TAKE** nothing for granted. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 12, 25 March 1994, p. 24; 28.



This leading article assesses the political situation one month before the election, gives reasons to believe that the Independent Electoral Commission will declare the election free and fair, reviews the election campaign, and speculates on the outcome. Quotes the views of the head of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Vincent Maphai.

- 1014 TAKING** democracy seriously; worker expectations and parliamentary democracy in South Africa, by David Ginsburg and others. Durban: Indicator Press, 1995, 114 p.  
ISBN : 1-86840-132-4

A report on a nationwide survey, conducted in April 1994, into worker expectations of democracy. The survey indicates that a gap is apparent between worker expectations developed during the liberation struggle and the form of parliamentary democracy expressed in the Government of National Unity. Respondents subscribed to direct participatory democracy in the workplace - accountability, report and recall. The authors conclude that COSATU is likely to develop as a left wing pressure group in its alliance with the ANC. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

**1015 TALJAARD, Jan**

The AWB's 'last stand'. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 15, 15 - 21 April 1994, p. 2.

Preparations made by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) for a 'session' by certain towns in the Western Transvaal are described. This could be followed by declarations of independence by areas in the Eastern Transvaal, and by Pretoria, in the week before the elections. Threats of blockades are also featured. All activity is aimed at making elections impossible in these areas.

**1016 TALJAARD, Jan**

Freedom Front eyes disillusioned Nats. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 13, 31 March - 7 April 1994, p. 4.

Surveys the chances of the Freedom Front in the forthcoming election in the context of possible defection by traditional National party supporters.

Argues that the FF could become the third biggest party in the final run-up to the election depending on the stance and activities of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and on Constand Viljoen's military power.

**1017 TALJAARD, Jan**

Rightwing still seeks unity. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 9.

A short review of the differences of opinion evident in the statements of the leaders of rightwing parties in the post-election period, showing the obvious divisions between them. These follow the decisions of the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) to boycott the elections.

**1018 TALJAARD, Jan**

Rightwingers could still go to the polls. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 5.

Describes the stances of the right wing parties on the eve of the election, the role the concept of a 'volkstaat' plays in these and the chances that the hardliners in the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) might still vote. Notes the depressing effects on the right wing of the IFP's decision to end its boycott and to participate in the election.

**1019 TALJAARD, Jan**

Viljoen committed to peace. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol.10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 9.

The leader of the Freedom Front, General Constand Viljoen, explains in some detail how he intends to convince the ANC-dominated government that his party can work both for peace and for the creation of a 'volkstaat'. The strategies he intends to employ in the post-election period in the pursuit of these aims are clearly and openly stated.

**1020 TALJAARD, Jan**

Viljoen lambasts the wild right. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 11, 18 - 24 March 1994, p. 2.

Reports on Constand Viljoen's reasons for leaving the

Volksfront, his opposition to the AWB and on his continued commitment to the idea of a 'volkstaat'. Notes a growing fragmentation of the rightwing constituency.

**1021 TALJAARD, Jan**

Viljoen to hone the right's military might. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 10, 11 - 17 March 1994, p. 4.

Reports that despite his registration of the Vryheidsfront, the AVF leader, Constand Viljoen claims he is withdrawing from politics and will concentrate on maintaining the armed potential of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

**1022 TALK** to International Executive Communications. N. p: n. pub, 1994?, 4 p.

Guidelines to presentation: 1. Insights into the Independent Electoral Commission and its operations; 2. Key provisions of the Electoral Act; 3. Practical guidelines for business on voter education.

**1023 TAMBO, Oliver**

Kenako: now is the time. *Mayibuye*, March 1993, p. 14 - 15.

Oliver Tambo, National Chairperson of the ANC, opened the ANC's election workshop with a call to ANC organizers to make the Constituent Assembly election a gateway to the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**1024 TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Report submitted to the Negotiation Council at the MPNP talks, held at World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, various pagings.

Submitted: 1st, 13 May 1993, 1 p.; 2nd, 21 May 1993, 42, p.; 3rd, 3 June 1993, 3 p.; 4th, 11 June 1993, 3 p.; 5th, 29 June 1993, - p.; Other submissions.

**1025 TEETH** will still be shown. *Financial Times*, vol. 131,

no. 9.4 March 1994, p. 39.

