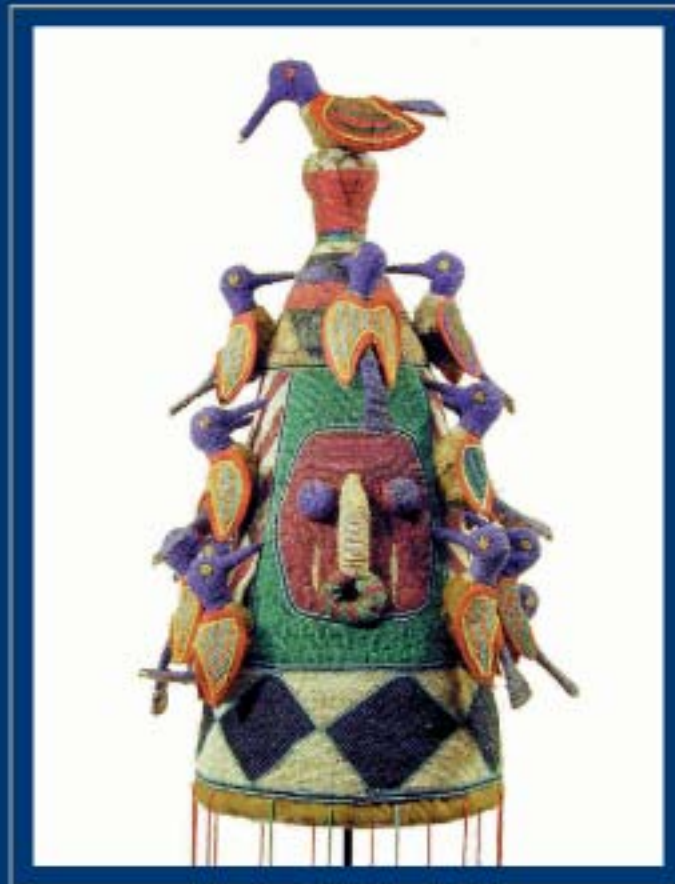


SOUTH AFRICA'S SECOND DEMOCRATIC ELECTION 1999

An Annotated Bibliography



compiled by
BETH STRACHAN



EISA BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SERIES NO. 1

***South Africa's
Second Democratic Election
1999***

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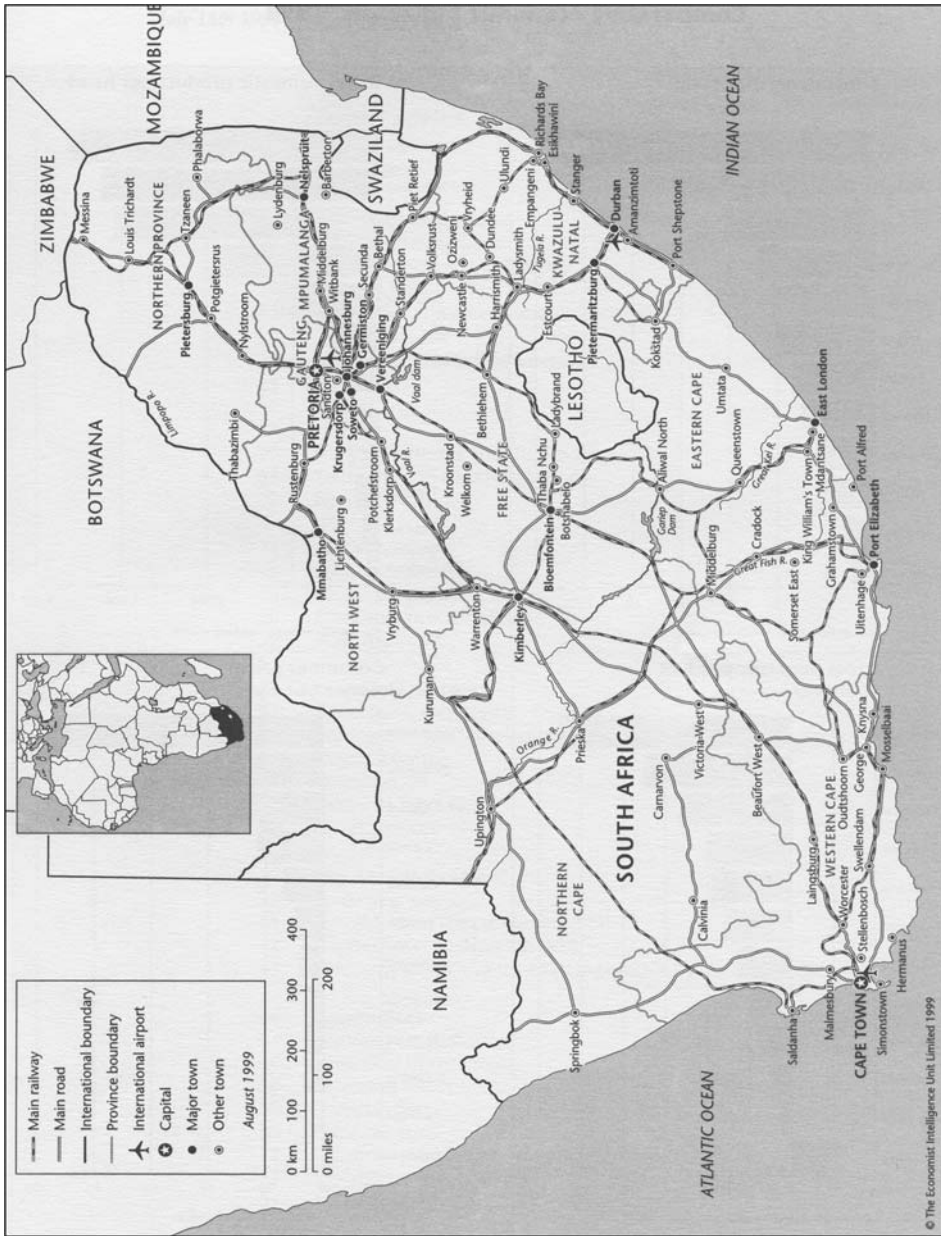
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Introduction

In the months following the holding of South Africa's second democratic elections the Electoral Institute of South Africa collected critical assessments, political analyses and academic meditations on the National and Provincial polls held on 2 June 1999.

This bibliography reflects these, together with other related political preoccupations of the period — pre-election tensions and rivalries, political party activities, manifestos, campaigns and strategies, the electorate's reactions, as indicated by surveys and opinion polls, the interpretation of these findings, forecasts of election results, and predictions regarding South Africa's political future.

There is a concentration of interest on the electoral process itself, on logistics and practicalities, on the role of the Independent Electoral Commission, its conduct of affairs, regional pursuits and independent stance. Noted is the use made of Information Technology by the IEC in all phases of its operations, in creating South Africa's first accurate and inclusive Geographic Information System (GIS) database, laying the foundation for delimitation, establishing a definitive voters roll, monitoring electoral procedures — all culminating in the publication of its graphically illustrated 'Atlas of results'.

Underlying all the trials and tribulations of voter registration — given an added dimension by the Government's insistence on bar-coded identity documents, vexed questions raised by this, the ensuing litigation and the Courts' final judicial determination of voter eligibility — are other noteworthy aspects of the election: a dedication to voter education; the participation of observers, both local and international, and the increasingly influential role of the media.

Contents also naturally include the election results, together with statistical and political analysis, comment, reactions and outcome. Divisive issues in interpretation focus on ethnicity, and its correspondence to political partisanship, as the defining factor in a disputed racial reading of events.

The literature reflects a renewed interest in the efficacy of the Proportional Representation system employed, in electoral system design, and in the debates, both intellectual and empirical, surrounding electoral reform in South Africa. It also includes, as a major sub-theme, considerable material on the political participation and representation of women, their achievements and objectives, and on gender issues in electoral context. Other ancillary aspects include African National Congress dominance, dominant party systems, the changing role and fortunes of the opposition and minor political parties.

Comparisons are made with the 1994 founding election, in atmosphere, conduct and outcome. There is agreement on diminished political violence, fewer threats to free and fair elections, and the continuing importance of clear and consistent criteria for these. Conflict management and conflict resolution remain paramount concerns. Trends set in the transition period 1994-1999 are noted. A quieter time has been conducive to closer analyses of voter behaviour, voter choice, voter patterns, voter's trust, and of the manifold factors influencing all of these.

While not as emotionally charged as the first democratic election, South Africa's election in June 1999 served to confirm the country's acceptance of the supremacy of the Constitution, and played a cardinal part in consolidating the democratic transformation of South Africa.

Aim and Scope

This English language bibliography provides references to material concerning South Africa's second democratic election on the 2nd of June 1999, the run-up to it, the electoral process itself, the results and the outcome. Books, pamphlets, periodical articles, reports and conferences are included. Newspaper articles are not.

It is based on the stock of the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa's own library, reflecting its own focus and direction. Additional source material has been gleaned from the records of the Africa Institute, the Human Sciences Research Council, the South African Institute of International Affairs and the University of the Witwatersrand as well as from relevant data bases, notably 'African Studies' and 'South African Studies'. Annotations derived from other sources have been acknowledged.

Addenda

To provide a framework a brief chronology of salient dates is included, together with a map and a list of acronyms encountered in the preparation of this and other election related records.

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 the numbered entries.

Since the bibliography focuses on the 1999 election all material may be understood to refer to this, unless otherwise specified.

Annotations

These are intended to show relevance to the main theme, to highlight special features and to reflect the attitudes and conclusions of the authors. They do not purport to provide complete summaries, only to give sufficient detail to indicate possible use to readers and researchers. No value judgements are made.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to the following people and institutions for their co-operation and friendly assistance:

- to the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, to Margaret Northey, Africana Librarian, John G Gubbins Africana Library and her staff and to Aja Verhagen, Periodicals Department, William Cullen Library for their ever willing assistance;
- to the Africa Institute, Pretoria, its Librarian, Amanda Wortmann, and her staff for their welcoming and efficient service;
- to the South African Institute of International Affairs, Jan Smuts House, its library and Librarian, Elna Schoeman for her sustained enthusiasm and support;
- and, lastly, to colleagues at EISA, to Professor Tom Lodge for his continued interest, to Jacqueline Kalley for initiating and guiding this project, and to Martina Kruger for bringing it to fruition.

Beth Strachan.

EISA

Election 1999 Chronology

1998

- August 4** The Independent Electoral Commission says that preparations for the election are 'well on track'
- August 14–15** African National Congress national executive reaffirms the decision to make bar-coded IDs the only acceptable document for voting purposes
- September 10** The Electoral Act no 73 of 1998 is passed
- November 10** First findings of 'Opinion 99', survey commissioned by Markinor, SABC and IDASA, are released, indicating that 5.6 million people do not have bar-coded IDs
- November 12** Director-General of Home Affairs repeats earlier Departmental assertions that 24.2 million bar-coded documents have been issued
- November 19** Both the Democratic Party and the New National Party announce that they will challenge the Electoral Act in the courts
- November 20** Home Affairs says that any challenge to the act would be frivolous and unfounded
- November 24** IEC announce that registration in the five northern provinces (Northern Cape, Northern Province, North West, Gauteng and Mpumalanga) will take place from 29 – 31 November, and in the four southern provinces (Eastern Cape, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Free State) one week later, from 3 – 5 December 1998
- November 25** Home Affairs claim that only 500 000 voters have not applied for new IDs
- November 29–31** First round of registration takes place in the five northern provinces
- December 3–5** First round of registration in the four southern provinces
- December 7** The New National Party lodges an urgent application in the Cape Town High Court asking the Court to declare unconstitutional a stipulation that only holders of bar-coded Identity Documents could vote in the election. It further asks the court to examine the conduct of the government and the Home Affairs and Finance Ministers concerning possible interference with the independence of the IEC
- December 10** The Democratic Party lodges papers in the Pretoria High Court maintaining that the bar-coded ID requirement is unreasonable and discriminatory
- December 18** Fifteen parties have completed registration formalities with the IEC and a further seven applications have been lodged

1999

- January 8** Chairman of the IEC, Judge Johann Kriegler, files his affidavit
- January 11** Chief Electoral Officer, Mandla Mchunu files his affidavit on behalf of the IEC

January 17	Mandela phones DP and NNP leaders to offer a compromise deal on the bar-coded ID issue
January 19	DP case in Pretoria High Court postponed
January 20	Mandela phones DP and NNP to say the offer of a compromise has been dropped
January 26	The resignation of Judge Johann Kriegler as Chairperson of the IEC is announced
January 28	Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office releases Kriegler's resignation letter, and Mbeki's reply to the press
January 29	Second three day registration drive begins
January 30	Mbeki's office denies that Mandela initiated talks with the DP and NNP
February 5	NNP case begins in Cape High Court. Mbeki's legal adviser says 'absolutely not' to the possibility of an out- of-court settlement
February 6	IEC says a total of 14.1 million voters have now registered
February 8	Mbeki's office denies that the government has ruled out an out-of-court settlement
February 10	The hearing on the NNP's application to abolish bar-code limitations ends
February 19	Brigalia Bam is appointed Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission
February 26	The NNP's court case against the government and the IEC over the constitutionality of the Identification requirement for voter registration is dismissed in a judgement from the Cape of Good Hope High Court
March 3	President Mandela announces his intention to proclaim 2 June 1999 as the date for the election DP's case opens in Pretoria, with an unsuccessful application to delay the hearing until the following week, to enable the party's representatives to draw on evidence from the third round of registration
March 4	IEC declare the revised official total figure for the eligible electorate to be 22.8 million. A draft election timetable is released
March 5-7	Third general registration weekend
March 11	Monday 15 March to be cut-off-date for applications for voter registration
March 12	The Democratic Party's case is rejected by the Pretoria High Court
March 15	The appeal by the NNP in the matter of the requirements for specific ID documents opens in the Constitutional Court
March 30	IEC report that forty four political parties have registered to contest the election

April 1	Constitutional Court orders the IEC to make all reasonable arrangements to enable prisoners eligible to vote, to register as voters, and to vote
April 8	NPP lodges an application in the Pretoria High Court asking it to rule that all South African Citizens who were abroad over the registration period be allowed to register and to vote, and that all persons who have registered but will be abroad on voting day, be allowed to vote
April 13	Constitutional Court rejects separate applications by the NNP and the DP and rules that people without bar-coded IDs will not be eligible to vote on 2 June 1999
April 14	Proclamation by NR Mandela, President, sets 2 June as the voting day
April 17	Registration stations are opened for public inspection of the voters' roll
April 19	Final date for acceptance of objections and corrections to the voters' roll
April 23	Finalisation of objections to the voters' roll
April 27	Cut-off date for the publication of the voters' roll
April 30	Presentation of the certified voters' roll to the Deputy President by Mandla Mchunu, CEO of the Independent Electoral Commission Data released by the IEC indicates that the number of registered political parties had reached fifty Closing date for accreditation of local/international observers
May 3	Prescription of voting hours for elections by IEC. Cut-off date for nomination and last submission of candidates' lists by political parties, who have until 5pm to pay the required deposits. Draw is made for first position on ballot paper. Twenty-six parties are contesting the National Assembly elections, ten others are standing for election in various provincial legislatures
May 7	Date by which IEC must determine boundaries of voting stations and provide notice of routes of mobile voting stations and by which the ballot papers for each election are to be finalised
May 10	Proclamation by the President of the Republic of South Africa. Declaration of the second day of June 1999 as a public holiday in all provinces of the Republic
May 10–12	Period in which lists of candidates and accompanying documents will be open for inspection
May 12	Cut-off date for objections to candidates
May 15	Date by which the IEC must make a decision on any objections to candidates — and must inform both the candidate's party and the objector of their decision
May 18	Date by which either the objector or the candidate's party can appeal the decision taken by the IEC to the Electoral Court

May 24	Date by which the Electoral Court must decide any appeal, and notify the parties involved
May 25	Compilation of a list of the registered parties entitled to contest the election and of the final list of candidates for each of those parties
May 26	Date for the application for Special Votes by reason of pregnancy, disability, or physical infirmity whether that person is voting inside or outside the voting district where she is registered
May 26	Date on which those in government service abroad — and their families— must apply and cast their Special Votes at South African missions abroad It is also the date for those who are abroad due to employment, business or study commitments to do likewise
May 26; May 31 & June 1	Dates for application for, and casting of, Special Votes (07h00 to 21h00) for electoral and security staff and qualifying voters absent from the Republic on voting day, voting in districts where registered. Also the dates in which persons unavoidably and unforeseeably absent from their voting districts on election day will be able to apply for a certificate to vote elsewhere by Declaration Vote
May 27	Majority of international observers arrive in South Africa
May 31	Date by which the Independent Electoral Commission must issue a certificate to each of the candidates on the final candidates lists
June 2	Election Day Voting to be done in the voting district where the voter is registered — except in the limited cases of Special and Declaration Votes mentioned above Voting hours for all stations, except mobile stations, to be 07h00 to 21h00 This day declared a public holiday
June 7	Counting the votes and calculating the final result take five days: the definitive declaration of the results is issued on the evening of 7 June, two days within the legal deadline
June 9	Date by which the IEC must formally announce the final results of the elections
June 11	The Electoral Commission publishes the results, the allocation of seats, and the basis on which the allocation of seats is determined, in respect of the National and Provincial elections held on 2 June
June 14	The Electoral Commission publishes the results per voting district of the of the elections held on 2 June 1999 for the National Assembly, per region, as well as for the Provincial Legislatures
July 2	The Independent Electoral Commission holds a post-election debriefing

Bibliography

1 ABOLITION OF INCOME TAX AND USURY PARTY

Highlights from the manifesto and policy positions. Claremont, Cape: AITUP, 1999, 11p.

States the party's policies on a wide range of topics with emphasis on banking and taxation policies and on economic policy in general. The party claims to be South Africa's only 'Liberal Socialist Party'.

2 ABOLITION OF INCOME TAX AND USURY PARTY

To all South African voters. Claremont, Cape: AITUP, 1999, 2 leaves.

Blames usury for South Africa's problems and aims to act as a catalyst to reform the South African monetary system by redistributing credit at zero interest. Letter signed by Stephen Goodson (Party Leader).

3 ACTIVITIES of ESC. Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission, [1997], 3 leaves.

Concise information concerning the Electoral Steering Committee, consultants appointed, the budget of the Electoral Commission and voter registration and delimitation. Includes brief notes on GIS (Geographic Information System) and IT networking.

4 ADDIS, Megan

Between a rock and a hard place: the marginalization of Coloured and Indian interests in South African politics. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp37-41.

The author tackles her theme under three main headings: A system of proportional representation; Opposition parties fight it out; Targeting the Indian community in KwaZulu-Natal. Among her conclusions: 'The 1999 election illustrated the extent to which the Indian and Coloured communities continue to feel marginalized in the post-1994 South African political environment ... The constant targeting of the Indian and Coloured communities as "politically homeless" voters can only have exacerbated their feelings of alienation from mainstream politics and highlighted their marginalized role in a political situation that continues to be defined in terms of black and white. Despite parties having been quick to claim to be blind to colour in an attempt to win over the Coloured and Indian votes, they were equally quick to point to the racial makeup of their party supporters and candidate lists, and to use leaders of a particular colour in particular constituencies. With the Coloured and Indian communities feeling a low level of efficacy in the political process, it remains to be seen whether the post-1999 dispensation will see their full and equal participation in government, or whether South Africa will continue to be perceived as a "country of two nations".'

5 AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

ACDP election manifesto. N.p: The Party, 1999, 10p.

'The party stands for Christian principles, freedom of religion, an open market economy, family values, community empowerment and human rights in a federal system' (Founding statement). The manifesto elaborates on these points as well as on

crime, corruption and the justice system, education (Value Based Education (VBE), land and housing, tax and health. It then presents twelve seasons why one should vote for the ACDP. Another copy has attached to it one single coloured sheet with logo, and founding statement, together with a 15 x 10 cm coloured photograph of the leader of the ACDP, the Rev Dr Kenneth Meshoe.

6 AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

ACDP press releases. N.p: ACDP, 1999, – p.

17 May 1999: ACDP rejects salary freezes ; 17 May 1999: Taxpayers fund abortion; 20 May 1999: 'Orphans also need psycho-social care', says ACDP; 25 May 1999: There is hope for South Africa; 26 May 1999: Prisoners should pay their own way; 26 May 1999: Rape victims need emergency medical care; 27 May 1999: The ACDP and the death penalty; 27 May 1999: 'RDP of the family needed' says ACDP; 28 May 1999: Criminals, not guns, cause crime; 28 May 1999: Day of prayer; 28 May 1999: Vote according to your conscience.

7 AFRICAN National Congress 'very good' electioneering likely to give it sought after two-thirds majority. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 21, 28 May 1999, pp1–3.