Reflects on the role and powers of the Independent Electoral Commission in curbing intimidation and violence in the election campaign, and the attitudes of their Commissioners towards this. Cites as examples hostility between the ANC and the National Party in Kimberley, and the stoning of President F.W. de Klerk there. Also noted is the ejection of black journalists from meetings of the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging).

**1026 TELKOM:** trying to help the election. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 7, 18 February 1994, p. 78.

Discusses investments by Telkom in telecommunications equipment for the running of the April general election and gives details of equipment needed at polling stations. Focuses on special problems posed by rural telecommunication and problem spots and looks at facilities for foreign media and election observers. (ISAP).

**1027 TERRORISM:** final solutions. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 5, 29 April 1994, p. 45 - 46.

Looks at recent cases of White terrorism, which are aimed at delaying the election. (ISAP).

**1028 THORNHILL, Christopher**

South Africa: rise and demise of political parties. In: POLITICAL parties and the collapse of the old orders, edited by John Kenneth White and Philip John Davies. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1998, p. 185 - 204.  
ISBN : 0-7914-4068-0

This historical review traces the pre-election development of political parties and structures in South Africa along racial lines, white, coloured, Indian and black. It is followed by a discussion of the results of the 1994 elections and their aftermath, by assessments of party political allegiance and of new developments within the major parties.

**1029 THORNTON, Lisa**

The Independent Media Commission. Johannesburg: IDASA. Training Centre for Democracy, 1993, 8 p.

Composite item including separate summaries, all by Lisa Thornton, on the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the structural transition to democracy in government in South Africa, the Independent Electoral Commission, and on The Transitional Executive Council.

- 1030 TIME** of transition .... *South Africa Reporter*, vol. 12, no. 3, June 1994, 12 p.

Focuses on the April 1994 election and reflects on new directions for the post-election South Africa. Four short articles explain the ANC programmes to reduce violence, the Natal vote results are critically assessed and business prospects are reviewed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 1031 TJONNELAND, Elling Njal**

Assisting democracy: international and Norwegian support to South Africa's elections. In: SOUTH Africa's 1994 elections: the birth of democracy, its future prospects and Norwegian development, edited by Elling N. Tjonneland. Oslo: Institute of Human Rights, 1994, p. 49 - 62. (Human Rights report, no. 3)

Assesses the role of international observer missions in the election process.

- 1032 TJONNELAND, Elling Njal**

The birth of democracy in South Africa. In: SOUTH Africa's 1994 elections; the birth of democracy, its future prospects and Norwegian development aid, edited by Elling N. Tjonneland. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, 1994, - p.

Looks at the processes and negotiations that paved the way for the 1994 elections in South Africa, legislation, institutional framework and events leading up to and including the elections, and an assessment of the results and outcome. (Africa Institute).

- 1033 TORRES, Liv**

Trade unions and the elections. In: SOUTH Africa's

1994 elections: the birth of democracy, its future prospects and Norwegian development aid, edited by Elling N. Tjonneland. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, 1994, p. 63 - 68. (Human rights report, no. 3)

Focuses on the role of COSATU in the 1994 elections and in the building of a new democracy.

**1034 TOWARDS** a massive ANC election victory. *African Communist*, no. 136, 1994, p. 1 - 3.

Outlines the reasons why the South African Communist party (SACP) supports the ANC. Comments on the SACP's mass based election campaign. (ISAP).

**1035 TOWARDS** a peaceful and effective democratic contest in South Africa, preliminary research-based evidence relevant to stability in the coming election and proposals for effective voter education and electoral management, by the Research Division, HSRC. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1993, various pagings.

Subject indicated by title

**1036 TRAINED** monitors: per region, week ending 17 April 1994. [Johannesburg]: [Independent Electoral Commission?], 1994, 3 p.

Tables of analysis by gender and race, summary, and summary of quality breakdowns. No text.

**1037 TRENCH, Andrew**  
ID backlog threatens Transkei poll. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April 1994, p. 4.

The authors claim that hundreds of thousands of potential voters in the Transkei are still without any form of identity document enabling them to vote. The Independent Electoral Commission is issuing a daily average of 150,000 temporary voters' cards, has located an extra 1,000 voting stations, and trained some 2,500 monitors.

**1038 TRENGROVE, John**

IMC: watchdog for election communication. *RSA Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, March 1994, p. 1 - 13.

Mr. Justice John Trengrove, former Chairperson of the IMC, elaborates on the IMC's role and functions. Explains the guidelines which broadcasting services, state-financed publications and state information services should adhere to. (ISAP).

**1039 TRUE** meaning of Ubuntu. *West Africa*, 22 - 29 May 1994, p. 902 - 907.

Comprises four articles on the South African elections: The true meaning of Ubuntu, by Tunji Lardner. Author explains what the new democracy means for South Africans; Observing apartheid's funeral, by Adekeye Adebajo, in which he gives his impressions of life with the UN Observer Mission on the East Rand; Witness to creation, by Chris Landsberg. He relates the sense of empowerment that voting has brought; To Pretoria and back, by Ibrahim A. Gambari, who applauds South Africa's peaceful transition. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**1040 TUTU, Desmond**

The rainbow people of God: the making of a peaceful revolution. New York, etc .: Doubleday, 281 p.  
ISBN : 0385475462

This is the story of Desmond Tutu's decades-long struggle as the dedicated spokesman for South Africa's anti-apartheid movement, as told by the archbishop's media secretary. Woven into the tapestry of narrative are Tutu's speeches, letters, and sermons. The collection sketches the story of South Africa from 1976, when the oppression of apartheid was at its peak, to the birth of democracy in the 1994 elections. The first three sections cover the period to 1989, during which the country experienced steadily growing resistance to apartheid while the government futilely attempted to come to grips with this challenge and intensified repression under states of emergency. It covers the escalating confrontation between the State and the Church and the campaign of nonviolent direct action against apartheid. The fourth section deals with the culmination of a campaign of civil disobedience in 1989

and the euphoria following the release of Mandela in 1990, and the fifth section charts the confusion and violence of the ensuing transition to democracy. The last section deals with Tutu's ideas about a 'spirituality of transformation'. (ASC Leiden abstract). This work is edited by John Allen.

- 1041 UBUNTU:** a voter education strategy developed and presented by CARDS. Johannesburg: Career and Resources Development Strategies, 1994?, 1 leaf folded.

This leaflet defines the concept of Ubuntu, and outlines its importance in reinforcing the company's objectives and its voter education programme entitled "Your Right to Vote". It describes the programme itself, and presents a brief biography of Teresa Oakley-Smith, who developed the process.

- 1042 UN** adopts proposal for SA observers. *Citizen*, 15 January 1994, - p.

The United Nations Security Council has adopted the proposal of the Secretary-General to send about 1800 civilian observers to monitor South Africa's first multiracial election. (Sardius).

- 1043 UN** Observer Mission in South Africa. *Yearbook of the United Nations*, vol. 48, 1994, p. 267 - 271.

This detailed yet concise account of the expansion and development of UNOMSA in South Africa in 1994 covers its activities, tasks and role in the preparation and execution of the electoral process. Included are the sections from the reports of the UN Secretary-General January 1994, April 1994, and from his Final Report June 1994, that concern the Observer Mission. The relevant resolutions of the Security Council, 894 (1994) adopted 14 January, and 930 (1994) adopted 27 June 1994 are printed in full together with the General Assembly resolution 48/233, 21 January 1994. These commend the positive contribution made by UNOMSA to the transitional process, its support for peaceful democratic change, for non-racial elections, welcome proposals for the coordination of the activities of international observers and the financing of



additional observers, and finally decide that, with the successful completion of its mandate, UNOMA is terminated, forthwith. Details of UNOMSA financing are reflected in the General Assembly's resolution 48/230B 14 February 1994 and resolution 49/219 section I adopted 23 December 1994 approving appropriations to cover the expansion of UNOMSA's mandate and consequent activities.

**1044 UNDER** the rainbow: state of the nation. *Financial Mail*, vol. 136, no. 11, 16 June 1995, p. 24.

Discusses implications to the status and reputation of President Mandela from his involvement in the Shell House shootings, assesses the current political realities in South Africa and examines aspects of the Bill of Rights while warning that the constitution may not be workable. Looks at political tensions, comments on Acts passed, focuses on changes to the Promotion of National Unity & Reconciliation Bill and discusses the outcome of the past election. Identifies a thread of compromise in public life. (ISAP).