Presents the findings of the 6–30 April Markinor/IDASA opinion poll, recording 60% ANC support overall (65% when limited to registered voters only). Quotes comments by IDASA's public opinion service manager Robert Mattes on the results of the survey. Reports on some party political campaigns, focusing on that of the ANC.

8 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1999 manifesto. Together fighting for change: a better life for all. Marshalltown, Johannesburg: ANC, 1999, 36p.

Contains: A message from the President, a review of five years of ANC government and 'the next five years — our vision', covering the delivery of basic needs, building the economy, crime and corruption, transforming the state, and building a better Africa and a better world.

9 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 Sunday 12 January 1997.

Celebrates the ANC's achievements in non-racial reconciliation and nation-building, expresses concern over the ANC's organisational capacity and rededicates the movement to building and ANC cadreship to respond to current challenges and justify their victory in the 1994 elections.

10 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, 40p.

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 movements 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.

11 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Gauteng Elections Department

Election '99 domestic workers. Together fighting for change. Johannesburg: ANC, 1999, – p.

Unseen.

12 AFRIKANER UNITY MOVEMENT

Manifesto. Pretoria: AEB, 1999, 1 leaf.

The manifesto of the Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (AEB) states its aims concisely — to unite and create a powerful Afrikaner nation, to acquire minority rights and to determine its own political future. The party's policies are outlined, desired constitutional amendments noted — all to be undertaken in an attitude of humility before God the Trinity.

13 ALBERTS, Paul and BELL, Paul

The sky's delimit. *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, pp58–61.

Describes the activities involved in the 'giant process' of locating and delimiting the electorate through the use of digital and satellite equipment, in both formal and informal enumeration areas. Major state institutions co-operating include the Central Statistical Service (CSS), the Surveyor-General's Department and the Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping. The information captured is being centrally compiled in a massive register that will form the basis of South Africa's new voters' roll.

14 ALBERTYN, Cathi, and others

Women's participation in electoral processes: South Africa in global perspective, by Cathi Albertyn, Shireen Hassim and Sheila Meintjes. In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Electoral systems roundtable, Cape Town 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999?, pp17–26.

The authors present their theme under five main headings: 1. Arguments against women's participation in politics; 2. Men represent society's interests, women represent their sex; 3. Political participation; 4. Representation; 5. Accountability to constituencies.

15 ALENCE, Rod and O'DONOVAN, Michael

If South Africa's second democratic election had been held in March 1999 ... Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1999, 38p.

This paper presents a simulation of participation and party support patterns for a hypothetical election in March 1999. The simulation is distinctive in two ways. First, it incorporates probabilistic estimates of tendencies among 'uncertain' voters. Second, by integrating official voter registration figures with election survey data, it estimates participation and party support patterns for the registered electorate. The main results are the following: that the election would have been contested on a 'level playing field', in the sense that no parties would have suffered unduly from low registration or turnout rates among their supporters; that the ANC would have improved on its 1994 election result but fallen barely short of a two-thirds majority, and that the New National Party would have retained its status as official opposition; finally that the 'macropolitical fundamentals' for a free and fair election would have been sound, with difficulties tending to stem from localised or technical hitches. Paper prepared by the HSRC Election Research Task Team.

16 ALENCE, Rod

Surveying the scene. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp7–8.

On 5 May the Democracy SA project of the HSRC released the findings of its latest poll. The survey, completed in March 1999, targeted roughly 2 200 individuals demographically representative of the entire adult South African population. A section of the results is presented under the heading 'ANC support up — but so is voter uncertainty'. These clearly indicate a rise in support for the ANC (from 57% in December 1998 to 62%) relative to that for opposition parties. Percentages are provided for nine other major parties. Party support trends are tabulated by party, for March 1999, December 1998, sampling error and significant change. For later sections of the opinion poll see under RULE, Stephen. Surveying the scene. In: *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp5–8.

17 ALENCE, Rod and O'DONOVAN, Michael

Surveying the scene. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp3–4.

Abstract of the paper presented at the HSRC Work in Progress Seminar, 28 May 1999, entitled 'If South Africa's second democratic election had been held in March 1999: a simulation of participation and party support patterns' in the run-up to the June 2 elections. The simulation integrates official voter registration figures with election survey data and estimates participation and party support patterns for the registered electorate and incorporates probabilistic estimates of tendencies among uncertain voters. The paper contends that the level playing field of the hypothetical election bodes well for the legitimacy of the actual election on 2 June 1999. A table showing % vote share for 13 political parties is included.

18 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.

- 19 ANC will win — by how much?** *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol 36, no 5, 1–31 May 1999, pp13531–13532; etc. ...
Overview of the situation on the eve of the 2 June 1999 election. Repeats Mail & Guardian forecasts of an ANC win, quotes Mark Data opinion polls concerning support, and reports some incidents of intimidation. Focuses on KwaZulu-Natal, giving an account of the discovery of arms caches and the signing of a Code of Conduct by the ANC and the IFP. Includes a 'box' on Thabo Mbeki, and one tabling results, with seats against percentages for all parties (National Assembly).
- 20 ARENSTEIN, Justin, comp**
Betting on a one-horse race. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 21, 28 May – 3 June 1999, p15.
Predicts an overall ANC victory in the 2 June 1999 election with 'about 70% of the vote' and a high turnout, averaging 90%. Then analyses the situation and prospects for each of the nine provinces individually.
- 21 ARGUMENTS re: independence of Electoral Commission.** N.p: n.pub. 1996, various paging.
Submissions made to the Constitutional Court registering objections to sections of the constitution concerning the independence and impartiality of the Electoral Commission. These focus mainly on the appointment and re-appointment of, and dismissal procedures for, Electoral Commissioners. Arguments are presented by CORE: 'Representations to the Constitutional Court by Co-operative for Research and Education', prepared by Phiroshaw Camay; by the DP (Democratic Party) 'Accountable, responsive, open, representative and democratic government'; by the Department of Home Affairs; by the Human Rights Committee (HRC) 'Certification of the Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996' and by the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party).
- 22 ATKINSON, Doreen**
The Electoral Commission Bill: towards a neutral referee? Durban: McIntosh Xaba and Associates, 1996, 9p.
An analysis of the Electoral Commission Bill indicating aspects that need to be rectified. A thorough reconsideration is advised.
- 23 AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION**
Abridged election manifesto. N.p: AZAPO, [1999], 4p.
States the party's policies on all major socio-economic issues. Tackles nineteen topics. Advocates the path of reparations, the reversing of the privatisation of state assets and the re-apportionment of land.
- 24 AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION**
This is AZAPO: the Azanian People's Organisation: the vibrant embodiment of black consciousness in Azania. Johannesburg: AZAPO, 1999, 1 leaf, folded.
Leaflet presenting concise information on AZAPO's background, emergence, history, policy positions and structure. Includes a list of contact addresses as well as

biographical details concerning AZAPO President Cde Mosibudi Mangena. Attached to it, a single sheet with a brief description of the aims and policies of AZAPO and two 12.5 x 9 cm coloured photographs of Mosibudi Mangena.

25 BALLINGTON, Julie

Gender and the 1999 election. *Election Talk*, Newsletter 5, September 1999, pp3–4.

Assesses women's positions and gains in the 1999 election from various view points — equal representation, registration and voting, the electoral system, party lists and quotas, party manifestos, education and training and EISA's gender checklist. Concludes that 'Women need to work together to maintain the gains we have made so far, and to extend them in future by monitoring government policies and holding government accountable for them'. Includes a table showing the estimated percentage of women candidates on national and regional party lists and the number of women in Parliament per party.

26 BALLINGTON, Julie

Gender and the 1999 election. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 2p.

'South African women featured prominently in South Africa's 1999 election. Julie Ballington assesses the gains.' In so doing she examines the important gender electoral issues: equality of representation between men and women, women's participation in registration and voting, the influence of the electoral system, party lists and quotas, party manifestos, education and training and the production by the Electoral Institute of South Africa of a gender checklist for a free and fair elections. Includes a table 'Women in the National Assembly' showing the estimated percentage of women candidates on national and regional party lists and the number of women in Parliament per party.

27 BALLINGTON, Julie

Gender and the elections: what are the issues? *Election Update*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp9–10.

First lists the gender organisations and activists engaged in advocating gender issues and monitoring electoral processes, then examines the principal issues and attitudes involved — equal representation; registration and voting; the electoral system; party lists and quotes; media attention and voter education and training. Describes EISA's Gender Checklist.

28 BALLINGTON, Julie

Gender considerations in electoral system reform. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 6, 9 August 1999, 3p.

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.

29 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, 27p.

[2nd edition], February 1999, with title page, table of contents, and footnotes. References pp25–27. Text identical to first printing.

30 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], 26p.

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'.

31 BALLINGTON, Julie

Party manifestos and gender equality. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp9–10.

Examines eight party manifestos (ACDP, ANC, DP, FF, IFP, NNP, PAC, UDM) from a gender perspective. Questions how women and gender issues feature in them, if at all. Concludes that most parties recognise gender equality but certain women's issues are not necessarily high on their agendas. 'Much will depend on how women's issues are put into Parliament, how they are included in development programmes at local level, and whether or not parties keep their elections promises.'

32 BALLINGTON, Julie

Political parties and gender: what you need to know. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 2, 19 May 1999, 3p.

The information is taken from responses from fourteen political parties to a questionnaire compiled by the Electoral Institute of South African and other sources. For each party provides: gender contact; percentage of women members; leader of party; number of women members of national executive (where known); gender quota and contact details. (projects@eisa.org.za)

33 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.

34 BALLINGTON, Julie

The representation of women. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp4–5.

Commends women for the part played in the electoral process and looks at how women's representation fared in the National Assembly and in the Cabinet. Notes a positive trend towards gender parity. Includes tables: Party Representation; Estimated percentage of women on national and regional party lists 1999 and number of women in Parliament per party; and Women in National Parliaments.

35 BALLINGTON, Julie and FICK, Glenda

South Africa: increasing voter participation among young voters. [Johannesburg]: EISA, [1998?], [8p].

The authors, both from the Electoral Institute of South Africa, review the interaction of 'youth' with elections, the constitutional background, the government's national youth policy, its establishment of a youth commission, the role of voter education and voter turnout.

36 BALLINGTON, Julie

South African gender and elections bibliography. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 2000, 9p.

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.

37 BALLINGTON, Julie

Women and party lists. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp4–6.

Poses the questions 'What are the parties' views on accommodating women on their lists? How representative in terms of gender are the candidates lists submitted to the Electoral Commission? How do the lists compare with those compiled in 1994?.' Analyses the stances and actions of eight political parties: ACDP, ANC, DP, PF, IFP, NNP, PAC, UDM. Concludes that 'As women constitute more than 50% of the population and voters in South Africa, the lists submitted by most political parties are clearly unrepresentative in terms of gender composition'. Information used in this article is taken from responses to an EISA political party questionnaire on gender equality, party manifestos and policy documents. Table: Women's representation on party lists, estimates percentage, national and regional.

38 BALLINGTON, Julie

Women and the vote — our rights. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 4, 26 May 1999, 3p.

Aimed at informing women about the voting process and their political right. Presents a clean analysis, from a gender perspective of the right to vote; free and fair; informed choice; voter information; prohibited conduct; intimidation; secrecy of the ballot

electoral code of conduct. Online at : <http://womensnet.org.za/election/eb4-calling.htm.women-election99@lists.sn.apc.org>

39 BALLINGTON, Julie

Women in the National Assembly, etc. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, 3p.

Tables compiled to reflect the position of women in political office. These comprise: Women in the National Assembly; Women in National Parliaments; Women Members of Executive Councils and Members of Provincial Legislatures; Women Members of the National Council of Provinces. Brief notes are appended, and sources of information are given in each case.

40 BALLINGTON, Julie

Women to break through 30% critical mass barrier. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, 14 May 1999, 2p.

Estimates are based on political party lists and projections from market research surveys. The ANC has implemented a gender quota of at least one third of its candidates women, and throughout most of its National List has placed them in electable positions. None of the opposition parties has followed suit, however details are provided of their women candidates on their National or Provincial lists.

41 BALLINGTON, Julie

Women's Parliamentary representation: the effect of list PR. *Politikon*, vol 25, no 2, 1998, pp77-93.

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).

42 BALLOT papers. N.p.: IEC, 1999, 9 leaves.

At head of papers: National (16 parties); Eastern Cape (10 parties); Free State (13 parties); Gauteng (14 parties); KwaZulu-Natal (14 parties); Mpumalanga (13 parties); North West (11 parties); Northern Province (13 parties); Western Cape (14 parties). Uncoloured photocopies.

- 43 BAR-CODED ID books — it's a legal matter from now on.** *Election Update 99*, no 3, 11 December 1998, pp5–6.

Comments on recent developments in the debate over the bar-coded documentation requirement for registration and voting and preparations made to challenge the ruling in court. On Monday, 7 December, the National Party lodged an urgent application in the Cape Town High Court, asking the court to declare unconstitutional a stipulation that only holders of bar-coded ID documents could vote in the next election and making three further requests of the court. Hearing of the case is set for 5 February 1999. The Democratic Party has also lodged papers in the Pretoria High Court, Thursday, 10 December 1998, maintaining that the requirement is unreasonable and discriminatory.

- 44 BAR-CODED IDs: court cases.** *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, p4.

Reports that the New National Party's court case against the government and the IEC over the constitutionality of the identification requirement for voter registration was dismissed in a judgment from the Cape Town High Court on 26 February 1999. The judgment, and the NNP's arguments are summarized, and the NNP's intention to appeal to the Constitutional Court is noted. Despite this, the Democratic Party is continuing with its own commitment to court action with the intention of submitting more up-to-date statistical and survey evidence derived from the third round of registration.

- 45 BAR-CODED IDs: court report.** *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, p3.

The New National Party's application to abolish bar-code limitations for voting as specified in the Electoral Act opened in the High Court in Cape Town on Friday 5 February 1999. This article presents a day by day account of developments, legal arguments presented by the NNP, and evidence given by the Department of Home Affairs. The hearing ended on Wednesday, 10 February. Judgement is expected to be given within a week. The IEC declined to become involved in the proceedings.

- 46 BARRELL, Howard**

ANC out to break Cape Nats. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 17, 12–18 March 1999, p6.

Describes the ANC's strategies in its election campaign to gain control of the government of the Western Cape in the election of 2 June 1999 and to end NNP rule there. Specifically targeted are the coloured community and its leaders who are being encouraged to defect.

- 47 BARRELL, Howard**

ANC set to sweep all in its path. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 17, 30 April – 6 May 1999, p3.

A recent Markinor-IDASA opinion poll indicates the ANC edging closer to a two-thirds majority, the NNP decline continuing, the IFP steady and the PAC and FF down 1% each. It predicts that, on a low turnout, the ANC will break the two-thirds barrier.

48 BARRELL, Howard

Coalition likely for the W. Cape, but of who? *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, p5.

Two weeks ahead of the election the ANC and the NNP are tied with 30% support each, with little prospect of either achieving an absolute majority. Senior NNP members comment on possible subsequent alignments and coalitions.

49 BARRELL, Howard

Crime pays ... in votes. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 9, 14–20 May 1999, p8.

Outlines the crime situation in South Africa and the opportunity this gives opposition parties to attack the ANC government. Similarities in approach however are such that Barrell suggests a cross-party anti-crime effort after the election. Conditions in a Cape Town police station are described and a plea made for better understanding of police problems.

50 BARRELL, Howard

Does a two-thirds majority matter? *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 16, 23–29 April 1999, p25.

Yes. The achievement of a two-thirds majority could pave the way for amendments to the Bill of Rights, for changes in constitutional provisions dealing with the Provinces and for the curbing of the autonomy of the Reserve Bank and of the powers of the Auditor-General.

51 BARRELL, Howard and MBHELE, Wally

A gambler's guide to the elections. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 12, 26 March to 1 April 1999, p5.

Analyses the 'best of form' of the political parties and predicts winners and losers for the National Assembly and the nine provinces. Tables contrast the known 1994 results with forecasts for 1999, for twelve major parties. Comments include odds-on favourite, hot tips, outsiders and 'best' guess. The total number of seats in provinces' legislatures are as determined by the Independent Electoral Commission on 17 March 1999. The overall forecast is that the number of ANC seats in the National Assembly will be marginally down, and the biggest loser will be the New National Party.

52 BARRELL, Howard

The home of political eccentrics. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 23, 11–17 June 1999, p25.

Reviews the consequences of results of the 1999 elections on the Western Cape Province, the need for a coalition government, the present imbroglio and arguments in favour of a 'government of provincial unity' including the ANC. Notes the reaction of the South African Communist Party, their curious mathematics, and the threat of mass action by the local COSATU and SACP leadership.

53 BARRELL, Howard

Leon campaigns with his heart and cell. *Mail & Guardian*, 30 April – 6 May 1999, p9.

Impressionistic account of Tony Leon's Democratic Party campaign trail in Cape Town, his relentless energy and committed message.

54 BARRELL, Howard

Liberal invasion of the platteland. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 16, 23–29 April 1999, p9.

On the election trail with the Democratic Party in the Cape Province the author reports increasing support among the conservative Afrikaner community. The Party, looking for a way of moving forward, is anxious to increase its support base.

55 BARRELL, Howard

NNP voter support 'collapsing'. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 14, 9–15 April 1999, p10.

ANC and other opposition party strategists predict decreasing support for the New National Party and more defections from it.

56 BARRELL, Howard

One-in-four potential voters excluded. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 18, 7–13 May 1999, p4.

Asserts that six million potential voters will not be able to vote on 2 June 1999, leaving the way open for a two-thirds majority for the ANC. Argument is based on a study by the Centre for Policy Studies, claiming the correct size of the electorate to be 24.3m, not 22.8m as calculated by the Independent Electoral Commission's 'dubious arithmetic' which has inflated the proportion of potential voters. These calculations, in turn, are disputed by Statistics SA.

57 BARRELL, Howard

Ramaphosa enters the editorial fray. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 9, 14–20 May 1999, p4.

Comments on the endorsement of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) by the editor of the Financial Mail, Peter Bruce, and the rebuttal of this by one of its co-owners Cyril Ramaphosa, former ANC leader and chairman of Johnnic, the company owning 50% of BDFM publications of which the Financial Mail forms a part. (*Financial Mail*, vol 153 no 6, 14 May 1999, pp20–22; 53).

58 BARRELL, Howard and MERTEN, Marianne

Storms in the Cape of coalition. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 23, 11–17 June 1999, p4.

Speculates on the allocation of posts in the Western Cape provincial cabinet in the wake of the 1999 elections, and of the coalition governance agreement, already rejected by the ANC.

59 BARRELL, Howard and MATTES, Bob

Why we vote for whom we do. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 10, 30 April – 6 May 1999, p23.

Discourses on factors influencing voters' choice of candidates and parties. Quotes Bob Mattes, head of IDASA's opinion monitoring service, on voting patterns and their significance.

60 BARRELL, Howard

Your chance to get statistically literate. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 9, 14–20 May 1999, p25.

Considers how the highly motivated registered voters will react in the coming election, how a high percentage poll will affect the share of the vote each party achieves, or whether the opinion polls 'low poll/high ANC vote' trend will continue.

61 BASSETT, Carolyn

Electoral illusion: COSATU and the ANC. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol 14, no 3, May 1999, pp3–8.

Canadian researcher into trade unions and the transition examines COSATU's decision to use its resources and organisational capacity to support the ANC's campaign in the 1999 elections. Describes COSATU's strategy and gives reasons for its support for the ANC manifesto, despite COSATU's expectations not having been met by the previous ANC government. Gives an account of the ANC/SACP/COSATU Alliance summit of August 1997 and its aftermath, and predicts that the Alliance will continue, despite opposition to GEAR. Outlines the benefits to COSATU and to the ANC, but predicts that tensions between the two organisations will re-emerge after the 2 June 1999 elections.

62 BASSON, Deon

Ballot box reflects changing demography. *Finance Week*, 18 June 1999, p12.

Overview of election results, arguing that these not only strengthened the ANC's position but provided a barometer of urbanization and of other trends. These include: the ANC's support base shifting rapidly from predominately rural provinces to mainly urban and semi-urban provinces, e.g. Gauteng where support rose from 59.1% in 1994 to 68.2%; the National Party (later the New National Party) support moving to the cities; the Democratic Party breaking 'virtually every bit of demographic conventional wisdom concerning the support base for "white" parties overnight', demonstrating the greatest shift in white politics since 1910 and by drawing 64 242 votes in the national election becoming the official opposition. Also notes the marked decrease in that overall vote, down by 3.6m (18.2%). Includes diagrams.

63 BELL, Paul

Come one, come all. *Leadership*, vol 16, no 14, 1997, pp44–49.