**1045 UNFINISHED** business: South Africa's march to democracy. Harare: Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, 1994, 45 p. ISBN : 0797413618

Also issued as: Southern Africa News Features, 10/94, 30 May 1994, entire issue 53p. Election Special, Update no.8. "This eighth update of the half-yearly report 'Unfinished business', designed to assist the international community in monitoring change in South Africa, is an election special. It deals with the period leading up to and after South Africa's historic first all-race election, campaign issues (land, employment, housing, education, health, minority rights), voter education, political parties, the elections, the new government, and the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela on 10 May 1994. The update covers the period 30 September 1993 to May 1994. It also pays attention to future prospects for peace and security, and for the economy, investment and labour and trade unions". (ASC Leiden abstract).

**1046 UNITED** Nations in South Africa: extract from official

documents ... In: SOUTH Africa's 1994 elections: the birth of democracy, its future prospects and Norwegian development aid, edited by Elling N. Tjonneland. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, 1994, - p.

Presents excerpts from the UN Secretary-General's report and the report of the Norwegian Observer Group in UNOMSA on the 1994 elections in South Africa. (Africa Institute).

**1047 UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT**

Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: The Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submission: 19 May 1993.

**1048 UP to 3,900 UN observers for South Africa. *Citizen*, 4 January 1994, - p.**

UN diplomatic sources divulged that a total of between 2000 and 3900 UN observers are expected to monitor South Africa's first multiracial election. (Sardius).

**1049 UYS, Stanley**

South Africa's elections. *Royal Institute of International Affairs. Briefing paper*, no. 9, May 1994, p. 3.

Unseen.

**1050 UYS, Stanley**

South Africa: dividing the spoils. *World Today*, vol. 50, no. 3, March 1994, p. 53 - 56.

Considers conditions in South Africa in the pre-election period and projects future scenarios. Focuses particularly on concessions by both the National Party and the ANC in order to prevent anarchy and revolution. Economic challenges are regarded as crucial. (Sardius).

**1051 VALE, Peter**

Time to move on.. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 3, 15 April 1994, p. 46.

Presents a brief assessment of the position in Natal following the declaration of a state of emergency there, and preceding the election. Emphasizes the need for conciliation. Considers the situation in South Africa the quintessential 21st century predicament, and looks to the people of South Africa and its new democracy to show the way.

**1052 VAN BLERK, A.E.**

From one-partyism to multi-partyism in sub-Saharan Africa. *Codicillus*, vol. 35, no. 1, May 1994, p. 4 - 18.

Topics include military rule, one-party systems changes of government, transitional governments and multi-party democracy in Southern Africa.

**1053 VAN HEERDEN, C.H.**

Newspaper cartoons as a reflection of political change during the first democratic elections in South Africa. *Communicare*, vol. 13, no. 2, December 1994, p. 103 - 120.

Analyses a collection of newspaper cartoons usually found on the centre pages of Sunday and daily newspaper in the context of the general election of 1994. (ISAP).

**1054 VAN KESSEL, Ineke and OOMEN, Barbara**

'One chief, one vote': the revival of traditional authorities in post-apartheid South Africa. *African Affairs*, vol. 96, no. 385, October 1997, p. 561 - 585.

Surveys the changing perspectives on chieftaincy within the ANC and its allied movements in SA. Describes the position of traditional authorities during the transition period (1994 - 1999) and presents a case study of chieftaincy issues in the Northern Province. (Africa Institute). Concludes with a section on the aftermath of the elections.

**1055 VAN ROOYEN, Johann**

Hard right: the new White power in South Africa. London: I.B.Tauris, 1994, 236 p.  
ISBN : 1850438188

This book deals with the role of South Africa's White

extremists in the period of transition to democracy. To explain why they are regarded as a threat to the prospects for peace in the country, although they represent less than five percent of the population, all aspects of the White Right's multifaceted nature need to be considered. A review of the historic roots of Afrikaner nationalism is followed by a description of the numerous organizations and categories of the White right wing, with reference to the political orientation, leadership, strengths, policies and strategies of the various parties and organizations. Next, the electoral competition between the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), the Conservative Party (CP), and the National Party (NP) up to the suspension of Whites-only elections in 1992 is dealt with. The last chapter focuses on the right wing under the De Klerk administration between 1989 and 1993. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**1056 VAN ROOYEN, Johann**

The White Right: In: ELECTION '94: the campaigns, results and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 89 - 106. ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

"This chapter analyses the role of the White Right during the final months of 342 years of White domination and 46 years of Afrikaner hegemony, and in particular its efforts to cling to these past 'glories' through its demand for Afrikaner self-determination in a volkstaat (people's state). Although two distinct approaches were followed by the Right to achieve this objective, namely participation in the democratic process and extra-institutional pressure and resistance, this chapter focuses primarily on the FF's participation in the election". It begins with an historical overview, leading to the founding of the Freedom Front, the party's election campaign and support, then on to an analysis of the election results and their significance.