Gives an account of the renomination of Judge Johann Kriegler as chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the appointment of Mandla Mchunu as Chief Electoral Officer (CEO). Notes delay in the appointment of commissioners, describes differences from the 1994 situation, and discusses electoral management capacity for the 1999 election — cost, date and vote registration — together with the many problems inherent in building an electoral system from the ground up. Some answers are proposed.

64 BELL, Paul

Massive logistical exercise. *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, p57.

Describes the problems facing the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in preparing for the 1999 elections, in the light of financial and time constraints and of its own under capacity. Outlines the tasks to be done, and forecasts success.

65 BIDOLI, Marina

Despite controversy, zip-zip democracy is here to stay. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 4, 5 February 1999, p88.

Reports on the R100m contract awarded to ICLSA for 25 000 'zip-zip' bar-code scanning units, and on their use in voter registration. These 'programmable bar-code scanning units', including in-built printers, are a world first enabling government to take elections to people. Notes other contracts awarded for IEC's computer and communication infrastructure designed to serve in the 1999 election, as well as in future municipal and provincial elections.

66 BIRKOFF, Bjorn and DRUGGE, Thord

Report 1999-06-09. Stockholm: SIDA, 1999, 12p.

This, the final report of the 'Technical Resource Persons' for the elections in South Africa, covering the period February 17 to June 13, 1999, is by the two Swedish electoral experts placed in the Northern Cape Province. Their tasks were to give advice to the IEC's Provincial Office and to support its activities and their co-ordination, to enable the office to deliver acceptable elections in 1999. The report carefully describes preparations for their assignment, briefings held in Sweden and in Pretoria and Kimberley, conditions during the registration period, problems concerning voter education and civic education, their participation in the training of office staff and IEC officers and puts a question mark over the training of party agents. It includes an account of the election days themselves and the monitoring of them, as well as the workers' own views on the IEC's ability to solve its problems and recommendations and proposals for the future. Shortcomings are noted, but the conclusion is that overall the Independent Electoral Commission did manage to deliver free and fair elections in 1999.

67 BISSEKER, C

Qibla's vain crusade: elections. Boring sign of maturity: the body politic. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 8, 28 May 1999, pp46-48.

Provides a report on the resignation of a number of Muslims working for the Independent Electoral Commission after getting death threats; comment on the quality of election campaigns, concluding that the electorate needs to be encouraged to vote on policy issues. Illustrates with a table and a photograph. (ISAP).

68 BODENSTEIN, Jobst

Voting for the educator to educate the voter. *Democracy Watch*, 5, 1999, pp4-5.

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.

69 BOOYSEN, Susan

The 1999 election and new orientations in opposition politics in South Africa. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp24–30.

'This article begins by identifying the major trends in the opposition parties' performances. It links these trends to the parties' strategic and ideological campaign stances, and assesses their attempts at forging opposition co-operation (often their only option to further decline). The analysis then contrasts opposition initiatives with realities of changing voter orientations toward political opposition. It concludes with an analysis of the reaction of the ANC-as-government to the opposition parties and outlines the ANC's pro-active post-election role in shaping the face of opposition politics in South Africa.' The author, Professor of Political Studies and Director of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Port Elizabeth concludes: 'Political opposition in South Africa by 1999 was characterized by three coexisting modes, which made opposition politics diverse and dynamic despite the weakness and disarray in individual parties and the failures of their efforts to co-operate and thereby gain momentum and strength. South Africa is likely, and possibly for a lengthy period, to live with the dominance of the ANC in party politics. The diversity in modes of opposition politics, however, could guarantee multiple forums for debate, interaction, influence, and challenge. Together with the ANC's legitimacy and the pressure from voters to remain accountable and delivery-orientated, there is certain to be continuous and multiple forms of exchange among the ANC government, political parties, and voters. The combination of voter insistence on substantive democracy and multiple opposition configurations that can have an impact on government policies should ensure that South Africa's transformation project continues.' Includes a table of comparative results from South Africa's founding (1994) and second (1999) elections.

70 BOOYSEN, Susan

Election 1999 and scenarios for opposition politics in South Africa. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp249–258.

This article explores, through the mapping and projection of a range of scenario paths, the future possibilities for opposition party politics in South Africa. The article discusses pre-election, election and post-election trends towards potential realignment in opposition politics, as well as trends indicating the affirmation and amplification of pre-existing tendencies in party politics. The analysis draws on a number of interviews with party political actors, media monitoring and direct observation by the author. (Abstract) It includes a table: Selection of centripetal and centrifugal forces affecting opposition party collaboration in South Africa, 1999. The author is Professor of Political Studies at the University of Port Elizabeth.

71 BOOYSEN, Susan

Life in the new democracy: focus on elections, government and priority issues. In co-operation with Decision Surveys International. [Johannesburg]: Matla Trust, 1997, 31p + 8p.

This focus Group Research Report, initiated and implemented by the Matla Trust Democracy and Citizen Education Project, is based on five geographically dispersed Gauteng groups chosen to provide the best possible spread across a range of

demographic variables. Findings are presented in three sections: Mood and assessment of government; Democracy and elections; Focus on priority issues. Appendix: Discussion guide.

72 BOOYSEN, Susan

Trends in party-political opposition in South Africa: ideological constraints on policy and strategy. *Politeia*, vol 17, no 2, 1998, pp29–51.

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).

73 BRATTON, Michael

Lessons for South Africa’s second elections. *Africa Insight*, vol 27, no 4, 1997, pp230–232.

South Africa is scheduled to use its voting rights in the forthcoming election of 1999. The way in which the voting campaign will be conducted, the poll, and the announced results will test ‘if South Africa is developing the institutional capacity and political culture to sustain a democratic regime’.

74 BREYTENBACH, Willie

The New National Party. In: ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp115–124.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

This chapter looks at ‘the issues and uncertainties pertaining to the NP/NNP’s loss of power during the transition period from 1994 to 1999’, the elections of 1999 and their results, the NNP election campaign and future prospects for the NNP.

75 BRUCE, Peter

Make Thabo Mbeki’s ANC sing for its supper and send Bantu Holomisa back to Parliament. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 5, 7 May 1999, pp14–15.

This editorial surveys the political situation in the run-up to the 1999 elections, expresses reservations about the Democratic Party (DP), the ANC and its governance and confirms that the Financial Mail does want change. Surveys the opposition parties and gives reasons why the only one to inspire confidence is the United Democratic Movement (UDM). ‘Our endorsement for June 2 1999 thus goes to the UDM and to Bantu Holomisa and his deputy, Roelf Meyer. We urge voters to make their mark on June 2 for Holomisa and, equally, we urge individuals and businesses both here and abroad to ensure the UDM is adequately funded. The UDM needs votes and money.’

76 BUDLENDER, Debbie

Rising unemployment hits women hardest. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 3, 21 May 1999, 2p.

South African women and men — and the political parties — have listed jobs as their top priority. While the consensus is positive what remains a concern, however, is that parties' proposals across the board are paying little, if any, specific attention to the special circumstances and needs of women. (Introduction). The article reviews the employment scene as it affects Africans, particularly women, and finds that the unemployment rate is always higher for women than men, and that the situation is worst for rural women.

77 BURGESS, Cecil Valentine

South Africa. In: GALANT, Raashied. *So this is democracy? Report on state of the media in Southern Africa 1999*. Windhoek: Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), 2000, pp98–132.

ISBN : 99916-728-5-0

As part of MISA's role in monitoring and reporting on media freedom violations in the eleven countries in Southern Africa that it covers, the chapter on South Africa presents a chronological account of relevant incidents in this country. It notes issues surfacing during the election period, complaints lodged, laws entrenching the right of access to state information, the question of right of free speech in the National Assembly, activities of the Human Rights Commission and legislation and litigation concerning these points.

78 BUSINESS meets politics: economic policy dialogue 1998/99. Johannesburg: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, 84p. Konrad Adenauer Foundation Seminar reports.

In the run-up to South Africa's second democratic election in 1999, interest in the economic policy positions of the political parties increased. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation organized seminars where political party representatives were afforded the opportunity to present and discuss their-economic policy proposals with a selected group of top-ranking business people. All the major opposition political parties participated, except the African National Congress who failed to respond to the invitation. This collection of policy papers, party statements and summary reports reflects the roundtable discussions: Democratic Party – 12 October 1998, pp11–16; United Democratic Movement – 5 November 1998, pp17–25; New National Party – 3 December 1998, pp27–35; African Christian Democratic Party – 28 January 1999, pp37–43; Inkatha Freedom Party – 23 February 1999, pp45–53; Freedom Front – 18 March 1999, pp55–64; Pan Africanist Congress – 6 May 1999, pp65–69. Gives names of facilitators and delegates. Formal papers by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi (IFP), Hennie Bekker (IFP) and Dr Willie Botha (FF) are included.

79 BUTHELEZI, Mangosuthu

Interview: 'We must go on working towards the election as if it were going to be in May ...' *Focus*, 13, February 1999, pp11–16.

The Minister of Home Affairs and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party discusses progress in rapprochement with the ANC, his treatment by the TRC (Truth and

Reconciliation Commission) and preparations for the election. He admits that the argument for deferral is 'realistic'.

80 CACHALIA, Firoz

ANC defined by mass membership. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 9, 14–20 May, 1999, p26.

The Leader of the House in the Gauteng Legislature discusses whether the African National Congress is centralizing power in ways that undermine democracy and the constitution as allegedly implied in previous articles in the *Mail & Guardian*. Cachalia denies this, and explains the ANC's use of power, its governance and the constraints on it by its own membership and its alliance partners.

81 CALLAND, Richard and JACOBS, Sean

Party political funding. Ethics and the horns of the dilemma: choosing the right system for South Africa. N.p: IDASA, 1997, various paging.

Its intention is to provide background to the entirely unregulated South African situation and to highlight pertinent aspects of comparative international evidence in order to help design the ideal system for South Africa. Elections constitute one key purpose of both public and private funding. The question is addressed in the context of the publication of a draft Promotion of Multi-Party Democracy Bill. Appendices: 5.1 Section 236 of the Constitution; 5.2 The draft Promotion of Multi-Party Democracy Bill; 5.3 The original draft of the Bill (1997); 5.4 'Business Day' opinion piece; 5.5 'Insight' analysis; 5.6 International comparative charts prepared by the National Democratic Institute (NDI).

82 CALLAND, Richard

Power in whose pockets? *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, p46.

Argues that 'political power can never be fully insulated from the influence of money, but transparency in party political funding would help to guard against corruption'. The issue is how best to regulate private donations.

83 CALLAND, Richard and JACOBS, Sean

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp18–23.

Provides details of the violence between ANC and UDM supporters in the townships and squatter camps (Nyanga, KTC and Samora Machel) which has claimed five lives. Notes concern over low registration levels, the possible consequences of this, and the reactions and strategies of political parties. Discusses the results of Opinion 99 survey with specific reference to the Western Cape, party lists, defections, and local issues.

84 CALLAND, Richard and JACOBS, Sean

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp14–16.

Comments on the registration figures from the third phase showing an increase from 47% to 72%, identifies five broad sources of electoral violence, analyses the significance of a spate of political defections, mainly from the NPP, and the Democratic Party's prospects and strategies in the area.

85 CALLAND, Richard and JACOBS, Sean

Western Cape no 13. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp22–25.

This survey of the situation in the Western Cape in the run-up to the election outlines the dominant issues, assesses the personalities of the leaders, gives details of UDM–ANC violence and lists the main areas of conflict. Other topics include the attitudes of Muslim leaders, undecided voters and the importance of voter turnout. Predicts a hung Parliament and presents various scenarios for coalition.

86 CALLAND, Richard and JACOBS, Sean

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp40–45.

The authors survey election day itself, the complex political situation resulting from the poll, the coalition between the ANC and the Democratic Party (DP) and the crucial roles the NNP and the ACDP played in this. The composition of the Provincial Legislature is described. Their conclusion: that the Western Cape will provide an important case study for the coalition making process and that the June election was the start rather than the finish of this contest. Introduction and tables by the compilers of the Update. Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes, and seats, by party, with comparative figures for 1994; Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature, voting, votes and % of votes, by party.

87 CALLING all women: elections '99 needs you. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 4, 26 May 1999, 1p.

Advertises the fact that the Independent Electoral Commission is calling on women to become election observers, to monitor and report on intimidation and harassment. Gives the names and contact numbers of five provincial co-ordinators of accredited organizations taking responsibility for the recruitment, training and deployment of observers.

88 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Civil society monitoring of elections. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 42p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 6)

No 6 of CORE's series of elections manuals, designed to promote the best election practice, is focused on monitoring in all its aspects — local, civil, international, purpose, ethical issues involved, accountability and responsibility, success factors, impact, relations with political parties, codes of conduct, roles during count and results, reporting of irregularities and future challenges. Codes of Conduct, pp17–21.

89 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Codes of election conduct. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 17p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 4)

ISBN : 0-620-22120-8

Designed to give guidance in specific area of management CORE's manual no 4 focuses on codes of conduct, their effectiveness, implementation and their enforcement. Appendices: The Electoral Code of Conduct, pp7–9; The Code of Conduct for Election officers, pp10–13. The Code of Conduct for Civil Society Election Monitors, pp14–15, and the Media Code of Conduct pp16–17.

90 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Election education. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 32p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 2)

ISBN : 0-620-22118-6

The second in CORE'S series promoting the successful management of elections deals with the provision of voter education and the training of electoral officials. It provides answers to forty two relevant questions on the first topic, and forty three on the second.

91 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

The media and elections. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 14p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 7)

ISBN : 0-620-22123-2

One of a series of election manuals designed to provide guidance in specific areas of election management. It outlines the roles the media plays in election processes, and factors influencing these, including principles, constraints, obligations, coverage and media's relations with political parties and monitoring organizations.

92 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Political parties and elections. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 20p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 5)

ISBN : 0-620-22121-6

CORE's manuals aimed at providing and promoting the best electoral practice include no 5 outlining major factors in the relationship between political parties and elections. In this context the work examines principles, obligations, requirements, finance, political platforms, campaigns, candidate selection and nomination, relationship with media, party agents, supporters and roles during and after elections.

93 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Preparing for elections. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 37p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 8)

ISBN : 0-620-22124-0

Part of CORE's series of election manuals designed to promote the best election practice. No 8 covers the selection of election management personnel, demarcation and delimitation, identification of voting and counting stations, special, absentee and foreign votes, election materials and logistics, and managing conflict in elections.

94 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Principles of election practice. Fordsburg, South Africa: CORE, January 1997, 49p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 1)

ISBN : 0-620-22117-8

The first in CORE's series promoting the best election management explains the legislation, regulations and structures that govern the electoral process and which must be consistent with the provisions of the constitution. Arranged in seven sections: 1. Entrenching elections in the constitution; 2. Principles of good practice in election management; 3. The evolving role of the Independent Electoral Commission; 4. The

role of the government at all levels: national, provincial and local; 5. Essential election regulations; 6. Time frames for elections and election procedures; 7. Financing elections.

95 CAMAY, Phiroshaw

The role of the NGO election sector. *NGO Matters*, vol 4, no 4, April 1999, pp8–9.

The Executive Director of CORE (Co-operative for Research and Education) and Co-ordinator of the Democracy Education and Election Management NGO Consortium discusses the roles of NGOs in voter education, civil society election monitoring, conflict resolution and in preparation for elections.

96 CAMAY, Phiroshaw and GORDON, Anne J

Voter registration. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, 1997, 21p. (Co-operative for Research and Education. Election manuals, 3)

ISBN : 0-620-22119-4

The third manual in CORE's series encouraging good electoral practice concentrates on voter registration, and answers seventy three questions in this connection.

97 CAMPAIGN manoeuvres. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp3–5.

Reviews the chief characteristics of the strategies employed by the major political parties, their approaches, electioneering activities, messages and problems and appeal. The focus of attention is on the ANC.

98 CENTRE holds as radical left and right spurned. *Africa Research Bulletin. Political Social and Cultural Series*, vol 36, no 6, 1–30 June 1999, pp13567–13568.

Provides percentage and comment on the final results of the 1999 election released on 7 June 1999. Concludes that the ANC has demonstrated its hegemony, but that the election witnessed 'a profound development — the emphatic rejection of the radical parties of the Left and Right whose collective tally was barely more than 2% of the total vote'.

99 CHERRY, Janet

Declining democracy? A case study of political participation in Kwazakele Township, Port Elizabeth. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp48–52.

The author, lecturer in the Development Studies Programme at the University of Port Elizabeth has a history of involvement in the Kwazakele Township, having previously conducted surveys there in May 1994, May 1995 and October 1995. Here she analyses another, that of June 1999, conducted following the election, describing the question posed and the responses given. The sample of 100 individuals interviewed was selected by identifying coordinates on a map of Kwazakele using a random number table. Respondents were over twenty five years of age and approximately half were men and half women to reflect the demography of the area. She asks: 'What can be concluded about levels and forms of political participation in Kwazakele? It is clear that the days of direct democracy in local organizations — such as street and area committees, and of mass action to put pressure on government to meet demands — are

largely over. However, this situation does not mean that the residents of Kwazakele are politically apathetic or ignorant. On the contrary, they appear to participate enthusiastically in the new democracy, primarily through the electoral process but also through campaigns and meetings in their local areas, organized primarily by the ANC. It is perhaps time to look at a new, extended version of democracy, one that overcomes both the weaknesses of the democratic process in Western democracies and the intolerance of “revolutionary” democracy, and replaces them with a vibrant political culture in which all citizens can feel at home.’

100 CHIPPS, Cheryl

Where have all the voters gone? *Fast Facts*, no 4/99, April 1994, p2.

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’.

101 CHIRAMBO, Kondwani and McCULLUM, Hugh

Reporting elections in Southern Africa: a media handbook. Harare: SARDC-Southern African Research and Documentation, 2000, 227p.

ISBN : 1-77910-008-6

This handbook, the product of practical experience covering five national elections in the region in 1999, is part of SARDC’s Sustainable Democracy Programme. It was supported by the Southern Africa Regional Democracy Fund (SARDF) of USAID and received input from journalists at the Regional Workshop for Journalists on Reporting Elections, held at Windhoek, Namibia, 23–25 August 1999. The five countries involved are Malawi, South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique. The handbook ‘looks at ways in which the media can be manipulated, and how to avoid this, but also how the media can often be willing collaborators in manipulating — or trying to manipulate — the voters’. It considers how journalists deal with these pressures in the changes brought about in the new multi-party democracies, and how they can operate ethically and professionally amid chaotic election processes. As well as covering these, and other related issues (including the debate concerning Proportional Representation or First-Past-the Post electoral systems) the handbook provides a brief profile of each country in the form of fact sheets, a glossary of terms, checklists, and relevant media and electoral contacts in each country.

102 CHOTHIA, Farouk

The invisible détente. *Siyaya!*, Issue 4, Autumn 1999, pp25–29.

Claims that an irreversible rapprochement between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, begun in 1996, is leading to power-sharing and the certainty of a coalition in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The article analyses the influences and motives behind this. Despite this narrowing of the political divide vigorous campaigning continues. The South African Communist Party (SACP) endorses the ANC-IFP co-operation, officially to ‘consolidate democracy’ but also to access IFP rural support. The roles of the Zulu King, of traditional chiefs and of warlords and their supporters are examined. Various killings are noted (especially the death of the United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde) and their significance is discussed.

103 CHRISTIANSON, David and PEREIRA, Paul

Piercing mount Madiba's mystique; how the DP came second: politics. *Finance Week*, 18 June 1999, pp20; 22.

Reports on the following: the legacy of the political and symbolic leadership of Nelson Mandela; reasons for the Democratic Party's success in the 1999 general election, also evaluates the official opposition party's election campaign. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

104 CHRISTIANSON, David

Rainbow eludes UDM. *Finance Week*, 11 June 1999, p23.

Brief assessment of the results of the 1999 election as they effect the United Democratic Movement. Asserts that while it will form the official opposition in the Eastern Cape (12.8%) of the votes and in the Northern Province (2.6%), its overall disappointing voter support indicates that the 'rainbow vision' of Roelf Meyer has failed to materialise in an election with the character of an 'ethnic census'.

105 CITY PRESS throws its weight behind the ANC. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 19, 14 May 1999, p6.

In a front page leader this Sunday newspaper has formally endorsed the ANC as the party whose policies it will support in the 1999 general elections. 'Comment' notes that City Press is owned by Nasionale Pers which formerly supported the National Party.

106 CO-OPERATIVE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

Election 99: your vote, your right. Fordsburg, Johannesburg: CORE, [1999], 1 leaf folded.

Provides answers to twenty five basic questions concerning key features of democracy, the constitution, and elections. Concepts and procedures are clearly explained.

107 CO-OPERATIVE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

Principles for civil society monitoring of elections. Johannesburg: CORE, 1998, 6p.

Prepared as part of CORE's 'Building democratic practice through civil society election monitoring', these twenty one principles reflect the experience of more than forty civil society representatives from eleven Southern African countries who participated in CORE workshops in July and August 1998.