**1057 VAN WYK, A.**

Voting: requirements and procedures. *RSA Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, March 1994, p. 62 - 71.

Highlights the necessary requirements of the election process and the organization thereof. (ISAP).

**1058 VAN ZYL SLABBERT, Frederik**

Deliver, deliver, deliver. *Suid-Afrikaan*, no. 50, October 1994, p. 15 - 18.

An interview (in Afrikaans) in which van Zyl Slabbert expresses his views on political trends within Parliament. He discusses the dilemma of the National Party, President Mandela's predicaments, the rent and the service boycott and the expectations of the electorate. (Sardius).

**1059 VAN ZYL, J. and KANTOR, L.**

Monitoring the media: a shift from vertical to horizontal monitoring. *Communicare*, vol. 13, no. 2, December 1994, p. 23 - 43.

Describes how after the elections the Media Monitoring Project has had to change its role from vertical to horizontal monitoring to ensure that channels are available to all citizens. (ISAP).

**1060 VENDA**

Venda Government on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill. Submitted to the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multi-Party Negotiation Process, 1993, - p.

Submitted : 28 May 1993.

**1061 VICTORY** for democracy. *Mayibuye*, December 1993, p. 8 - 11.

Describes the steps envisaged towards democracy - from the multiparty talks towards the April 1994 elections, the election, the interim constitution, the adoption of a new constitution and the elections in 1999. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**1062 VILJOEN, Braam**

Taming the tiger. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, 15 April 1994, p. 5 - 7.

The brother of Constand Viljoen, and facilitator in the negotiation process, argues that the right wing has to be understood and accommodated in the period of

change from the isolation of the laager to the fast lane of contemporary politics. Shifts in policies, and differences within the leadership of the various sections are delineated, attitudes and grievances explained and explored and the importance of the concept of self-determination emphasized.

**1063 VLOK, Etienne**

COSATU and the elections. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 23, no. 2, April 1999, p. 12 - 19.

Traces the history and nature of COSATU's support for the ANC before and during the 1994 elections, including the deployment of members and officials to stand for election on an ANC ticket. Examines the 1997 September Commission and its recommendations subsequently made and resolutions adopted at COSATU's 1997 Congress. Explains COSATU's 1999 election programme, its regional co-ordination and its three phases - registration, mobilization and 'delivering the vote'. Lists the names of the eleven COSATU leaders to be on the ANC election list. Discusses the maintenance of links between members of parliament and of provincial legislatures and COSATU, the nature of this relationship and its effects on COSATU members.

**1064 VON HOLDT, Karl**

Wrestling for the gear lever. *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, p. 48 - 49.

"In the coming election, COSATU is likely to lend its formidable force to its old ally, the ANC. But not for free...". Summarizes the support given by COSATU to the ANC in the 1994 elections, questions the likelihood of a similar scenario in 1999, outlines the findings and recommendations of COSATU's September Commission, discusses the continuation of the Tripartite Alliance, detects flaws in GEAR and predicts some election policies COSATU will pressure the ANC to adopt.

**1065 VOORHES, Meg**

Multiparty talks grapple over transition. *South Africa Reporter*, vol. 11, no. 2, June 1993, p. 1 - 5.

Identifies fundamental disagreements over the powers and organization of transitional structures. These include the election day dispute, the multiparty Transitional Executive Council and the interim constitution. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

- 1066 VOTER** education - a role for business: industrial relations. *Chamber Digest. Durban Regional Chamber of Business*, no. 1/94, 8 January 1994, p. 7.

Raises issues concerning the forthcoming general election. (ISAP).

- 1067 VOTER** education presentation manual: 1994. N. p.: n. pub, 1994?, 17 leaves.

Ten black and white illustrations and seven coloured scenes portraying the sequence of voter education, voting and the results. No text.

- 1068 VOTER** education: business joins in. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 8, 25 February 1994, p. 50.

Discusses the launching by the Business Election Fund of a communication programme aimed at promoting the principles of democracy among all South Africans and outlines aims and implementation of the programme. (ISAP).