108 COETZEE, Alice

Democracy symposium sets practical benchmarks. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, 14 May 1999, 2p.

The author measures the position of women on party lists against the key resolutions taken at the symposium 'Entrenching Democracy and Good Governance through the Empowerment of Women' of November 1998, and finds no cause for complacency. Campaigns need to be increased to promote women candidates and women to key

executive positions, and to lobby for legislation to penalise parties ignoring constitutional requirements for gender equality.

109 COETZEE, Alice

Gender activists too low on party lists. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, 14 May 1999, 2p.

A round table discussion concludes that, while more women will enter Parliament by virtue of the ANC's 37% quota, gender activists have not received the recognition they deserve. Concerns expressed include the need not only for quantity but quality of representation, credit for greater activity shown by women Parliamentarians, and the effect of pursuing gender issues on the careers of MPs. New names of activists included are noted, as well as some disappointing omissions. An analysis of the lists confirms that women MPs have not withdrawn from the second democratic election and continuity in promoting gender issues has been ensured.

110 COETZEE, Alice

Joint action needed to take forward gender gains. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 6, 9 August 1999, 3p.

Describes the five year action plan drafted to advance gender equality, and hopes for its implementation before the 2004 elections, challenges facing women, proposed strategies and practical measures 'around which activism can and has started to happen'. Notes President Thabo Mbeki's positive response to the upliftment of women within government programmes.

111 COETZEE, Alice

Keeping politicians true to their election promises. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 3, 21 May 1999, 2p.

Recommends, as tools for the analysis of party manifestos from a gender perspective, two yardsticks: the twelve articles from the Women's Charter for Effective Equality together with the twelve strategic objectives of the Beijing Platform for Action. After elections, manifestos can be used as an important measure of a party's performance during their term in office or as an opposition party in parliament. 'Matching up manifestos with the way parties voted on legislation, the policy positions they took, their support for women's issues and their deployment of women can be used to ensure on-going accountability ... In the end, the parties need to be reminded that, this time around, more women than men will vote and, having experienced the power of their vote, women will be demanding that in 2004, party manifestos should take women's needs and aspirations into account.'

112 COETZEE, Alice

Putting gender equality on the IEC agenda. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 4, 1999, 3p.

Quotes the views of the Independent Electoral Commissioner Thoko Mpuhlwana on the challenges involved in integrating gender equality into the policy, planning and structuring of the IEC. Problems include gender representivity on the IEC staff and on local government staff (who become local electoral officers). Subsequently IEC policies favoured gender representation, and renewed consideration concerning the number and location of voting stations, safety and security and voter education. Looks

forward to the 2004 elections, to providing gender awareness training to IEC staff and to the establishment of a gender desk.

113 COETZEE, Johan

ANC domination of the airwaves draws flak. *Finance Week*, 12 March 1999, pp18–19.

Only two months before the elections the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) has not yet laid down broadcasting ground rules for election coverage. This article considers the implications of budget cuts and staff resignations from both the IBA and SATRA (South African Telecommunications Regulating Authority) on the electoral process. It describes the concern of opposition parties over clauses in the Broadcasting Bill, currently under debate, and over the fair (or unfair) apportionment of SABC time for political programmes and discussion, and their fears of favouritism and Information Service (GCIS). The article concludes 'the ANC patently enjoys an unfair advantage in election broadcasting. Opposition parties seek urgent intervention on the basis that they may not otherwise accept the results of the election.'

114 COETZEE, Johan

DP's campaign aids ANC pair. *Finance Week*, 21 May 1999, pp21–22.

Maintains that the Democratic Party's aggressive attacks on the Minister of Health, Dr Nkosazana Zuma, and leader of the ANC Women's League, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, both high on the ANC's candidates list, and the increased exposure involved, have worked in their favour. The article briefly describes Zuma's power base.

115 COETZEE, Johan

Egg dance over splinter vote. *Finance Week*, 28 May 1999, p21.

Surveys the arguments and political issues raised by the splinter vote (the surplus vote after quotas have been deducted), the involvement of academics, and their divergent views over the possible wastage of votes, and the role of the New National Party in firing the dispute. Examines the effects of the proportional representation system on the fortunes of political parties, whether large, or small.

116 COETZEE, Johan

Environment now a political issue. *Finance Week*, 30 April 2000, p15.

Reports on the following: the identification of the environment as an important election issue by the African National Congress in the Western Cape where controversial property projects are being proposed. (ISAP).

117 COETZEE, Johan

Is Western Cape being hijacked for ANC? *Finance Week*, 2 April 1999, p17.

Suggests that a proposed coalition between the New National Party (NNP) and the ANC to jointly govern the Western Cape, as mooted by Peter Marais, second in command of the NNP, will spell the demise of the NNP. Indicates that politicians are looking to their own careers and interests, rather than to the concerns of the voters.

118 COETZEE, Johan

Landing votes for the ANC. *Finance Week*, 28 May 1999, p21.

Concise report on the handing over of land in the Western and Northern Cape on the eve of the elections as part of the land restitution process, and on the provision for cash payment in lieu of land. The Land Claims Chief Commissioner denies that these payments are vote catchers: 'It is mere coincidence that these are areas' he says, 'in which the ANC want greater exposure'.

119 COETZEE, Johan

More questions raised over election. *Finance Week*, 5 February 1999, pp20–21.

Comments on whether the questions being asked about the independence of the South African Independent Electoral Commission are bringing the credibility of the coming elections into question. (ISAP).

120 COETZEE, Johan

Opposition alienates electorate. *Finance Week*, 14 May 1999, pp20–21.

The latest Human Sciences Research Council opinion poll shows the number of undecided, uncommitted voters as having increased from 12% in February 1999 to 35% in March 1999. This figure is held to reflect opposition parties campaigns with so little to differentiate them that the electorate is confused. Points of strategy and the main campaign stances of the NNP, the DP and the UDM are touched upon.

121 COETZEE, Johan

Pik is Winnie of whites. *Finance Week*, 16 April 1999, p19.

Reports on the political standing of ex-National Party Minister Pik Botha in the election run-up. (ISAP.)

122 COETZEE, Johan

Politicians go cap in hand. *Finance Week*, 7 May 1999, p17.

Briefly examines the 'thorny subject' of company donations to political parties in the run up to the 1999 elections. Corporate groups and public companies are cautious. Most financial support comes from private companies. The Democratic Party is reported to be having no difficulty raising funds.

123 COETZEE, Johan

What the ANC needs to do. *Finance Week*, 11 June 1999, p23.

Brief survey of the possible effects of the massive mandate given to the ANC in the 1999 elections on its macroeconomic policy. Notes varying reactions from the business community.

124 COETZEE, Johan

Will the sluggers kiss and make up? *Finance Week*, 9 July 1999, p24.

Lack of co-operation or coalition among the opposition parties made possible the appointment of Federal Alliance Louis Luyt to the Judicial Services Commission in place of the experienced DP Chief Whip Douglas Gibson. This brief article notes

reactions, points of controversy, and negotiations begun to coordinate discussions between opposition parties concerning potential collaboration. A delicate matter.

125 COMMISSION ON GENDER EQUALITY

Review of the 1999 general election: a gender perspective. Johannesburg: CGE, 1999, 95p.

'This review is a critical analysis of the extent to which gender considerations were taken into account in the various stages of the election. Featuring research undertaken and commissioned by the CGE, the review aims both to show the progress that has been made and to alert us to future challenges.'

126 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP

The National and Provincial elections in South Africa, 2 June 1999. Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999, 67p.
ISBN : 0-85092-626-2

The same, but the published version includes a map of South Africa (p.v), illustrations (passim) and additional appendices as below: Annexes: I Composition of the Commonwealth Observer Group; II Arrival Statement by the Chairperson of the Commonwealth Observer Group; III Schedule of Engagements; IV Deployment of Commonwealth Observers; V Observation Notes for Poll and Count and Check List for Polling Station Visits; VI Interim Statement by the Chairperson of the Commonwealth Observer Group; VII Departure Statement of 4 June 1999; VIII List of Parties Contesting the 1999 National and Provincial Elections; IX Electoral Code of Conduct; X IEC Code of Conduct for Accredited Observers; XI Report on the Special 'Voting' at the South African High Commission in London on 26 May 1999; XII Sample Ballot Paper, National Elections; XIII IEC Voter Education Material; XIV Abbreviations

127 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP

The National and Provincial elections in South Africa, 2 June 1999. Report. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999, 40p + 4p.

This report on participation by the Group includes its terms of reference and methods of work, then surveys the political background, the legal framework and preparation for elections, the campaign and the media, the poll and the count. It follows this with its conclusions and recommendations identifying a number of areas in the electoral process in which improvements could be made: Annex 1: Composition of the Commonwealth Observer Group; Annex 2: Interim statement by the Rt Hon Sir David Steel, Chairperson, 3 June 1999. At head of cover: Advance copy.

128 COMMUNISTS v. the African nationalists. *Focus*, 11, July 1998, p15.

Analyses the struggle between the South African Communist Party and COSATU alliance and Thabo Mbeki's African nationalists for power and position within the ANC, with specific reference to the drawing up of the ANC's Parliamentary list of candidates for the 1999 election.

129 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, 26p.

Researched for and funded by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The purpose of the research findings was to guide the script writing 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, elections 1999 (fears, perceptions of politicians, apathy, voting procedures, the IEC, media campaigns), election drama series, recommendations and conclusion.

130 The COMPLAINTS mechanism of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

Access, vol 1, quarterly 2, April 1999, pp18–19.

'This article looks at the complaints system of the IEC by examining its mandate in relation to complaints, the envisaged workings of the system, and ends with recommendations specific to the IEC's proposed process for the resolution of complaints.' (Journal introduction) It reviews the IEC's powers in terms of the constitution and of electoral legislation, the projected complaints system, and then makes recommendations.

131 CONCERN that ANC will not retain Gauteng. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 8, 26 February 1999, p7.

Discusses a confidential African National Congress memorandum reflecting concern for its prospects in Gauteng Province, in the context of the Opinion '99 poll conducted between 5 October and 11 November 1998 — a concern arising from the low registration of black voters. Includes a footnote on leadership ratings.

132 CONFERENCE ON THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA, Pretoria, 1999

Prospectus, programmes and papers. Pretoria: Independent Electoral Commission, 1999, various paging.

Conference held at CSIR Conference Centre, from Wednesday 21 April to Friday 23 April 1999. Prospectus, cover title 'The 1999 election campaign: consolidation South African democracy' includes biographies of Ms Brigalia Bam, Professor Mandla Mchunu, David Kaunda, HE Sir Ketumile Joni Masire, Lucette Michaux-Chevry and Dr Yvonne Muthien. Contents include: Draft prospectus, 5p; Updated draft programme and media arrangements, 20 April 1999. 5p; Programme. 5p; Address by H. E. Mr David Connolly 'The meaning of "free and fair" in the democratic electoral context'; Remarks by the Hon Jane Harman; Speech by Mrs Lucette Michaux-Chevry; Addresses by Sir Ketumile Masire 'On establishing a presence on the ground: political rallies and canvassing' and on the topic 'Constructing a manifesto: listening to the grassroots'; Map; Letter to Tom Lodge, as discussant. The conference aimed 'to explore the ethical basis for ensuring regular free and fair elections and issues concerning the deepening of democracy in South Africa, to place the democratic processes in context, and adapt them to the needs of a young democracy and its

citizenry, to underscore the need for all political parties to accept the decision of the electorate, and to examine the importance of and the enhancement of mechanisms to enable/encourage robust campaigning while maintaining the letter and the spirit of the Electoral Code of Conduct’.

133 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Election '99: Conflict Management Committee & Panel Report, compiled by Leah K Lethale. N.p: The Committee, 1999, n.p.

It was clear from the 1994 election that the Independent Electoral Commission required ‘in house’ conflict management structures. The report describes the resultant KwaZulu-Natal structure for the 1999 elections and lists its members, presents overall general statistics as well as regional and regional ones on all reported conflicts within the province and focuses on the periods with a high concentration of incidents. Includes log forms and the dispute database for all mediation processes conducted in the region.

134 CONNOLLY, David

The meaning of ‘free and fair’ in the democratic electoral context ... address to Independent Electoral Commission International Conference on ‘The 1999 Election Campaign: Consolidating South African Democracy’. Pretoria: 22 April 1999, [15p].

The Australian High Commissioner first discusses the concept ‘free and fair’, its definition and its desirability in the context of elections. He then questions whether it is possible to establish criteria capable of practical application and suggests fundamental standards. Basic Criteria: (1) Adequacy of legal framework. (2) Independence of electoral authority and the need to maintain an open dialogue with all parties. (3) Fairness of demarcation and registration. (4) The right to be informed: voter education. (5) Freedom to form political parties and to field candidates. (6) The transparency of the vote and the count. Connolly advocates a more tolerant attitude to political questions in South Africa, if violence is to be avoided and democracy is to mature.

135 COTTLE, Edward

The ANC election manifesto is a decoy. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, p28.

Former educator and researcher for the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union criticises the ANC’s 1999 election manifesto, focusing on its socio-economic policies, the RDP and GEAR. He claims the ANC has become a party of the bourgeoisie and calls for the abandonment of GEAR. Also published in: *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol 23, no 4, August 1999, pp77–80.

136 COURT cases. *Election Update* 99, no 9, 26 March 1999, p2.

Litigation over registration continues. The Democratic Party’s case was rejected by the Pretoria High Court on 12 March 1999. A precis of the judgement is included. On a separate issue the Democratic Party plans to appeal to the Constitutional Court over prisoners’ rights to vote. The appeal of the New National Party in the matter of the requirements for specific ID documents opened on 15 March in the Constitutional

Court. The roles of the Home Affairs Department and of the IEC are again in dispute. Judgement is reserved.

- 137 COURT paves the way for June 2 elections.** *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 15, 16 April 1999, pp3–4.

Reports on the rejection by the Constitutional Court of applications by the Democratic Party (DP) and the New National Party (NNP) for a ruling against the decision by the ANC government to restrict voting to citizens in possession of bar-coded identity documents, and on the reactions of the political parties concerned with this issue. Notes the dissenting judgement of Ms Justice Kate O'Regan. Examines the most recent regulations affecting the right of South Africans overseas to vote.

- 138 COURTING trouble?** *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp1–2.

Important court cases on three matters regarding voter registration have affected the compilation of the national voters' roll. In the first matter the Constitutional Court ruled that people without bar coded IDs would not be able to vote on 2 June. Its arguments are noted and explained, but in brief, in a majority judgement on 13 April the Court rejected the separate applications by the NNP and the DP to appeal against the previous judgements of the Cape High Court and the Transvaal High Court respectively. It found that the documentary requirements prescribed by the Electoral Act did not infringe the Constitution. In the second matter, the Constitutional Court ruling that prisoners be allowed to vote provoked a torrent of criticism. In its 1 April judgement the Court ordered the IEC to make all reasonable arrangements to enable all prisoners eligible to vote to register as voters, and to vote. Estimated number 146 000. The IEC still awaits judgement on a third case regarding the voting rights of South Africans living or travelling abroad. On 8 April, the NNP lodged an application in the Pretoria High Court asking it to rule 'That all South African citizens who were abroad over the registration period be allowed to register and vote, and that all persons who have registered, but will be abroad on voting day, be allowed to vote'. A ruling from the Pretoria Court is expected on 20 April 1999.

- 139 CRESSWELL, Ryan and RUSSELL, Cecilia**

Promises, promises, soon you'll take your pick. *The Star*, 5 April 1999, p6.

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.

- 140 DABALORIVHUWA PATRIOTIC FRONT**

Policies of the Dabalorivhuwa political party, [together with] Dabalorivhuwa Patriotic Front platform. N.p: The Front, 1999, 14p.

Policies compiled by Makhale Tshifhiwa, President, focus on economics, social services and security. The party's 'Platform' addresses thirty-four topics, some as they are affected by its central position of confederalism, power separation and the importance of diversity. Concludes with twenty-one points of the administrative aspects of the DPF political governance.

141 DAVIDSON, Robyn and HOCK, Claire

Education for democracy training programme, (Trainer's manual). [Auckland Park, Johannesburg]: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1996, 53p.

Designed and developed for the Elections and Balloting Project in consultation with Dren Nupen and Ilona Tip. Provides timetables and practical exercises. Topics include the Bill of Rights, democratic elections, government and tolerance.

142 DAVIS, Gaye

South Africa: what the political parties think of disclosing funding. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 12, no 32, 8–15 August 1996, pp10–11.

'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.

143 DE GALE, Matthew

Election update: special votes and assisted votes. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 2, 19 May 1999, 3p.

Describes two categories of special votes and their proper procedures: 'Special votes', involving voters that are physically infirm, disabled or pregnant, and 'Assisted votes', for those who are illiterate or who are disabled and unable to cast their ballots without assistance.

144 DE GALE, Matthew

Securing and observing the elections. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 4, 26 May 1999, 2p.

The roles of the Independent Electoral Commission and of security forces in combating potential violence are examined, and the importance of the presence of observers is discussed. Their functions, and the limited role of the IEC in their deployment, are noted.

145 DE GALE, Matthew

Your elections calendar. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, 14 May 1999, 2p.

This outline electoral procedure calendar lists dates on which electoral procedures must take place, or, by which these must have taken place, in three sections — for political parties, 12–31 May 1999; for voters, 26 May – 1 June 1999; for political parties and voters, 2 June and 9 June 1999.

146 DE KLERK, V

For whom our readers will vote ... news focus. *Finance Week*, 28 May 1999, pp10–11.

Reports on the findings of an opinion poll on voter preferences in the 1999 general election which indicate that the Democratic Party will attract significant opposition support. Tables. (ISAP).

147 DE VILLE, Jacques

The electoral system in terms of the South African Interim Constitution. In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp19–28.

ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

Describes the electoral system used in the April 1994 elections based on the list system of proportional representation. Examines the determination of representation in the National Assembly, seats from regional party lists, seats from national party lists and allocation of seats. Tables. This is followed by an evaluation reflecting concentration, participation, simplicity and legitimacy.

148 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, pp1–6.

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.

149 DE VILLE, Jacques

Proportional representation: formulae for the translation of votes into seats. In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp49–54.

ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

'This chapter focuses exclusively on the formulae for the translation of votes into seats in proportional representation systems. The ways in which votes are converted into seats in Parliament depends upon the formula used for the calculation. These formulae can have a significant effect upon the proportional of the result. Various formulae have been developed to arrive at a final result. The d'Hondt largest average formula and the quota formulae are the two leading alternative models which have been evolved to work out seat distribution in relation to votes polled.'

150 DE VILLE, Jacques

Proposal 3: Proportional representation in multi-member constituencies (Model 1). In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp83–99.

ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

Evaluates various types of PR: proportional representation in variable multi-member constituencies; personalised proportional representation; compensatory proportional representation, and single transferable vote. Then proposes an electoral system 'whereby variable multi-member constituencies are created with the allocation of seats

on a national level from national/provincial party lists. This model, it is believed, will achieve an optimal balance between the different criteria.'

151 DE VOS, Pierre

Constituencies and their representatives: limitations and prospects. In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp55–69.

ISBN : 0-409-0223-30

'In spite of the appropriateness of the pure proportional electoral system for the election of the first democratic Parliament [in 1994] it has some major shortcomings. In the light of these shortcomings and the available options for a new electoral system the question arises whether a return to constituency representation (combined with proportional representation) provides a solution. This chapter explores in particular the criteria of responsibility and participation in an electoral system. It will focus specifically on the effectiveness with which members of Parliament represent and are responsive to the interests and concerns of the electorate. The role of members of Parliament in this respect in the United Kingdom and the United States, the two best known countries with constituency representation, as well as Germany, will be compared. Germany, with its electoral system of personalised proportional representation, is specifically relevant in the light of current academic thought on the desirability of combining constituency representation with proportional representation.'

152 DE VOS, Pierre

South Africa's experience with proportional representation. In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp29–43.

ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

Reviews the compiling of candidates lists by the political parties concerned, the participation of candidates in the election campaign, the functions of MPs under the proportional representation system and the evaluation of the proportional representation system. Assesses these in turn for the Freedom Front, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party, and the African National Congress. Concludes that the different parties used very different methods of compiling the various party lists but that all parties agree that the present proportional representation system does not make for strong links with the electorate.

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

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).

- 154 DEMOCRACY SA** [Media releases]. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1999, various paging.

Media release: Date issued: 28 February 1999. Crime prevention should top the government's agenda, South Africans believe; 2 March 1999. South Africans generally optimistic about their economic prospects; South Africans near the top of world 'democracy log'; Voter registration and the implications for democracy in SA: important shift in attitude of SA voting population; 8 March 1999. South Africans' local service priorities — and 'scorecard' of delivery. Tables; 11 March 1999. ANC flirts with two-thirds majority — depending on voter turnout. Table: Estimated party support at different levels of voter participation; Although most South Africans are dissatisfied with the way the country is governed, trust in government is high (Issued at a media briefing in Cape Town); 5 May 1999. Party supporters profiles. Tables; Priorities differ markedly according to party support. Table; 12 May 1999. Majority trusts the IEC, despite skepticism of political parties. Tables; Non-registered voters still intend to vote; Update on bar-coded IDs. Tables for possession of IDs, July '98 and March '99, and for unregistered voters – March '99. Most of these state: Issued by Corporate Communications, HSRC, Pretoria. Also included, lists of team members of the HSRC's Democracy SA project, contact details and brief biographies; and eighteen coloured graphs to illustrate 'Democracy SA: Election politics and national priority issues'. No text. Website at www.hsrc.ac.za/DemocracySA.

- 155 DEMOCRACY SA: party support and the 1999 election campaign. Biggest gains for UDM and DP.** *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, p6.

This media release, issued by Corporate Communications, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria on 7 February 1999, presents a comparison of 1994 election results and the latest estimates of the HSRC's voting model based on a survey completed in December 1998. Gains by the UDM and the DP have come largely at the expense of the NNP and the IFP. Includes a table: 'Comparison of party support levels' indicating statistically significant changes. Quotes the views of Rod Alence.

- 156 DEMOCRACY SA: public opinion on national priority issues ...** Editor Dr S Rule. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, 63p.

ISBN : 0-7969-1914-3

'Findings of a national sample conducted in December 1998 by the Group: Democracy and Governance of the Human Sciences Research Council. This report outlines public attitudes about national priorities, social issues, political parties and the government's service delivery programme. It also reflects the extent of and attitudes towards the transition from the previous apartheid system to a constitutional democracy. The publication of these data is of particular interest at the end of the term of office of the first democratically elected government in South Africa. While most of the data were generated from a survey undertaken in December 1998, the latest statistics on party support were extracted from the March 1999 survey results.' (Introduction). Fieldwork for the December 1998 survey was conducted by Market Research Africa and that for the March 1999 survey by MarkData. The data capture was undertaken by the HSRC, the weighting by Statomet and the data analysis and writing by a team of HSRC researchers. Contents include: Introduction and background; Methodological approach to the survey; Trends in political affiliation; Democratic development; National priorities; Perceptions of economic issues; Government performance and

service delivery; Gender issues; Other socio-political issues; Conclusion. Tables (48) and Figures (18). Appendix I: Weighted biographical features of the Dec 98 sample.

- 157 DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election**, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, 134p.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

'The 1999 election presented the Human Sciences Research Council with a number of opportunities: first, to assist the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to ascertain the number of potential voters in possession of a bar-coded identity document for the purposes of election planning; second, to measure the shift in public perceptions and support in the run-up to the election; and third, to conduct the first ever exit poll, evaluating the freeness and fairness of the election as well as the efficiency of the electoral machinery. This volume draws together the results of all this work.' (Introduction). Tribute is paid to the work of the Democracy SA research team. Separate contributions are made by Yvonne Muthien, Johann Olivier, Michael O'Donovan, Stephen Rule, Richard Humphries, and Meshack Khosa, and these are individually indexed in this bibliography.

- 158 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

DP leaflets. Johannesburg: DP, [1999], single leaves folded.

Election leaflets include: Democratic Party: join the DP and help meet South Africa's challenges; Fight back for a better future; Your choice on June 2: the DP or the ANC; Don't play with fire.

- 159 DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Fight back for a better future: the Democratic Party's plan for South Africa. Cape Town: Democratic Party, 1999, 41p.

The DP's manifesto includes ten major sections: the DP vision: the opportunity society, the role of the state; fighting back against crime; jobs through economic growth; education; tending the health of citizens; aids; housing; granting land to the landless; environmental impact and sustainability. Tony Leon says: 'This manifesto positions the DP in the current political context and outlines our alternative vision and plan for South Africa. Our manifesto contrasts our vision and plan with that of the ANC, highlighting their failures, contrasting our differences and outlining the DP alternatives.'

- 160 DETERMINATION of seats for the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures.** N.p.: n.pub. 1999?, various paging.

Contents: The following determination of the above seats was declared by George Hussain: (1) National Assembly: 400 seats; (2) Provincial Seats: No of seats, by province, total 427; (3) Regional Seats: Query: 'No mention nor determination of the regional seats at the meeting on 17 March 1999'. However a table of a provisional breakdown of regional seats, provided by Anton Venter, total 200, is included. The written submissions to the IEC by interested parties are attached. These were made by United Christian Democratic Party, Democratic Party, New National Party (two), Freedom Front (two), Afrikaner Unity Movement and African National Congress. Verbal submissions were made by the African National Congress, Freedom Front

(two) and New National Party. The names of those making written and verbal submissions are listed.

161 DLAMINI, Kuseni

Drawing the line: border disputes and electoral politics. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 15, no 3, Spring 1998, pp28–33.

The author argues that the issue of unresolved boundary disputes could become critical in the 1999 elections, especially in the Northern Cape where it will tilt the balance of political power. He explains the details of three sets of disputes: those between KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, between Mpumalanga and the Northern Province, and between the Northern Cape and the North-West, and the commissions investigating them.

162 DU PREEZ, M

Why I won't vote ANC this time around: by invitation: opinion. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 6, 14 May 1999, p22.

An explanation by a South African journalist about why he will not vote for the African National Congress, even though it is the party he feels closest to. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

163 DUARTE, Rubeina Desai

Crime: violence against women. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 2, 19 May 1999, 3p.

Four key election issues have been identified by the Opinion '99 survey as crime, jobs, housing and education. The first of these is analysed from a gender perspective. The article 'looks at the epidemic of violence that has engulfed women and raises practical and strategic suggestions for supporting abused women and children and dealing with the perpetrators'.

164 DUNDAS, Carl

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

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.'

- 165 EDUCATION for democracy: a series of roundtable proceedings Eastern Cape, February – September 1998.** Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1998, 109p.

Contains papers and presentations from a series of Roundtables, held in East London, Port Elizabeth and Umtata, facilitated by EISA as a contribution to the building of a supportive culture for democratic consolidation. Contents: Roundtable 1. 'Developing an understanding of civic education'. Roundtable 2. 'Extending civic education to rural areas'. Roundtable 3. 'Implementing civic education in a classroom situation'. Roundtable 4. 'The impact of voter education on election participation: preparing for the 1999 elections'. Roundtable 5. 'An NGO strategy on voter-education preparing for the 1999 elections'. Roundtables Four and Five provided an opportunity for participants to discuss the challenge facing organisations, government, local authorities, and civil society in general in regard to the forthcoming 1999 elections. Issues such as voter participation, content for voter education curriculum, the efficacy of voter education and concrete plan of action were tabled. (Preface by Ilona Tip, EISA) These roundtables are separately indexed and included in this bibliography.

- 166 EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES TRUST**

Register to vote. Paarl: The Trust for the Independent Electoral Commission, 1999, 5p

At head of title: Election 1999. Booklet with message from the Chairman of the IEC Judge Johann Kriegler urging citizens to register to vote. Explains the steps in the registration process, the purpose of the voters roll and the qualities required of a democratic citizen.

- 167 ELECTION '99 report: IDASA joins national drive to election success.**
Democracy in Action, September 1999, 6p.
 Special issue designed to highlight the work done by IDASA staff during the 1999 election. Includes a description of voter education and voter educators' workshops, of IDASA staffers' involvement in media and publicity, and an article (p6) by Matthew De Gale 'Finding a way through the election information maze'.
- 168 ELECTION '99: en route to gender equality.** *GAP Talk*, no 2, 1999, 8p.
 This newsletter of the Gender Advocacy Programme focuses on GAP's election campaign advocating gender equity through the political process. Relevant contents: p2. 'Women to X-form politics' suggests four issues women should consider critically before casting their votes; p7. 'A look at party lists: the myth of merit' argues that, as women constitute 54% of the registered voters in South Africa, the lists submitted by most political parties are unrepresentative in terms of gender composition. It includes a table giving percentages for Womens' Representation on National Party Lists for seven major political parties — ACDPS, ANC, DP, IFP, NNP, PAC, UDM; p7. 'Where do women stand in the Western Cape?' reports that GAP recently undertook a gender audit of the Western Cape Legislature and administration in partnership with CASE (Community Agency for Social Enquiry).
- 169 ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki**, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Oxford: Cape Town, etc.: James Currey, David Philip, etc. 1999, 218p.
 ISBN : 0-86486-405-1
 Contributions by fifteen scholars reflect variant aspects of the 1999 elections. Summaries of the first five years of democratic government, of provincial government and of opinion polls (1994–1999) are followed by assessments of the six principal political parties' fortunes and situation. Media and gender issues are surveyed, the election results analysed and the future of democracy in South Africa assessed. Separate chapters are individually analysed. A review of this work, by J E Spence, appears in *International Affairs*, vol 76, no 1, January 2000, pp191–192.
- 170 ELECTION '99: tough decisions required.** *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 2, 22 January 1999, p14.
 Concise note recommending either the rescinding of the law requiring bar-coded IDs or appropriate intercession to ensure that the court cases brought by the New National Party and the Democratic Party are speedily completed, to ensure a rancour free election.
- 171 ELECTION 1999: the voters speak. Five Province Focus Group Study.** Research report, March 1999. Durban: University of Natal Centre for Socio-legal studies, 1999, 53p.
 Prepared by Street Law, with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and Susan Booyesen Research, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg, this five province research project conducted in October 1998 was geographically and demographically designed to reflect a cross section of South Africa's voters. Full details are given of the research methodology of the twenty three groups and the

composition and location of the focus groups [5 in the Northern Province, 6 in Gauteng, 3 in the Free State, 5 in KwaZulu-Natal and 4 in the Western Cape]. Major sections focus on the mood of the electorate, elections and voter orientation, motivation to vote and campaigns for 1999, mobilisation, turnout and election logistics. Includes an executive summary and tables.

172 ELECTION 1999: where have we come from? A balance sheet of the political transition. *Development Update*, vol 3, no 1, October 1999, 140p.

This issue of the quarterly journal of the South African National NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) and INTERFUND comprises an editorial and eleven articles on socio-economic transition period 1994 to 1999. It includes material on the role of business, functions of commissions, demilitarisation, gender issues and aids, as well as on the ANC's consolidation of power and on second elections. The editorial by Gerard Kraak and contributions by Hein Marais and Denis Kadima are separately recorded in this bibliography.

173 The ELECTION Bulletin. *The Election Bulletin*, vol 1 no 1 – vol 1 no 9, 14 May – 9 August 1999, various paging.

The Election Bulletin is produced as part of a special Women'sNet 'Women and Elections' project funded by the British Department for International Development (DFID). Articles appearing in the Bulletin as well as other women and election resources can be found on the Women'sNet web site at <http://www.womensnet.org.za>. Editor: Alice Coetzee. Women'sNet is a joint project of SANGONeT and the Commission on Gender Equality.

174 ELECTION date. *Africa Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol 36, no 3, 1–31 March 1999, pp13472–13473.

A notification that on 3 March 1999 President Nelson Mandela named 2 June 1999 as the date for the election is followed by a brief survey of the political situation, focusing particularly on the aims of the African National Congress.

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

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.

176 ELECTION results. *Election Update 99*, no 14, 12 June 1999, pp17–27.

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).

- 177 ELECTION timetable.** *NGO Election Consortium News*, vol 2, Issue 6, 12 May 1999, [2p].

Table of dates for the electoral process in the period 30 April to 9 June 1999, for actions and activities, including closing and cut-off dates. On verso, table of political parties participating in National and Provincial elections, 2 June 1999.

- 178 ELECTION Update 99.** *Election Update 99*, nos 1–15, 13 November 1998 – 25 June 1999, various paging.

This fortnightly review, compiled by EISA staff and associates, focusing on election-related developments and issues, provides comprehensive coverage of every significant aspect of the electoral process. Major fields surveyed include voter registration, the Independent Electoral Commission's activities and conduct, political parties, their campaigns, candidates, lists, manifestos and registration, and public opinion polls and surveys. Regular detailed provincial reports are included. Material for individual issues of the Update was prepared by Bob Jones, Tom Lodge, and Sibusiso Ntuli. Individual items have been included in this bibliography. A combined issue of numbers 1–12 was published in 1999 by the Electoral Institute of South Africa under the cover title: 'South African Election Update 1999, November 1998 – May 1999'. Contributors are listed on verso of title page. The introduction to it, pp i–iv, encapsulates the stipulations of sections 46 and 105 of the Constitution relating to the elections, describes the electoral system to be used, and includes tables for 'Parties contesting National Assembly and Provincial Legislature elections', and for 'State of the Parties in National Assembly (May 1994)'. This compilation was by Bob Jones (EISA). NB See also the descriptive entry in this bibliography under: 'South African Election '99: Updates 1–15', under which title the Updates 1 to 15, November 1998 – June 1999 were published in book form, by the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, in 2000. Final editing by Bob Jones.

- 179 ELECTION Watch.** Cape Town: University of the Western Cape. School of Government, 15 March 1999 – 15 July 1999, nos 1–3, various paging.

Published with the support of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) under a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Monthly. No 1 lists the thirty-three parties registered by the end of February 1999 with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) giving information on leadership, policies, principles, telephone and fax numbers. [Seven additional parties are included in Election Watch no 2, p2]. No 2 includes summaries of some of the key aspects in the manifestos of different parties, an election timetable, and articles by Keith Gottschalk, Forster Mijiga and Andrew Nash which have been separately indexed. No 3 Outcomes of elections — 2 June 1999 is separately listed. The articles in it by Caroline Knott, Musa Zondi, Console Tleane, Judith Sole and Matthew Parks are also individually entered in this bibliography.

- 180 ELECTIONS '99 resources — what's available.** *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 6, 9 August 1999, 3p.

Lists seventeen publications, available or soon to be forthcoming, relating to the 1999 elections.

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

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 behaviour: 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, p471, and by J Elklit in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, vol 37, no 2, 1999, pp13–132.

- 182 ELECTIONS may slow recovery.** *Africa Research Bulletin. Economic, Financial and Technical Series*, vol 36, no 4, 16 April – 15 May 1999, pp13874.

Speculates on the possible impact of the upcoming election results on the economy and advocates the retention of the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan (GEAR). Includes a box summarising the policies of the five main political parties for tackling unemployment.

- 183 ELECTIONS: SANDF threat to withdraw support.** *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 8, 26 February 1999, pp3–4.

The South African National Defence Force warns that lack of funding is endangering its commitment to carry out security duties and support operations in the general elections due in late May 1999. Provides details of the Defence Budget cuts and the probable consequences of these.

- 184 ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT OBSERVER COMMISSION**

ECCO Commission final report 1999. Mayville, South Africa: ECCO Commission, 1999, 56p.

This report, written by Fran Fearnley, reviews the evolution of the ECCO Commission, its context, mission and objectives, its relations with political parties and its role in the 1999 elections. It evaluates its work, with concentration on the Electoral Code of Conduct. Also included are a complaints report and an analysis of complaints by location and region, recommendations for the future, and portraits of Commissioners. Appendices comprise: The Electoral Code of Conduct, the KwaZulu-Natal Code of Conduct, Bishop Michael Nuttalls speech 'The signing of the Electoral Code of Conduct by 13 political parties in KwaZulu-Natal, May 5th 1999', the pledge document, the Western Cape ECCO Commission and Acronymy ms.

- 185 ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Amendment of the election regulations. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20109, 20 May 1999, 4p.

Regulation Gazette No 6540. Government Notice No R654. Schedule of regulations made in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998). Makes provision for Declaration Votes for people unavoidably and unforeseeably unable to vote in the voting districts in which they are registered and for units of the South African National Defence Force deployed on special duty in a remote area.

186 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Amendment of the election regulations. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20139, 28 May 1999, 4p.

Regulation Gazette No 6552. Government Notice No R752. In terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1999 (Act No. 73 of 1998) the Commission makes regulations for the amendment of regulation 43 concerning the conduct of agents or candidates within the boundary of a voting station. These regulations are to be called the Second amendment to the Election Regulations, 1999.

187 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Amendment of the election regulations. *Government Gazette*, vol 408, no 20160, 1 June 1999, 4p.

Regulation Gazette No 6560. Government Notice No R727. The Electoral Commission has in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998), made the regulations set out in the Schedule. Regulation 43A relates to apparel an agent may not wear, carry or display within the boundary of a voting station, the regulations to be called the Third amendment to the Election Regulations, 1999.

188 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Appointment of commissioners. Pretoria: Constitutional Court, 1997, 1 leaf.

Notice, issued by Justice Arthur Chaskalson, President of the Constitutional Court of South Africa listing the twenty three persons selected for interview as Electoral Commissioners in Johannesburg, 2–5 June, 1997.

189 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Cancellation of registration of a political party. *Government Gazette*, vol 413, no 20677, 24 November 1999, 2p.

General Notice 2618 of 1999. '... the registration of the Christian Democratic Party is hereby cancelled after the said party has notified the Electoral Commission that it has been dissolved with effect from 13 October 1999.' The Christian Democratic Party (CDP) was originally registered on 6 November 1998.

190 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Determination of seats for the National Assembly and Provincial Legislature. *Government Gazette*, vol 401, no 19491, 18 November 1998, 2p + 5p + 3p.

General Notice 2804 of 1998. In terms of sections 46(2) and 105(2) of the Constitution, read with section 114 of, and Schedule 3 to, the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998), the Electoral Commission must determine the number of members of the National Assembly and of each provincial legislature, according to a formula and taking into account available scientifically based data and representations by

interested parties. These have to reach the Electoral Commission not later than 31 December 1998. Statistics South Africa have determined the population figures for the various provinces and these are listed in the notice. Attached to EISA's copies are submissions from the Democratic Party and the New National Party. The proposal from the DP, signed by Brian B Goodall, Caucus Chairman, Gauteng Democratic Party, and dated 30th December 1998, is entitled 'The Census: room for doubt'. It focuses on the 1996 Census and its importance for democracy in South Africa, its possible inaccuracies and evaluations by Statistics South Africa, by the Census Evaluation Committee, and by the Statistics Council. It ends by stating: 'This means that any reasonable person would conclude that in Gauteng in particular, the ratio of legislature seats to population at provincial level is inaccurate, unfair and undemocratic, and open to legal as well as moral challenges.' The 'Submission by the New National party to the Independent Electoral Commission in respect of the number of seats in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature' from Dr E A Conroy, Executive Secretary of the NNP in Gauteng, dated 18 January 1999, also points to the dispute surrounding the final results of Census '96, maintains that these should not be used as 'unqualified' calculations. Annexure A provides a National Registration Progress table for Population Census and Population Actual for the period 1/8/98 to 8/1/99.

191 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Determination of seats for the National Assembly and provincial legislatures. *Government Gazette*, vol 403, no 19734, 29 January 1999, 2p.

General Notice 133 of 1999. The Electoral Commission gives notice that it must determine the number of members of the National Assembly and of each of the provincial legislatures according to the formula specified, taking into account available scientifically based data and representations by interested parties. One half of the seats in the National Assembly to be filled from regional lists, with a fixed number of seats reserved for each region to be determined by the Commission. This determination to take place at Sunnyside Unisa Campus in Pretoria on 17 March 1999 at 10h00. Interested parties are invited to make proposals regarding the scientifically based data by not later than 12 February 1999. Under certain circumstances, which are described, further inputs and responses by interested parties may be made up to 5 March 1999.

192 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Determination of the boundaries of voting stations. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20066, 7 May 1999, 2p.

General Notice, No 837 of 1999. Notice given by the Chief Electoral Officer in terms of section 66(1) of the Electoral Act 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) listing six criteria by which the boundaries for voting stations are determined.

193 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election regulations. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 19951, 14 April 1999, 32p.

Regulation Gazette No 6497. Government Notice No R478. This schedule sets out regulations made by the Electoral Commission in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) in ten chapters: Definitions; Voting stations; Special

Votes; Declaration Votes; Tendered Ballots; Voting; Mobile voting stations; Voting procedures; Counting of votes; Party agents and candidates; General provisions.

194 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election regulations. [Pretoria]: Electoral Commission, 1999, 32p + 15p.

At head of title: Government Gazette. No number, or date. Sets out regulations made by the Electoral Commission in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) in a schedule containing ten chapters. Attached are 15 appendices, VEC1-VEC15, specimen forms for applications, rejections, certification, objections or appointment. Most of the documents concern special votes, declaration votes or tendered ballots.

195 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election timetable. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20110, 20 May 1999, 4p.

General Notice 1094 of 1999. 'The Electoral Commission hereby gives notice that it has, in terms of section 20(2) of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998), amended the election timetable published in Notice 619 of 1999 in Government Gazette No 20019 of 26 April 1999, by substituting the Part under the heading Dates set in terms of the Election Regulations, 1999, with the Annexure set out hereunder.' Annexure p2: Dates set in terms of the Election Regulations, 1999.