- 1069 VOTER** education: paying for DEBI. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 3.15 April 1994, p. 44; 46.

Describes the financial troubles surrounding the funding of the Democratic Education Broadcasting Initiative (DEBI) and its voter education campaign. Allegations of bias by political parties are refuted by its chairman Ruth Tomaselli.

- 1070 VOTING** and violence. *Economist*, 18 December 1993, p. 14 - 15.

A leader article on the future election and the destructive influence of violence. It is suggested that peacekeeping monitors should be sent well before April 1994, and that the ANC will have to lower black expectations and reassure foreign and South African

investors. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**1071 WALKER, Cheryl**

Women, 'tradition' and reconstruction. *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 21, no. 61, 1994, p. 347 - 358.

This article discusses the tension between the ANC's commitment to gender equality and its engagement within the new government of South Africa with 'the politics of traditionalism'. These politics have been most evident in the struggle to out-manoeuvre the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), while convincing it to participate in the elections, a struggle in which the Zulu king has been the pre-eminent (but not the only) representative of the resurgent traditionalism that the ANC has been attempting to defuse and co-opt. The 'tradition' being negotiated is fundamentally patriarchal, and the author argues that the two goals - gender equality and accommodating 'tradition' - are ultimately incompatible. Further, given the limitations on the way in which gender equality is perceived within the ANC, as well as the absence of a politically powerful mass women's movement on the ground, it is likely that, in seeking to manage this incompatibility, the ANC-led government will compromise or delay its commitment to gender equality. This outcome is particularly likely in respect of the land reform programme. (ASC Leiden abstract).

**1072 WAUGH, Esther**

The UN envoy lauds South Africa as he leaves. *Star*, 4 June 1994, - p.

On the eve of his departure, after heading the UN Observer Mission, the UN special representative labelled South Africa's transition as a great success story. (Sardius).

**1073 WE the people: election '94. *Star*, 10 October 1993,**

Joint publication with the Sowetan. First in a series of pre-election special editions. A 'digest' on negotiations, political parties, transitional arrangements, the constitution, and voter education.



**1074 WELCH, John**

Present at the birth. *Yesterday*, January - February 1996, p. 40 - 42.

The author describes his own political development in England from 1971 onwards, his historical research requiring visits to South Africa in 1983, 1987 and 1993 and then his selection to join the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA). There he is deployed to the magisterial of Vredendal (Cape Province) to accompany the mobile polling station and to visit nine fixed ones. He describes his operational area and the electoral procedures, problems and successes, and other personalities encountered. Pays tribute to pre-preparation in the area by the UN field officer Bob Jones, later of EISA.

**1075 WELSH, David**

The Democratic Party. In: ELECTION '94, South Africa: the campaigns, results, and future prospects, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1994, p. 107 - 116.  
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Presents a brief history of the Democratic Party, the problems the DP faced in the elections, its strategies, leadership and future options.

**1076 WELSH, David**

The state of the polity. In: AFTER Mandela: the South African elections, edited by J. E. Spence. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999, p. 7 - 19.  
ISBN : 1-86203-049-9

This contribution by the Emeritus Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town reviews the political situation in South Africa in the five years following the ANC's electoral victory in April 1994. It examines the extent to which democracy has been consolidated, the state of political parties, liberation movement politics and ANC governance.

**1077 WENTZEL, M.**

Prison politics. *Indicator South Africa. Supplement Conflict*, no. 3, September 1994, p. 23 - 25.

Advances several reasons for the countrywide prison riots which occurred before the April elections over the issue of voting rights and the amnesty of prisoners. (ISAP).

**1078 WESSELS, D. P.**

Electoral system and system of representation: election of 27 April 1994. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994, p. 141 - 178.

Examines "what the electoral system as a package in the modern liberal democratic state implies, i.e. the essence of elections, democracy and democratic electoral systems". Pays particular attention to the provisions of the Electoral Act No. 202 of 1993, and to the electoral system designed for the election of 27 April 1994. Includes graphs and charts.

**1079 WESTCOTT, Shauna**

Date with destiny. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, April 1994, p. 1; 10 - 11.

Describes the tasks of the Independent Electoral Commission in administrating and monitoring the election.