196 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election timetable. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 20019, 26 April 1999, 16p.

General Notice No 619 of 1999. 'The Electoral Commission hereby gives notice that it has in terms of section 20 of the Electoral Act, 1998, compiled the election timetable set out below to apply to the elections for the National Assembly and for the nine provincial legislatures that will be held on 2 June 1999.' Includes dates set in terms of the Act and dates set in terms of the Election Regulations 1999.

197 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Final list of candidates. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20128, 26 May 1999, 384p.

General Notice No 1113 of 1999. 'The Electoral Commission hereby gives notice that it has in terms of section 31(1)(b) of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998), compiled a list of the registered parties and a list of candidates for each party entitled to contest the elections to be held on 2 June 1999.' Final update of the Electoral Commission's Lists of candidates submitted ... q.v.

198 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Inspection of copies of lists of candidates and accompanying documents. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20063, 7 May 1999, 4p.

General Notice No 836 of 1999. The Chief Electoral Officer hereby gives notice in terms of section 29 of the Electoral Act, 1998, that copies of the lists of candidates submitted by registered parties in terms of section 27 of the Act, as amended and supplemented in terms of section 28 of the Act, in respect of the election of the National Assembly and the nine provincial legislatures, will be available for inspection

during office hours between 10 and 12 May 1999, at: the office of the Local Electoral Officer for each municipality; the designated venues in the respective provinces listed below; and at the head office of the Commission at Election House, 260 Walker Street, Sunnyside, Pretoria. Includes a list of the nine provincial venues (pp2–3).

199 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Inspection of list of addresses of voting stations and the route, including locations and estimated times of stopping of each mobile voting station. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20067, 7 May 1999, 4p.

General Notice No 838 of 1999. The Chief Electoral Officer hereby gives notice in terms of section 64(4) and 67(2) of the Electoral Act 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) that copies of the list will be available for inspection during office hours at: the office of the Local Electoral Officer for each municipality; the designated venues in the respective provinces listed, and at the head office of the Commission at Election House, 260 Walker Street, Sunnyside, Pretoria.

200 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Lists of candidates submitted in terms of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) for the election of the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20070, 11 May 1999, 392p.

General Notice No 921 of 1999. The lists of candidates for the elections of the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures to be held on 2 June 1999, submitted on 3 May 1999 and rectified by the political parties on 7 May 1999 in terms of sections 27 and 28 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998), are hereby published for general information. Candidates List Report arranged alphabetically by Party, List type, Election and Province. Thereunder lists candidates by position giving names (last and first) details on voters' roll, ID numbers and CC voter stations. Date, May 10, 1999, and time of acceptance given.

201 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Notice of periods and venues where a copy of the voters' roll will be available for inspection. *Government Gazette*, vol 420, no 21272, 8 June 2000, 4p.

General Notice No 2202 of 2000. 'The Chief Electoral Officer, in terms of section 16(1) of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) hereby gives notice that a copy of the Voters' Roll, which will be updated on a monthly basis, will be available for inspection at the Electoral Commission's Head Office in Pretoria and at the provincial offices of the Commission between 09:00 and 16:00 from Monday to Friday, at the addresses listed in the Schedule.' The addresses of the provincial offices of the Electoral Commission are listed for all nine provinces.

202 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Notice of periods and venues where a provisionally compiled voters' roll is available for inspection. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 19935, 8 April 1999, 17p.

General Notice No 549 of 1999. 'The Chief Electoral Officer, In terms of section 14(2)(e) of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 78 of 1998), read with Government Notice No R302 of 15 March 1999, hereby gives notice that a provisionally compiled voters' roll will be available for inspection at the head office of the Commission in Pretoria, at

any of the Provincial offices of the Electoral Commission or at any of the offices of the municipalities mentioned in the Schedule between 09:00 and 16:00 from Monday to Friday as from 12 April 1999 until 1999.' The addresses of the provincial offices of the Electoral Commission are listed, followed by those of the municipal offices, arranged by Province.

203 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Prescribing of voting hours. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20047, 3 May 1999, 2p.

General Notice No 813 of 1999. The Electoral Commission hereby gives notice that it has in terms of section 36 of the Electoral Act, 1998, prescribed the voting hours for the elections of the National Assembly and the nine provincial legislatures that will be held on 2 June 1999, to be between 07:00 and 21:00.

204 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regional seats reserved for National Assembly. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 19934, 8 April 1999, 2p.

'The Electoral Commission has in terms of the interim Constitution, 1993, as amended by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, determined the fixed number of seats reserved for each region for the next election of the National Assembly, after taking into account scientifically based data in respect of the voting population and representation by interested parties.' General Notice No 548 of 1999 contains tables listing for each province the number of regional seats, population census, population actual, registered voters, percentage of registered census and percentage of registered actual.

205 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Registered political parties. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 19941, 13 April 1999, 2p.

'In accordance with section 15(5) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996), the chief electoral officer hereby publishes the following particulars of the political parties that have been registered between 17/03/99 and 12/04/99. General Notice No 571 of 1999 lists abbreviated name, date of registration and reference number for six additional minor political parties: Labor Party (LP); Curriculum Vitae Political Party (CV); the South African Region of Independent Churches; Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa; Christen Protestante Party; Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party.'

206 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Registered political parties. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 20045, 30 April 1999, 2p.

General Notice No 640 of 1999. 'In accordance with section 15(5) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996), the chief electoral officer hereby publishes the following particulars of the political parties that have been registered in accordance with the said provisions of the Act: Peoples Liberation Party (PLP) 28/04/99; National Coalition (NACOPA) 29/04/99; Unemployment Labour Alliance (ULA).'

207 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Registered political parties. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20048, 3 May 1999, 2p.

General Notice No 814 of 1999. 'In accordance with section 15(5) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996), the chief electoral officer hereby publishes the following particulars of the political party that has been registered in accordance with the said provisions of the Act: Cape People's Congress (CPC), 3/5/99.'

208 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Registered political party. *Government Gazette*, vol 412, no 20532, 6 October 1999, 2p.

General Notice No 2289 of 1999. 'In accordance with section 15(5) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996), the chief electoral officer hereby publishes the following particulars of the political party that have been registered in accordance with the said provisions of the Act:' Workers Party (WP) registered 2 September 1999.

209 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Registration of a political party. *Government Gazette*, vol 414, no 20743, 15 December 1999, 2p.

General Notice No 2724 of 1999. 'In accordance with section 15(5) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996), the chief electoral officer hereby publishes the following particulars of the political party that has been registered in accordance with the said provisions of the Act.' Christian Democratic Party (CDP) registered 10 December 1999.

210 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulations concerning the accreditation of observers and code of conduct for accredited observers. [Pretoria]: Electoral Commission, 1999, 8 leaves.

Draft no 1 (19 January '99). Schedule A contains 'the Regulations on the Accreditation of Observers 1999' made in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998, (Act No. 73 of 1998) and Schedule B 'the Code of Conduct for Accredited Observers' compiled and issued in terms of section 99 (3) read with section 84 (3)(b)(iii) of the same Act. Appendix 1: Application form. Appendix 2: sample Certificate of Accreditation.

211 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulations concerning the registration of voters. *Government Gazette*, vol 400, no 19388, 16 October 1998, 13p.

Regulation Gazette No 6327. Government Notice No R1340. Schedule of regulations made by the Electoral Commission in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998). These relate to: Application for registration as voter, application to have change of name or ordinary residence recorded, application for deregistration as voter, notifications, appeals against decisions, objections to voters' roll, fees, particulars to be entered and registration in voting district. These regulations to be called 'the Voter Registration Regulations, 1998'.

212 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulations for the registration of political parties. *Government Gazette*, vol 394, no 18817, 9 April 1998, pp24–29.

Regulation Gazette No 6151. Government Notice No R 493. Contains the schedule setting out the regulations made by the Electoral Commission under the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996) covering the registration of political parties under the following fourteen points: Definitions; Application for registration; Deed of foundation; Registration fees; Registration certificate; Notification of registration in Gazette; Register of parties and registration of documents; Effects of registration of party; Notification of change in registration particulars; Renewal of registration; Appeal against decision of Chief Electoral Officer to register or not to register a party; Offences and penalties; Short title.

213 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulations for the registration of political parties. *Government Gazette*, vol 421, no 21386, 13 July 2000, 16p.

Regulation Gazette No 6852, Government Notice R712 sets these out, post-election, in a schedule made under section 23(1)(c) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996). These regulations cover, among other aspects, application, registration, renewal, cancellation, offences and penalties, and the keeping of a register of parties and copies of documents lodged. EISA also has a copy of Regulation No 712 of 2000 (8p), taken from the web site <http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/regulations/2000.reg0712.html>

214 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulations on the accreditation of voter education providers and code for accredited voter education providers. *Government Gazette*, vol 401, no 19527, 1998, 9p.

Regulation Gazette No 6363. Government Notice No R1488. Contents : Schedule A. Regulations made in terms of section 100 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998). Appendices include forms for application for accreditation for voter education. Schedule B : Code for accredited voter education providers.

215 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulations on the conditions of service, remuneration, allowances and other benefits of the Chief Electoral Officer and other administration staff. *Government Gazette*, vol 419, no 21213, 19 May 2000, 16p.

Regulation Gazette No 6816, Government Notice R514 sets out these matters (post-election) in a schedule made in terms of section 23 of the Electoral Commission Act (Act No. 51 of 1996).

216 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Report. Electoral Commission of the Republic of South Africa. National and Provincial elections 2 June 1999. Pretoria: Government Printer, 2000, 101p + 20p. (RP 83/2000)

ISBN : 0-621-30063-2

'The Electoral Commission is charged by the Constitution and the Electoral Commission Act, 1996, to manage national, provincial and municipal elections and to publish a report on every such election. This is the Commission's report on the 2 June 1999 National and Provincial elections' ... in terms of section 14(3) of the Act ... being satisfied that these elections were free and fair. Contents, ten chapters covering all aspects of the election — Building the organisation, voting districts, and voting stations, local and provincial infrastructure, national common voters roll, media and voter education, political system and parties, observers and international assistance, the elections, counting and results, and conclusion. The conclusion includes 'an indication' of the cost of the election and a Pronouncement: 'The Electoral Commission is satisfied that the 1999 national and provincial elections were particularly transparent, democratically contested and finally free and fair'. These chapters are followed by annexures. Annexure A: Key election '99 statistics (staff, Geographic Information Service (GIS), voter education, voter registration, political parties, voting, telecommunications, wide area network (WAN), logistics, election centre, communications and media, observers); Annexure B: Acknowledgements, to individuals, organisations and entities for their support (international, non-governmental organisations, national, then sub-divided by province, corporate SA parastatals and general); Annexure C: National and Provincial ballot papers (in colour); Annexure D: National and Provincial Results. Maps (in colour). Includes illustrations and tables.

217 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Representatives elected to the various legislatures. *Government Gazette*, vol 408, no 20198, 10 June 1999, 48p.

General Notice No 1154 of 1999. The Electoral Commission hereby, in terms of Item 16 of Schedule 2 to the Interim Constitution, 1993, as amended by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, publish the names of the representatives elected to the various legislatures as set out in the schedule, and where a candidate has been elected from more than one list, the necessary adjustments ... have been effected and indicated. The schedule contains 'seat assignments by candidate list' arranged by party name, Assembly, list type, province, rank, surname, first name, ID number and seat.

218 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Representatives elected to the various legislatures. [Amendment]. *Government Gazette*, vol 408, no 20203, 11 June 1999, 48p.

General Notice No 1319 of 1999. ... The names of the representatives elected to the various legislatures as published in *Government Gazette* No 20198 (*Government Notice* No. 1154) of 10 June 1999 are hereby amended in respect of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania as set out in the Schedule, and where an elected candidate has indicated that he or she does not want to assume public office the necessary adjustments ... have been effected and indicated ...

219 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Represented political parties fund. *Government Gazette*, vol 402, no 19577, 3 December 1998, 1p.

Government Notice No 579 of 1999. 'In terms of regulation 2(1) of the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Regulations, 1998, the Commission hereby gives notice that a total amount of R52 103 000 million is available for allocation for the period 1 April 1998 to 31 March 1999, to represented political parties fund established in terms of the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 1997 (Act No. 103 of 1997).'

220 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Results per voting district of the elections held on 2 June 1999. *Government Gazette*, vol 408, no 20202, 14 June 1999, 2p.

General Notice No 1318 of 1999. 'The Electoral Commission hereby publishes for general information the results per voting district in respect of the election of the National Assembly per region held on 2 June 1999, as set out in the attached Schedule. The total contents of Gazettes Nos. 20202, 20206, 20207, 20208, 20209, 20210, 20211, 20212, 20213 and 20214 amounts to 28 000 A4 printed pages. For this reason the Schedule is not printed, however, is available from the Government Printer on request.'

221 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Results per voting district of the elections held on 2 June 1999. *Government Gazette*, vol 408, nos 20206–20214, 14 June 1999, 18p.

General Notices Nos 1321–1329. 'The Electoral Commission hereby publishes for general information the results per voting district in respect of the election of the provincial legislature for the [Province] held on 2 June 1999, as set out in the attached Schedule: The total contents of Gazettes Nos 20202, 20206, 20207, 20208, 20209, 20210, 20211, 20212, 20213 and 20214 amounts to 28 000 A4 printed pages. For this reason the Schedule is not printed, however, is available from the Government Printer on request? No 1321 – Eastern Cape. No 1322 – Free State. No 1323 – Gauteng. No 1324 – KwaZulu-Natal. No 1325 – Mpumalanga. No 1326 – North West Province. No 1327 – Northern Cape. No 1328 – Northern Province. No 1329 – Western Cape.

222 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Results, allocation of seats and basis for determination of seats in respect of the elections held on 2 June 1999. *Government Gazette*, vol 408, no 20201, 11 June 1999, 48p.

General Notice No 1317 of 1999. 'The Electoral Commission hereby publishes for general information the following: (i) The results of the National and Provincial elections held on 2 June 1999 as set out in Schedule A; (ii) The allocation of seats to political parties in respect of each election held on 2 June 1999 and the basis on which the allocation of seats in respect of the elections held on 2 June 1999 are determined as set out in Schedule B.' Contents: p2. SCHEDULE A. 1999 National Election. Verified Result. Tabulated by party, result and percentage. Includes total valid ballots, total spoilt ballots; pp3–11. 1999 National Election. Verified Regional Breakdown. Tabulated by province (alphabetically) then by party, party result and percentage, details as above; pp12–20. 1999 Provincial Election. Verified Provincial Result. Similarly arranged; pp21–30. SCHEDULE B. National Assembly, Allocation of Representatives for each Party. Determination of regional seats for National

Assembly. Tabulated by party, valid votes, votes divided by quota, initial allocation remainders, rank and seats allocation; p31. Determination of overall seats for the National Assembly. National – 400; p32. Determination of National List portion for the National Assembly. National portion = 200; p33. Determination of Regional List Allocation for parties without a National List; pp34–35. National Assembly: Summary. Elections '99 — Summary: Distribution of seats for the National Assembly; pp36–45. Provincial Legislatures: Allocation of representatives for each party. Determination of seats for the Provincial Legislature. For each province tabulates by party, valid votes, votes divided by quota, initial allocation, remainders, rank and seats allocation.

- 223 The ELECTORAL Commission.** Access, vol 1, quarterly 1, January 1999, pp16–19.

This first publication of the New Institution Project (NIP) of the Human Rights Committee (HRC) provider 'core information' concerning the Electoral Commission, enabling legislation, powers, duties and functions, its mandate, and the interpretation of it, its institutional capacity and the goals it has set for itself.

- 224 ELECTORAL Commission data communications options.** Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission, 1997, various paging.

'The Electoral Steering Committee (the Independent Electoral Commission and the Local Government Election Task Group) commissioned an Information Technology Strategy (ITS) project in February 1997 with the objective of evaluating and recommending different options for Information Technology Data Communication Strategies to the New Electoral Commission (EC), upon its formation. The objective of the project was to evaluate different technologies available in South Africa and emerging throughout the world. These technologies had to be evaluated within the broad framework of the expected business requirements of the new EC.' (Management summary). The options considered and the findings of the project team are described in detail. The document and its contents are the confidential proprietary information of the IEC and are subject to restriction.

- 225 ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS FORUM OF SADC COUNTRIES**

South African Elections Observer Mission report, June 1999, compiled by Denis Kadima. Auckland Park, South Africa: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, 1999, 59p.

ISBN : 1-919814-20-5

The Electoral Commissions Forum, launched in Cape Town in July 1998, consists of fourteen Commissions in the SADC region and aims to foster co-operation between its members, with a view to promoting a culture of democracy and free and fair elections in SADC countries. South Africa was its third mission. The forum, by invitation from the IEC, sent a team of observers to the 1999 elections to observe and assess their conduct. 'On arrival in South Africa Mission members attended briefings at the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) where they participated in extensive discussions after presentations made by representatives of the various South African political parties (ANC, NNP, IFP and the UDM) as well as NGOs and a senior political journalist. The Mission members also attended a briefing by the United Nations Electoral Assistance Secretariat. On 31 May 1999, the Mission members were

deployed to the various provinces, namely Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal, Northern Province, North West Province, Northern Cape, Gauteng, Free State and the Eastern Cape respectively. Here they attended a third round of briefings by the IEC staff, local NGOs and representatives from the provincial party branches. In this report, the Electoral Commissions Forum Observer Mission describes its findings and makes recommendations to the IEC about future electoral preparations, conduct and electoral management.' (Executive summary). Against the background of the mandate and terms of reference of the Mission itself, the report first offers a historical overview of the years 1990 to 1999, then covers the electoral framework and preparations for the elections, the campaign (with illustrations), media coverage, polling and counting, the results (with tables), conclusions and recommendations. Seven Appendices. Appendix 2 lists the composition of the ECF Observer Mission Team.

226 ELECTORAL COURT

Rules regulating disputes and complaints about infringements of the Elections Code of Conduct in schedule 2 of the Electoral Act 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998) and determination of courts having jurisdiction. *Government Gazette*, vol 402, no 19572, 4 December 1998, 11p.

Notice 2915 of 1998, in English and Afrikaans. The Electoral Court has under section 20(4) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 51 of 1996), made the rules in the Schedule.

227 ELECTORAL COURT

Rules regulating the conduct of the proceeding of the Electoral Court. *Government Gazette*, vol 395, no 18908, 15 May 1998, 4p + 5p.

Notice 794 of 1998. 'The Electoral Court has, under section 20(3) of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act No 51 of 1996), made the rules in the Schedule.' It includes definitions, conduct of business, composition, decisions, appeal proceedings, referrals, investigation of misconduct, incapacity or incompetence, written submissions, departure from rules. Attached to EISA copy: 5p. Voter qualifications and registration.

228 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Conflict management handbook for presiding officers and counting officers. Auckland park, Johannesburg: EISA, [1999], 50p.

Prepared on behalf of EISA by Alan Brews and Charles Nupen. Developed for the Independent Electoral Commission. Cover title: 'A handbook on conflict management'. The stated objectives of the handbook are to promote understanding of the nature of conflict in the context of the 1999 democratic election in South Africa to inculcate management skills that Presiding and Counting officers will require, and to provide case studies for the kinds of dispute that may arise.

229 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Education for democracy training programme: (Trainers manual). [Auckland Park, Johannesburg]: EISA, 1996, 53p.

Designed by Robyn Davidson and Claire Hock in consultation with Dren Nupen and Ilona Tip. Topics include the understanding and practice of democracy, the importance of elections, of gender and of the constitution.

230 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Electoral preparation and voter education — 1999 and beyond. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 13p.

Provides concise information on EISA's role in the 1999 election, its task team and topics for research — candidate selection, registration, legislation, gender equality, political party activity, 'trouble spots', manifestos, campaign themes, and future electoral reform.

231 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Electoral systems roundtable, Cape Town 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999?, 45p.

This publication is a collection of papers delivered by South African academics and international experts at the roundtable hosted by the Electoral Institute. It is designed to reflect the debates revolving around the merits and demerits of the national list proportional representation (PR) system under which the 1994 and 1999 elections were conducted, and the possible changes that could or should be made to it. Contents: 'Criteria for judging voting systems', by Nigel Roberts; 'Which criteria are most important in choosing an electoral system for post-1999 South Africa?', by Tom Lodge; 'Electoral systems choices for South Africa beyond 1999', by Andrew Reynolds; 'Women's participation in electoral processes: South Africa in global perspective', by Cathi Albertyn, Shireen Hassim and Sheila Meintjes; 'What could a new South African electoral system look like?', by Jorgen Elklit; and 'Electoral system choice in post-1999 South Africa: an alternative model', by Ben Reilly.

232 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Gender checklist for free and fair elections: a handbook. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 9p.

Material compiled by Glenda Fick of EISA. Contents: Checklist for free and fair elections; checklist for ensuring gender equality in the context of free and fair elections. The handbook is intended 'to serve as a guide to how gender equality is pertinent to all stages of an election. The check-list is informed by a gendered understanding of citizenship. Though not exhaustive, it considers in some detail the conditions necessary for free and fair elections in South Africa which at the same time guarantee the political involvement of women in an environment of gender equality.' (Preface).

233 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA and INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION. Legal Services Department

A handbook for conflict resolvers. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, [1999], various paging.

'A Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution Project has been initiated by the IEC, aimed at reducing the prospect of political and social conflict during election periods as well as managing conflict as it arises.' Contents of the handbook include:

project objectives; mediation context, administrative infra-structure; processing mediation requests; what are mediatable issues?; prohibited conduct (Electoral Act (73 of 1998) sections 87-94); IEC Code of Practice for Mediators.

234 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

A handbook of South African electoral laws and regulations 1999. 1st ed. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 93p.

First edition, March 1999. Compiled by Tom Lodge, Bob Jones and Julie Ballington. 'This handbook is intended to serve as a practical guide for electoral officials; party agents and candidates; observers; monitors; voter educators; reporters and broadcasters, and anyone else who may need to understand the legal framework within which these elections will be administered.' Its contents are derived from the following laws: the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996); the Electoral Commission Act (Act 51 of 1996); the Electoral Act (Act 73 of 1998); the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act (Act 103 of 1997), and from the various regulations issued by the Electoral Commission. The material is set out in seven sections: 1. Institutional framework: composition of the National Assembly, Provincial Legislatures, the electoral system, Electoral Commission, Electoral Court and party liaison committees; 2. Registration of voters; 3. Setting the election date: proclamation and timetable; 4. Election campaign: parties, candidates, funding, advertising, broadcasting and voter education; 5. Election day: all aspects of voting and procedures; 6. Results: determining and announcing; 7. Electoral conduct: prohibited conduct, Electoral Act, Chapter 7, Electoral Code of Conduct, disputes and complaints. This is followed by six appendices: Appendix 1: A note on hate speech; Appendix 2: Draft Election Timetable; Appendix 3: Who can stand for election; Appendix 4: Translating votes into seats; Appendix 5: State of parties in National Assembly 1994; Appendix 6: IEC Contacts.

235 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

A handbook of South African electoral laws and regulations 1999. 2nd ed. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 111p.

Compiled by Tom Lodge, Bob Jones and Julie Ballington. This edition contains some additional facts, minor alterations, and details from the IEC's Election Regulations 1999 (ER), Government Gazette No 19951, 14 April 1999, and Election Timetable (ET), Government Gazette No 20019, 26 April 1999. Appendix 4: (pp90-99) 'Special Votes and Tendered Ballots' covers procedures relating to these new categories.

236 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Media and electoral laws. A guide for print and broadcast editorial personnel. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, [1999], 48p + 1p.

Cover title: A handbook on the media and electoral law. Material compiled by Raymond Louw, Director, EISA Media Project. Contents: Summary of the role of the media in elections; introduction; election coverage by the media; role of the media; print media; broadcast media, electoral media restrictions that have been lifted; hate speech; advertisements; state publications; special votes for journalists and other media; electoral laws; Electoral Act 1998; Schedule 1, Press ombudsman and appeal panel; Schedule 2, IBA policy; Schedule 3, Electoral Code of Conduct; Schedule 4,

Draft Code of Conduct of political parties and the media in KwaZulu-Natal. + Amendment: Special and declaration votes for media workers.

237 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Nazo!!! Elections '99. [Auckland Park, Johannesburg]: EISA, 1999, 1 leaf folded.

Coloured illustrated guide to the elections. Contents: 'This is what I'll be voting for ... First Ballot — National government; Second Ballot — Provincial Government. And ... 2000 – 2001 Local Government; National list of parties contesting 2 June election; reproductions of the logos, and photographs of leaders, and summaries of the policies of each of the sixteen parties; Who is eligible to vote; Why should I vote? and How do I vote?

238 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Principles and guidelines for the recruitment and training of electoral staff. [Auckland Park, Johannesburg]: EISA, 1997, 38p.

Provides a broad overview of the topic together with a concept database, a capacity building programme, a pilot programme, a marketing and support system and evaluation. All are aimed at producing professional and efficiently run elections, conducted by the Electoral Commission and which are credible.

239 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Profile of the Electoral Institute of South Africa and a summary of the project: 'Election preparation and voter education — 1999 and beyond'. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 9p.

Defines EISA, its aims, composition and four main programmes: EISA resources; EISA ELECT; South African Development Programme (SADP), and Consultancy Services. Outlines its major roles and components: capacity building of the IEC and of political participation by women, the production of handbooks, information gathering, processing and dissemination, and voter education.

240 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Report of the Voter Education Roundtable on Developing Strategies for Effective Voter Education, held at: Sunnyside Park Garden Court Holiday Inn, 2 York Road, Parktown, on Thursday 18 and Friday 19 February 1999. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 26p + 5p.

EISA invited organisations engaged in voter education, together with political parties, to participate in a roundtable to develop an action plan to ensure maximum outreach to prospective voters. Topics addressed: Free and fair elections: guidelines for voter educators and election organisers; Election preparation — the support required from civil society; Opinion '99 — responses to survey; Strategies for mobilising voters: focus on rural voters, labour, women and youth; Developing voter education material: preview of available material. Annexure I : Roundtable participants. Annexure II : Provincial House of traditional leaders.

241 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

A report on putting women into power: free and fair elections 1999 ... prepared by Julie Ballington and Bob Jones. Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 38p.

Presents the proceedings of the roundtable held in Braamfontein, Johannesburg on Tuesday 23 February 1999 hosted by EISA. These reflect the findings of its Gender and Elections Project and of its gender research and reference group on women in the context of elections generally and of a free and fair election in South Africa in 1999. Appendices. 1. Checklist for ensuring gender equality in the context of free and fair elections; 2. Attendance Register.

242 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The role of the media and state-sponsored publications during the 1999 General Election. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, (1997), various paging.

Discussion document by Raymond Louw, EISA Project Director detailing legislation relating to the media and issues arising from it, soliciting response by 20 January 1999 with a view to adjusting laws, regulations and guidelines for the 1999 election. Annexures include: 'Legislation on the holding of elections which relate to the conduct of the media' [Sections from the Electoral Act No. 202, 1993, with questions arising and from the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No. 153, 1993]; Guidelines for state publishers and state information services, and Proposals for changes to laws governing the media during the General Election.

243 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Sondelani sizovota! Come let's vote. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 44p + 8p.

This voter education programme, written and developed for EISA by Sherri Le Mottee, presents an interactive method learning course with a double focus — democracy and elections, and voting, and making an informed choice.

244 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Voter education survey August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1998, various paging.

'The Electoral Institute of South Africa invited organisations 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 organisations. (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.

245 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Election observer manual. Facilitator's guide. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 2000, 91p.

This programme, compiled for the Institute by Iona Tip, and designed to assist in the preparation of observer missions, is participatory and interactive. Its objective is clearly stated — 'At the end of the programme participants will be able to relate to elections within the overall democratic process, identify the basic conditions within

which a democratic election takes place, recognise their role as observers, analyse case studies, solve problems related to elections.' The workshop includes four modules: Introducing the programme (options and expectations); Elections as part of the democratic process (democracy: its principles and practises, free and fair elections, with global examples of democratic and undemocratic incidents); Electoral observation (purpose and terms of reference, role of the observer, Codes of Conduct, facilitator's information); and Understanding the process (role and responsibilities of role-players, case studies). These are followed by an Evaluation (with energizers), and Reflections on previous electoral observation missions.

246 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Election observer manual. Participant's guide. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 2000, 199p.

Material prepared for EISA by Ilona Tip has resulted in a participatory and interactive programme, designed to assist in the preparation of observer missions and to give participants the opportunity to consider, analyse and reflect on what is expected of themselves as observers. It includes four training modules, evaluation and reflections. Attention is paid to free and fair elections, codes of conduct and an overall analysis of the pre-electoral process. Also included are a glossary (in the context of election monitoring), a section on useful information (hints and safety tips for voting day), examples of valid ballots, followed by three sections of relevant articles — Readings on democracy: Raymond Williams, 'From keywords'; B O Nwabueze, 'What democratising involves', (pp1–5, Chapter 1 of 'Democratisation' 1993); Padraig O'Malley, 'Southern Africa: regional overview', (pp1–25 of Southern Africa: the people's voices); Readings on 'free and fair' elections: 'Declaration on criteria for free and fair elections, unanimously adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council in Paris, 26 March 1994'; Jorgen Elklit and Palle Svensson, 'What makes elections free and fair?'; International IDEA, 'Ethical and professional observation of elections', reprint 1999; then — General readings on observation: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 'How domestic organizations monitor elections: an A – Z guide', pp69–96, Part 4 'Monitoring the election and post-election phases' only; Kristin Hogdahl, 'Election observation', Chapter 9 of the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights' Manual on Human Rights Monitoring.

247 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Gender checklist for free and fair elections, compiled by Glenda Fick. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, 2000, 14p.

ISBN : 1-919814-14-0

Reprinted May 2000. This booklet lists thirty seven conditions necessary for a free and fair election to take place according to international standards. Also included is a checklist for ensuring gender equality in free and fair elections, grouping the conditions under political rights, citizenship, conducting elections, registration of voters, the right to vote, the right to stand for public office, voter education, the rights to express political opinions, to access information, to freedom of association, assembly and movement, to campaign, secrecy of the ballot, and review of electoral procedures or decisions.

248 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

National and Provincial election results: South African elections June 1999. Auckland Park, South Africa: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), 1999, 48p.

ISBN : 1-919814-13-2

'After an introductory section which contains information about how the results were calculated, a set of tables supply ballot numbers and percentages for the National Assembly elections for all of the parties and each of the provinces. For comparative purposes, the tables also provide the equivalent figures for the 1994 election to enable the reader to calculate swings in electoral support between the different parties. Another set of tables show how seats were distributed under the "highest remainder" method, a procedure which to date has puzzled many observers. A third group of tables for the National Assembly makes analyses much easier by identifying the regions in which different parties performed best and worst. Similar tables for the provincial legislature elections include a comparison between aggregate votes for the National Assembly and the legislatures to enable researchers to establish the frequency of voters dividing their support between two parties. Finally, four tables detail the extent of women's representation in the National Assembly and the legislatures.' From the Preface by Tom Lodge. Introductory notes by Bob Jones. Tables compiled by Bob Jones and Julie Ballington, September 1999. The Electoral System section of the Introductory notes provides a clear explanation of the allocation of seats, the Droop quota system and the highest remainder principle.

249 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.

250 ELECTORAL STEERING COMMITTEE

The road to 1999: a briefing to the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs. Johannesburg?: Independent Electoral Commission, 1997?, Unpaged: 23 leaves.

Contents of the Briefing: Background (What the ESC is, why it was established, and its functions); Differences between the 1994 and 1995/6 elections on the one hand and the 1999 elections on the other; The future administration of elections (structure of the Electoral Commission); Critical areas of functioning (delimitation, Geographic Information System (GIS), voter registration, Electoral Commission activities); Future administration of elections (appointment of EC, activities of ESC, budget); What still needs to be done? (tasks, legislation required, legislative time frame, necessary consultations); Conclusion.

251 ELECTORAL systems roundtable, Cape Town, 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, 45p.

EISA facilitated and hosted this roundtable on elections systems design, with particular emphasis on the post-1999 era, reflecting debate on the advantages and

disadvantages of various electoral systems for South Africa. This publication presents the papers delivered by South African academics and international experts.

252 ELKLIT, Jorgen and REYNOLDS, Andrew

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

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.

253 ELKLIT, Jorgen

What could a new South African electoral system look like? In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Electoral systems roundtable, Cape Town 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999?, pp27–35.

The author argues that the following criteria are particularly important when choosing the post-1999 South African electoral system: 1. Proportional representation. 2. Providing structures which facilitate the development of 'cross-cutting' parties. 3. The promotion of a strong and meaningful opposition in Parliament. 4. Accountability. 5. Familiarity with the system. In his argument he draws some comparisons between the South African system and various mixed-member proportionality (MMP) systems in Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand and Germany, and details his reservations concerning the MMP model. Finally Dr Elklit presents his own solution, and tables his ideas and suggestions, focusing on all the important points that he himself has raised.

254 EMPLOYMENT MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Draft policy document. Cape Town: EMSA, 1999, 10p.

The movement's beliefs and aspirations, purposes, policies and strategies are all described in this document which focuses on the problems consequent on high unemployment, the rights of workers, mutual support and equality. Attached is a covering letter dated 8 March 1999, listing the items and information supplied: Photographs of Michael Reitz, two, coloured, 15 x 10 cm., Coloured logo of the Movement; Brief biography of the party leader; Leaflet containing the founding statement of the party; and this draft policy document.

255 The EXTENT to which eligible voters are in possession of SA identity documents.

Report 2, Regional Survey 13 August 1998, by Johan Olivier, and others. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1998, 43p.

Reflects the results of a countrywide survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council at the request of the Independent Electoral Commission.

256 FACING a year living dangerously: fanciful dreams and false illusions do us a disservice. *Finance Week*, 8 January 1999, p9.

Sounds a warning that a country facing a general election in 1999 against a background of an economy that has not shown substantial improvement in over two years should not underestimate the difficulties it faces. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

257 A FAMOUS, and dangerous, victory. *Economist*, 12–18 June 1999, p48.

Briefly surveys the 1999 election (comparing it favourably to 1994) and political prospects in the post-election period in the context of the ANC's handsome win. Interprets the election results as evidence of enduring racial polarisation. Concludes: 'Racial appeals often win votes, but discrimination, positive or otherwise, rarely does much for race relations, or for prosperity.'

258 FAURE, Murray

Electoral matters. *Politeia*, vol 15, no 2, 1996, pp65–69.

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.

259 FAURE, Murray

The electoral systems issue in South African politics. Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 1999, 28p. (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 summarised and analysed 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.

260 FAURE, Murray

Proposal 1: Proportional representation and single-member constituencies. In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp71–76.

ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

The assessment and recommendations offered ‘focus primarily on the fundamentals of the electoral system and not on the practical and detailed arrangements of the electoral process’. Sections comprise: evaluating the present electoral system; options available to Parliament — the pros and cons; proposals for a new electoral system, reducing the size of the legislature, introducing voter accountability, comprehending the ballot, meaningful choice for the voter, and the interests of regions, retaining fairness, representativeness (proportionality) and the legitimacy of institutions; features of the proposed new electoral system.

261 FEDERAL ALLIANCE

Election manifesto — Federal Alliance. Saxonwold, Johannesburg: Federal Alliance, 1999, 7p.

States the FA’s policies on a wide range of socio-economic issues first describing ‘the reality’ then stating the steps ‘effective government by the Federal Alliance’ would take to rectify matters. Also in Afrikaans, under the title ‘Verkiesingsmanifes — Federale Alliansie’.

262 FEDERAL ALLIANCE

Leaflets. Saxonwold, Johannesburg: Federal Alliance, 1999, – p.

These include: ‘The only way forward: vote Federal Alliance’. 1 folded leaf containing an eight point policy statement; ‘Vote for effective government’. Four point statement of things the FA will vigorously campaign for.

263 FEDERAL ALLIANCE

Manifesto. Saxonwold, Johannesburg: Federal Alliance, 1999, 9p.

This printing of the Federal Alliance: Federale Alliansie’s manifesto falls into three sections. Firstly, its preamble outlines the party’s concerns regarding the state of the nation, focusing on crime and its consequences and the need to uphold the constitution. Secondly the party’s fundamental principles and objectives are stated. Thirdly the major issues facing the electorate are described and the positions taken and changes advocated by the FA made clear. Attached are a covering fax to EISA, a curriculum vitae for Dr Louis Luyt, dated February 5 1999, and a coloured 10 x 15 cm photograph of Dr Luyt. The manifesto itself is signed by the ‘founding promoters of a new South African democratic political initiative’, L Luyt, C G Erasmus, P A Myburgh, A Budd, S Kruger. Johannesburg, 30 September 1998.

264 FF’s and Viljoen’s future to be decided in August. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 29, 23 July 1999, pp5–6.

Discusses General Constand Viljoen’s leadership of the Freedom Front and his political future, in the context of the party’s lack of success in the 1999 election, and the role the party’s ideal of establishing a ‘Volkstaat’ (people’s state) played in this.

'Comment' speculates on the ANC's attitudes to the FF future stance and it's reactions to minority rights.

265 FICK, Glenda

The gender-sensitive check-list for free and fair elections. *Agenda*, no 40, 1999, pp66–74.

'This "in brief" considers the conditions necessary for the full participation of women in free and fair elections. It consists of three parts. Part one addresses the right to equality, citizenship and political rights. It argues that a gender-neutral or male-orientated idea of citizenship is inadequate for guaranteeing the full scope of political rights to women. Part two highlights the international standards conducive to a free and fair election, while part three considers the necessary preconditions for gender equality in a free and fair election.' (Authors' introduction)

266 FICK, Glenda

A mechanism to ensure free and fair elections in 1999: a 'gendered' checklist. In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. A report in putting women into power: free and fair elections 1999 ... prepared by Julie Ballington and Bob Jones. Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, pp12–16.

First notes the legislation upon which the right to free and fair elections for all South African citizens (men and women) is based, then considers differing gender roles, political obstacles and socio-economic factors affecting women in the political realm. Argues for 'a substantive interpretation of equality'. The checklist itself aims to establish the necessary pre-conditions for gender equality in the context of free and fair elections.

267 FICK, Glenda

Recognising gender equality and its implications for free and fair elections. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, [1999], 29p.

'This paper considers the conditions necessary for the full participation of women in free and fair elections. It consists of three parts. As an introduction, Part I addresses the right to equality, citizenship and political rights. It assumes that gender-neutral or male-orientated idea of citizenship is inadequate for guaranteeing the full scope of political rights to women. Part II of the paper considers the international standards conducive to a free and fair election. Part III considers the necessary preconditions for gender equality in a free and fair election. The preconditions which should exist for gender equality, and allow women to exercise their political rights in a free and fair election, are presented in the form of a checklist as an appendix to this paper.' (Author's introduction).

268 FICK, Glenda

Recognising gender equality and its implications for free and fair elections. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, 32p.

[2nd edition], with title page, preface, table of contents, and footnotes. References pp31–32. Published May 1999. Text identical to first printing.

269 FICK, Glenda

The South African Electoral Commission: the old and new. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, 1998, 9p.

EISA's Research Manager compares the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), established by Act 150 of 1993 and the body that replaced it, the Electoral Commission, appointed in terms of the Electoral Commission Act 51 of 1996. The differences between them — their establishment, independence, composition, powers, duties, functions and structures are described and discussed in their constitutional context. Editing by Lesley Hudson and Cora Hoexter.

270 FIFTEEN [15] parties are serious election contenders. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 18, 7 May 1999, p6.

R280 000 is required for parties seeking election to the National Assembly and to all nine Provincial Legislatures. Costs have proved too high for ten other parties who had already submitted lists of candidates. The article also comments on recent Opinion '99 survey results auspicious for the ANC and suggests reasons why they are so.

271 FINANCIAL Mail to support Holomisa's UDM. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 18, 7 May 1999, p5.

Following the announcement that the Financial Mail will support the United Democratic Movement in the general elections on 2 June 1999. 'Comment' speculates on the reasoning behind the editor Peter Bruce's preferences.

272 FOUCHÉ, Charl

The South African general election of 1999: a GIS case study. *Inside AfriGIS*, vol 2, no 1, December 1999, pp1–2.

Explains the use of the Geographic Information System employed by the Independent Electoral Commission to plan, manage and execute the 1999 election. Describes the setting up of the infrastructure, the initiation of the process in 1997, the data to be brought together, the parties involved, the software required, the site created, delimitation guidelines, maps created, their examination by Party Liaison Committees (PLCs), registration, the role of the GIS service in this, cluster mapping, information maps, and the critical part played by the GIS on election day itself, all highlighting the advantages of GIS as a management tool. The author concludes: 'The Independent Electoral Commission accomplished the impossible. They managed to build an impressive GIS infrastructure, hardware, software, data and GIS expertise, within a period of a few months. They used GIS as a building block to compile the first national common voters roll for South Africa. They used GIS technology in call centres, on the Internet and in the media to inform the nation about polling station locations. They used GIS on election day to inform management, the media, the public and the outside world about democracy in South Africa. They managed a voter turnout of over 89%, in a single day! The IEC has thus used GIS to plan and execute a successful election.'