**1080 WHAT** are we voting for? *Election Update 99*, no. 9, 26 March 1999, p. 24 - 28.

Explains the procedure in the Independent Electoral Commission's determination of the number of members for the National Assembly, and for each Provincial Legislature, and lists the allocation of regional seats. Includes tables of the results for the 1994 elections, giving, for each province, the percentage vote, votes cast and seats for the relevant political parties, together with the voter turnout and spoilt ballots.

**1081** The **WHITE** Right: a limited campaign. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 5, 4 February 1994, p. 28.

Reviews the demands and position of the White Right and contends that violence by the Right would be limited, although a danger exists of its causing violence in some communities. Contends that the demands of the AVF for a 'volkstaat' are untenable and notes that

compromise has been rejected by right-wingers. States that the White Right does not pose a real threat to the election, and anticipates internal dissension, , while warning that the situation with Inkatha is more complex. (ISAP).

**1082 WHITEFORD, Andrew**

Post-election euphoria or genuine economic upturn? Consumer sentiment continues to improve. *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1994, p. 42 - 45.

Latest update on the Consumer Confidence Index. (ISAP).

**1083 WHO'S** who in voter education. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 2, 15 April 1993, p. 20.

"Throughout the country voter education is underway. In some areas materials are already being circulated, elsewhere electoral education campaigns are still being planned. Overarching most efforts is the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) to which a range of organizations are affiliated. Here follows a list of some of those organizations, arranged in nine geographical areas, giving telephone and/or fax numbers and contact names only."

**1084 WIGSTON, D.**

A comparative analysis of South African election coverage by international radio news. *Communicatio*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1995, p. 67 - 82.

Examines coverage of the 1987, 1989 and 1994 South African elections in international radio news, particularly Voice of America, Radio Moscow and Channel Africa. Discusses the problematics of truth and responsibility in international news. (ISAP).

**1085 WILSON, Jeya, and others**

Waiting for democracy: ukulindela intando yeningi. Durban: Community Law Centre, 1993, 38 p. ISBN : 0-9583207-2-1

Third impression. Issued in English and Zulu: translated into Zulu by Tutu Cele. This book reflects the fieldwork of the Centre in the rural communities of

KwaZulu/Natal and Transkei. Divided into two parts: the first, presented in question and answer cartoon format, explains the principles of democracy and practical steps in the election process leading to the vote itself; the second "Making democracy work", text and illustrations, is aimed at developing skills in rural South Africa in this regard.

**1086 WIXLEY, Sue**

Out of sight. *Work in Progress*, Supplement, April - May 1994, p. 12 - 13.

This article outlines the problems facing voter education in rural areas, specifically vis `a vis encouraging illiterate black women, in a male dominated society, to register their votes. Touches on the ANC's campaign, and notes the activities of the Rural Women's Movement, trained by the Black Sash, in running of voter education programmes including workshops. Post-election gender equality plans are examined.

**1087 WOMEN'S RIGHTS PEACE PARTY**

Vote: Women's Rights Peace Party. Benmore: Kevin Collins, [1994], 1 leaf.

Gives reasons why you should vote for the Party that believes that "the issue of sexism and discrimination against women must be addressed at the same time as liberation from racism and apartheid". Argues that women must have an independent voice in government and decision-making.

**1088 WOMEN's vital role in voter education: gearing up for elections: women's interest. *Career Success*, vol. 7, no. 3, March 1994, p. 34 - 35.**

Highlights women's vital role in voter education. (ISAP).

**1089 WOOD, Sharon**

Boost to business. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 6, 10 - 16 February 1994, p.17 - 20.

Describes points of pressure facing South Africa in coping with the April 1994 elections and possible advantages accruing. Details the problems facing the

media in catering for the needs of an estimated 3,000 strong foreign press and international news networks and the plans already made by Telkom and the SABC to deal with this. Notes long term advantages to the community services infrastructure from supplying remote area voting stations. Specifies immediate benefits of the election to printing companies, the advertising industry and to travel services including car rental.

**1090 WOOD, Sharon**

RDP anticipation: the betting on what Keys will and can do. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 11, 16 June 1994, p. 2.

Comments on the importance to overseas investment of keeping the deficit low, and notes election expenditure. Predicts personal tax changes, discusses the impact of the classification of reconstruction and development programme spending as extra-parliamentary and comments on a multi-tiered VAT system. Includes various speculative comments.

**1091 WOOD, Sharon**

Resilience to the test. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 3, 14 - 20 April 1994, p. 25; 28.

Speculates on potential levels of disruption over the election period - costs to business, production losses, consumer stockpiling, retailers' problems and industrial reaction to worker stayaways. Comments on implications of regional voting on worker movements.

**1092 WOODS, Gavin**

Inkatha and the future. *South Africa Foundation Review*, vol. 20, no. 3, May/June 1994, p. 7.

The Director of the Inkatha Institute considers the options facing the Inkatha Freedom Party in attaining its goal of federalism. (Sardius).

**1093 WORDS that won the votes! *Fast Facts*, no. 6, June 1994, p. 2 - 4.**

Identifies the commitments made by the ANC, the NP and the IFP in their election campaigns on the issues of business, labour, education, health and welfare,

housing and infrastructure, environment, gender, land and population.

- 1094 WORKER** rights: from apartheid to democracy - what role for organized labour? Edited by Ebrahim Patel. Cape Town: Juta, 1994, 206 p. ISBN : 0-7021-3076-1

Comprises speeches and debates, which mostly took place before the first democratic elections in South Africa. Its concern with the relationship between organized labour and the government of the day is of primary importance. (ASC Leiden abstract).

- 1095 WORKERS INTERNATIONAL TO REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL** (South Africa)  
Manifesto .... Salt River, Cape: WIRFI, [1994], 4 p.

Argues that it is not socialism or communism that collapsed, but counter-revolutionary Stalinism, and claims that, in South Africa, the South African Communist Party implements Stalinist policies. "The ANC, SACP and COSATU leadership have sold out on all the main demands of the oppressed and exploited in favour of unity with the capitalists and reactionaries ... The Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International is counter posing a revolutionary, internationalist socialist programme to the capitalist programmes of other parties". Main issues we are fighting for: 1. A revolutionary workers' state; 2. Nationalisation under workers' control; 3. The land must be divided; 4. Workers' internationalism; 5. We reject the pro-capitalist and undemocratic negotiations process and agreements; 6. The violence against the masses must be stopped; 7. Imperialism out of South Africa and the region.

- 1096 WORKERS' LIST PARTY**  
Manifesto. Salt River, Cape: WLP, [1994], 7 p.

The party enters the elections in order to promote the formation of a Mass Workers' Party (MWP) "to carry forward the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses in South Africa". The manifesto outlines its ideals and proposals on the right to work; health, education, housing and social services; the economy

and democracy; trade unions and civics; land to the working people; equality and a caring; put the apartheid criminals on trial, accountability of leaders; apartheid debt and the IMF; apartheid divisions, ethnicity and tribalism; culture; self-defence and peace; a constitutional assembly; workers' government; a green S.A./Azania and internationalism. Election pamphlets separately issued: Are black youth lost? Campaigning for the right to work, Land to the working people, National conference 2 - 3 April 1994 - Apartheid debt and the IMF, Position on health, Right to work: Jobs for all must become law.

**1097 WORKERS' LIST PARTY**

WLP Leaflets. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: WLP, [1994], various pagings.

Election leaflets include: Apartheid debt and the IMF; Are black youth lost?; Campaign for the right to work; Land to the working people; Position on health; Right to work: Jobs for all must become law. Most are issued under the banner "Build the mass workers' party".

**1098 XAYIYA, Sobantu**

Cape of great gloom. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 3, 31 May 1994, p. 10.

Considers reasons why the National Party won the election in the Western Cape. (Sardius).

**1099 ZONDO, N.**

Party promises. *Speak (Election Supplement)*, May 1994, p. 2 - 3; 6 - 7.

Presents an overview of the stances of political parties on gender issues as stated in their own manifestos. Much is promised. Women must decide on the past record of the parties in their empowerment of women. Special attention is paid to women's parties, women's rights and to the particular issue of abortion.

**1100 ZONDO, N.**

Women and the vote. *Agenda*, no. 20, 1994, p. 57 - 60.

'Mounts a strong case for gender-sensitive voter education'. The author outlines factors complicating

this in rural areas, and advocates enlightenment through informal discussions focusing on women's issues and on election participation.

**1101 ZONDO, Paul**

Ushering in democracy ... with tolerance. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 1, 28 February 1993, p. 9 - 10.

IDASA's regional coordinator reports on a peace deal struck at the IDASA facilitated workshop in January 1993 on tolerance and voter education. A series of resolutions and a draft code of conduct drawn up include freedom to organize and to canvas for support. Voter education programmes are now possible.



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