273 FRASER, Stuart

... Use of technology in voter registration. Paper presented [at the] Commonwealth Election Management Program, Gaborone, Botswana 2–13 June 1997. Gaborone, Botswana: 1997, 5p.

The Assistant Director Operations, Australian Electoral Commission explains this simply, under the headings: Voter registration; what technology can be used ...; Why do we want/need it?; How do we do it; Australian example; What this means.

274 FREEDOM FRONT

1999 Freedom Front manifesto: we have a plan!, Lynwood Ridge, Pretoria: Freedom Front, 9, 4 leaves.

Claims to offer effective opposition policies and realistic solutions to present problems as well as a winning plan for 2000 and beyond. Focuses on the needs of the Afrikaner for councils, cantons and an Afrikaner home (volkstaat). In English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans title: Vryheidsfront-manifes. Another copy has attached to it a fax from Col PD Uys to EISA containing a brief description of the FF, certified as true and correct, together with a 22cm triangular coloured logo, and a black and white 10 x 15cm photograph of Gen Constand Viljoen.

275 FREEDOM FRONT (Free State)

Mondelinge voorlegging aan die Onafhanklike Verkiessingskommissie deur die Vryheidsfront, Vrystaat, te Pretoria op 17 Maart 1999. Verbal submission to the Independent Electoral Commission by the Freedom Front, Free State, at Pretoria on 17 March '99. Bloemfontein: Vryheidsfront, 1999, 5 leaves.

Proposal by the FF that the present thirty seats in the Free State Provincial Legislature should be increased to forty, with motivation arguments and supporting facts and statistics. Appendix A, 15 March 1999 confirms 'that the Rules and Orders of the Free State Legislature decided on Tuesday, 2 February 1999, that a joint multi-party submission be made to the Independent Electoral Commission to increase the number of seats of the Free State Provincial Legislature from 30 to 40.' The Freedom Front's motivation supports this.

276 FRIEDMAN, Steven

No easy stroll to dominance: party dominance, opposition and civil society in South Africa. In: *The AWKWARD embrace: one-party domination and democracy*, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Charles Simkins. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1999, pp97-126.

ISBN : 0-624-03729-0

Discusses the assumption that the post-election ANC will monopolise government for many years to come. Investigates the likelihood of South Africa becoming a 'dominant party system' and then examines the implication of this analysis for both opposition parties and the organisation of civil society.

277 FRIEDMAN, Steven

Results are a setback for 'countervailing power'. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 2, August 1999, pp7-8.

The elections have reduced 'countervailing power', a necessary element if government is to be held accountable to its electorate. However, argues Steven Friedman, this is no great cause for concern as there are other sites of countervailing power in South African society. (Journal introduction). He concludes that these could prove resilient despite the election results.

278 FRIEDMAN, Steven

South Africa: entering the post-Mandela era. *Journal of Democracy*, vol 10, no 4, October 1999, pp3–18.

The author, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, first presents a political analysis of the results of the 1999 elections, focusing on the extent to which these reflect a racially divided society, factors influencing the white vote and the effect that racial voting may have on the standard checks and balances of liberal democracy. Surveys 'countervailing factors' in the battle for power and the significance of Thabo Mbeki's stated policies. Discusses voter turnout and the attitudes this reflects. He concludes: 'The prospects for democracy in the next five years will depend primarily, not on improved public administration and enhanced "delivery" (though these remain important), but on the degree to which the fight against poverty and inherited inequality is pursued in a manner that recognizes that democratic intangibles matter to citizens as much as material improvements.'

279 FRIEDMAN, Steven

Who are we: voter participation, rationality and the 1999 election. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp213–223.

This article suggests that voting behaviour during the 1999 South African election refutes the claim (derived from rational choice theory, but common among South African elites) that voters base their decisions on whether or not to cast a ballot on mainly instrumental criteria. Rather, the election revealed a high degree of enthusiasm for democratic participation as an intrinsic value. The article argues that this has important implications for governance strategy, providing a critique of the prevalent assumption that democratic strengthening will depend largely on enhanced material 'delivery' rather than on broadening and deepening democracy. (Abstract) The author is the Director of the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.

280 FROST, Mervyn

Choosing an electoral system. *Suid-Afrikaan*, no 43, February/March 1993, pp19–22.

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, analyses 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.

281 FUTURE administration of elections. [Johannesburg]: Independent Electoral Commission, [1997], 10p.

Ten leaflets outlining the future administration of elections in the following aspects: activities of the Electoral Steering Committee; structure of the Electoral Commission; where are we now? (constitutional void, appointment of the Electoral Commission); delimitation, registration, GIS (Geographic Information System); enumeration, delimitation, critical areas and time frame.

282 GARBER, Larry

Election Commissions: responsibilities and composition. Washington, DC: National Institute for International Affairs, [1995], 8p.

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.

283 GARTENMANN, Tracy Vilella

An overview of strategies to increase women's participation in politics for the EISA Gender and Election Project. N.p: n.pub, 1998, [24p].

Draft paper, not for distribution without the express consent of the author, 5 June 1998. Aims to provide a basic overview of key issues in women's political involvement and electoral participation. Topics discussed include women in politics, political empowerment and obstacles to it, favourable electoral systems, gender machinery, quota systems, networking and the creation of a new women's party.

284 GAUTENG. *Election Update* 99, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp18–20.

Reviews the 1999 election results for Gauteng province, analyses the ANC's support base in various communities and describes the fortunes of the Democratic Party (DP) and other minority and opposition parties. Article and tables by the compilers of the Update. Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % votes and seats, by party, with comparative figures for 1994; Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting, votes and % voters, by party.

285 GAUTENG loses 13 seats in electoral review. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 12, 26 March 1999, p8.

Report that the Independent Electoral Commission has downsized three provincial legislatures, and increased the number in two, while leaving the National Assembly with 400 seats. Gauteng reduced by 13 to 73 seats, Western Cape by 3 to 39, North West by one seat to 33, Eastern Cape increases by 11 to 63 and Northern Province by 9 to 49. Remaining four provinces unchanged. Critical comment is based on the fact that the suspect 1996 census was used as the basis for calculations.

286 GEAR, Sasha

The hidden cost of housing. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 4, 26 May 1999, 2p.

Housing remains an election issue in 1999. This article presents a precis of a survey conducted in 1998, encapsulating people's experiences in the delivery of housing via the government's housing subsidy scheme, concentrating on location, transport and affordability.

287 GENDER and cultural identity: 'How South Africa's women are changing the nation's mind'. *The Bluestocking*, 1999, pp14–18.

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).

- 288 The GENERAL election.** In: SOUTH Africa Survey, 1999/2000, Millennium edition. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1999, pp322–330.

ISBN : 0-86982-464-3

As part of its Government and Constitution section the SAIRR's survey includes an overview of the 2nd June 1999 election. This it covers in two sections: Preparations for the election; allocation of seats; funding; voter registration, including controversies surrounding identity documents, and Election results; National Assembly; National Council of Provinces (NCOP); Provincial legislature. These are followed by a brief section summarising problems encountered. Tables are included.

- 289 GERBER, Brent**

Document on voter registration and demarcation, prepared for the Electoral Institute of South Africa. [Auckland Park, Johannesburg]: [EISA], [1998], 24p.

Comprehensive discussion of eligibility, registration and demarcation mainly from the perspective of experience gained in a large city. Presents practical steps to be taken to facilitate these processes.

- 290 GIBSON, B and KEENE-YOUNG, B**

Media fix; media briefs; IBA's formula for election broadcast airtime: media comment. Mindful media: media forum: media news. *Marketing Mix*, vol 17, no 5, May 1999, pp64–67.

Provides information on the following: the different advertising rates to be charged for M-Net's analogue and digital services; advertising rates charged by M-Net as compared to other television stations; black market trends over the past three years; the Independent Broadcasting Authority's regulations on pre-election political coverage; the role of media planners. Illustrates with photographs and a pie-chart. (ISAP).

- 291 GILIOME, 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, pp1–45.

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.

- 292 GILIOME, Hermann**

South Africa's emerging dominant-party regime. *Journal of Democracy*, vol 9, no 4, October 1998, pp128–142.

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.

293 GOD'S PEOPLE PARTY

... Constitution. Bethal, South Africa: God's People's Party, 1999, 9p.

The constitution first states five fundamental tenets and beliefs, then delivers its message to the South African people, followed by a summary in Afrikaans 'Aan al die mense' and twenty one real solutions for a working South Africa. It ends with nine exhortations to vote for the GPP — 'So put on God's armour now!' Attached are brief details concerning the founding date (1/7/1998), the name of President/Leader (J H J van Rensburg), the logo and part of the certificate of registration.

294 GOD'S PEOPLE'S PARTY

Manifesto. Bethal, South Africa: God's People's Party, 1999, 3p + 2p.

The party's manifesto outlines its beliefs and intentions. It sees the role government to rule strictly, honestly and justly, to protect individuals and groups without discrimination and to judge and punish according to Gods principles. Twenty-one 'real solutions for a working South Africa' are listed. Attached are brief details connected with the GCP party (founding date 1/7/1998), President/Leader, J H J van Rensburg, logo, a copy of certificate of registration as a political party and a coloured 10 x 13cm photo of the leader J H J van Rensburg.

295 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

The IFP/ANC code of conduct. *Helen Suzman Foundation Briefing*, no 15, June/July 1999, pp8–9.

Subject indicated by title.

296 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal report. *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp14–15.

Brief overview of the pre-election situation in KwaZulu-Natal, with specific references to Richmond, security and registration. Draws attention to the assassination of United Democratic Movement general secretary and KZN chairperson Sifiso Nkabinde on 23 January and its possible consequences.

297 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, p16.

Provides a brief report on poor registration in the province during the second registration period, together with some comments and reactions from political parties.

298 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp21–22.

Comments on the fears of political violence in the province and surveys the positions of the four major players — the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Democratic Party and the United Democratic Movement.

299 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp25–27.

Provides details of violent incidents between ANC and IFP supporters during the third voter registration process. Describes the situation regarding proposed commissions of inquiry, political parties and codes of conduct. Notes the resuscitation of the Electoral Code of Conduct Observer (ECCO) Commission chaired by Bishop Michael Nuttall.

300 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp19–21.

Reports on political development and rivalries in the province and on the election campaigns of the five principal protagonists — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Party (DP), New National Party (NNP) and United Democratic Party (UDM).

301 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp26–27.

Incidents of racial incitement are noted (including a controversial editorial in 'Ilanga'), and violence in Richmond, political infighting in the legislature, party campaigns and provincial candidates lists are described.

302 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp22–26.

Reports on registration, with the number of errors estimated at 5–6%; covers political campaigns in the Province, focusing on a political debate between five leaders of the ANC, IFP, NNP, DP and UDM parties held on 26 April 1999; notes animosity between the ANC and the IFP and concern for the possible escalation of violence; draws attention to the revival of the Electoral Code of Conduct Commission (ECCO Commission), chaired by Bishop Michael Nuttall and its planned awareness campaign.

303 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp24–28.

Circumstances surrounding the discovery of a huge arms cache on 10 May 1999 in Nguthu (and of another smaller one on the South Coast) are described, and the various reactions of the ANC to this are noted. Other topics include: peace talks between the ANC and the IFP; the signing of the Peace Process Code of Conduct in Durban on 14 May 1999; the signing by thirteen political parties on 5 May 1999 of the Electoral Code of Conduct at the invitation of the Electoral Code of Conduct (ECCO) Commission; rivalry for the Indian vote and campaigning in the area by eight political parties (IFP, UDM, Minority Front, AEB, PAC, AZAPO, SOPA, NNP).

304 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp28–29.

A mood of tolerance is reported to have pervaded campaigning in KwaZulu-Natal, the ANC have gained confidence and energy, Indian voters continue to be targeted and a massive security operation is planned for 2 June 1999. The author predicts a close race between the ANC and the IFP, and a hung Parliament. The article includes a brief report on court appearances following the arms cache discovery.

305 GOODENOUGH, Cheryl

KwaZulu-Natal. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp21–26.

The author, from the Helen Suzman Foundation, first analyses the results of the 1999 elections in KwaZulu-Natal, paying particular attention to the Indian vote and the fortunes of the Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi and his decision to form a coalition with the ANC. Includes information on politically motivated deaths in the province in the election Year 1998/99 (as compared to the election Year 1993/94 and categorised into regions) and on the operations of the Electoral Code of Conduct Observer (ECCO) Commission in the region. Reviews the first two sittings of the Provincial Legislature and their political implications. Introduction and tables by the compilers of the Update. Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes and seats, by party, with comparative figures for 1994; Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting, votes and % votes by party.

306 GOTTSCHALK, Keith

Find out how your political party promises to improve your quality of life. What do major political parties stand for? *Election Watch*, no 2, 15 May 1999, pp1–2.

‘Economic issues, especially creating jobs, and social issues, such as breaking the crime wave, feature prominently in the election manifestos of the rival parties competing for votes.’ The key issues, as reflected in the twelve major parties’ manifestos, are summarised.

307 GOUWS, Amanda

The gender dimension of the 1999 election. In: *ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Phillip, 1999, pp159–172.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

The Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch, and specialist in gender politics and voting behaviour, states: ‘The aim of this chapter is to analyse the 1999 election from a gender perspective by concentrating on women as members of the electorate, the issues in the campaign, the electoral system, the vote and the implications of the results for women as citizens.’

308 GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE GREEN PARTY

GPGP Green Party plan. Noordhoek, Cape: The Party, 1999, 1 leaf.

Encapsulates the party’s beliefs, and it’s plan to end battery and factory farming, provide more food, create more jobs and institute a creative unemployment programme.

309 GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE GREEN PARTY

Manifesto. Monkey Valley, Cape Town: The Party, 1999, [8p].

The party, claiming to be the first truly democratic system in the world, is founded on two main principles — ‘We are all one. All things are connected’, and ‘No more representative government’. The manifesto describes the actions the GPGP would initiate to ensure a democratic society with participation, creative self employment, and an end of battery farming. Includes a question and answer section on the subjects of crime, unemployment, the economy and education. Issued by Judy Sole.

310 GREEN-THOMPSON, Ashley

The South African Civil Society Observer Coalition. *NGO Matters*, vol 4, no 4, April 1999, p16.

Describes this new loose partnership between the South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference (SACBC), the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and a number of organisations involved in electoral matters (such as CORE and EISA) designed to recruit, train, accredit and deploy up to 15 000 observers on 2 June 1999. Defines the coalition’s critical role, notes some problems involved and emphasises the opportunity for participation that it given to ‘ordinary South Africans’. The coalition was later established as the ‘South African Civil Society Observation Coalition’, q.v.

311 GUIDELINES on government communication during an election period. N.p.: n.pub. 1999, 3p.

On 31 March 1999, the South African Cabinet decided on a possible ‘framework to be formulated to regulate against the dissemination of government information during election periods’ in a way that it is to the advantage of one political party and to the disadvantage of the others. It adopted the Guidelines on 28 April 1999.

312 GUMEDE, W M

The X factors: politics ’99. *Enterprise*, no 129, February 1999, pp26–27.

Comments that the 1999 election is being held in the harsh light of experience. Considers what that will mean for the competing parties and the new government. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

313 HABIB, Adam and NAIDU, Sanusha

Election ’99: was there a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Indian’ vote? *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 2000, pp189–199.

In the run-up to the 1999 elections, both academia and the media assumed that there would be a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Indian’ vote. This article challenges this assumption through a disaggregation of the election results. It illustrates an electoral heterogeneity within these communities with various classes voting in different ways. Moreover the article demonstrates that lower income Coloured and Indian people were more reluctant to vote for the ANC while the more privileged sectors threw in their lot with the ruling party. It concludes that this is largely the result of the simultaneous application of an affirmative action policy with a neo-liberal economic programme; the results of which enhance the material vulnerability of the poorest sectors of the Indian and Coloured communities. (Abstract) It includes tables: Household income and party support for the June 1999 election in selected Coloured areas and in selected

Indian areas. The authors are in the Department of Political Science at the University of Durban-Westville.

- 314 HABITS of violence.** *Economist*, vol 350, no 8104, 30 January 1999, pp38; 41.
Report and comment on the killing of United Democratic Movement (UDM) area leader Sifiso Nkabinde in Richmond, KwaZulu/Natal on 23 January 1999, and on the activities of PAGAD (People against Gangsterism and Drugs) in the Cape Flats.
- 315 HAFFAJEE, Ferial**
How he made it happen. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 10, 11 June 1999, pp39–40.
Describes the ANC's political campaign in the 1999 elections, its strategies and factual moves, and analyses the reasons for its resounding success. Quotes Bob Mattes: 'Delivery plus a good campaign plus no opposition equalled the ANC landslide'. Includes a photograph of Thabo Mbeki and a brief mention of his victory speech.
- 316 HAFFAJEE, Ferial and MTHOMBOTHI, Barney**
Kingmakers in the Northern and Western Cape Provinces: the coloured vote. Drop dictators — and the OAU. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 7, 21 May 1999, pp42–44.
Provides the following: a report on the African National Congress Northern Cape election campaign, also referring to the general significance of the so-called coloured vote in the Western Cape and the Free State; comment on the quality of political leadership in African countries, also referring to the role of the Organisation of African Unity. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).
- 317 HAFFAJEE, Ferial and JURGENS, Richard**
Moving on from 'Nel-son' to 'Tha-bo'. *Mail & Guardian*, 12–18 March 1999, pp4–5.
Reports on the beginning of the ANC's election campaign and on the contrasting styles of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki.
- 318 HAFFAJEE, Ferial and JURGENS, Richard**
South Africa's very own Sophia Loren. *Mail & Guardian*, 12–18 March 1999, pp4–5.
Describes incidents in Pieter-Dirk Uys' touring Ballot Bus programme, featuring Evita Bezuidenhout, undertaken to encourage voter registration under the banner of the Independent Electoral Commission.
- 319 HAFFAJEE, Ferial**
Taming the elephant. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 6, 14 May 1999, pp34–35.
Questions whether the Inkatha Freedom Party could lose its independence and identity after the 2 June 1999 election in the light of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's possible acceptance of the Deputy Presidency, and of its present political campaign which emphasizes concerns common to the ANC. Includes inserts on 'Inkatha's Roots' and on Buthelezi.

320 HARSANT, Angelique

Free State. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp26–28.

For this Province the report covers registration, the activities of the Independent Electoral Commission and a complaint of intimidation made to it. This is followed by summaries of the policies and views of ten political parties as expressed, 20–21 April, at a ‘political event’ arranged at the Free State University by the Political Literacy Programme, Department of Political Science. Among the minor parties participating were the Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa (DPSA) and the Labor Party (LP).

321 HARSANT, Angelique

Free State. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp28–30.

Reports on the activities of the Independent Electoral Commission in the area, on campaigning by six political parties (ANC, NNP, Freedom Front, UDM, ACDP, and the DP). Notes disputes over the ANC’s lists of candidates.

322 HARSANT, Angelique

Free State. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp30–33.

Discusses the activities of the Independent Electoral Commission, conflict management, observers, voting officials and special votes before presenting a party by party survey of campaigns in the Free State. Five major parties (ACDP, ANC, FF, NNP and UDM) are covered, and two less usual — the Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa (DPSA) and the Socialist Party.

323 HARSANT, Angelique

Free State. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp14–15.

Surveys the election results as they affect the Free State, analyses individual party performance, reviews conflict management in the area and local party support, and comments on the new Free State government. Introduction and tables by the compilers of *Election Update*. Tables: Provincial Legislature. Votes and % of votes, by party, with comparative figures for 1994; Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature. Votes and % of votes by party.

324 HASSIM, Shireen

Consolidating representation: post-election challenges. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 6, 9 August 1999, 2p.

Considers the significance of the June 1999 elections for women’s politics — the notable increase of women in cabinet, challenges remaining, the strategic use of political leverage to demand policy specificity and accountability to women’s interests. Notes the need to strengthen links between women parliamentarians and women’s organisations.

325 HASSIM, Shireen

The dual politics of representation: women and electoral politics in South Africa. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 2000, pp201–212.

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

organisations have articulated women's electoral interests. While women's organisations 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 emphasised, and an internal level at which differences between women are recognised 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.

326 HASSIM, Shireen

Gendering Parliament. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol 14, no 3, May 1999, pp19–22.

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.

327 HASSIM, Shireen

Tangible gains for gender in the first democratic government. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 3, 21 May 1999, 3p.

Attempts to assess progress towards gender equality in the five years following the 1994 elections and in the run-up to the 1999 elections. Notes the challenges faced, the achievements made, the relevant Acts passed and the vital role of the Joint Standing Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women. Discusses the role of women Cabinet Ministers and the problems facing women Members of Parliament. Concludes: 'The first five years of democratic government laid the groundwork for the development of progressive new policies and legislation. The challenge following the June elections will be to ensure that these frameworks are implemented.'

328 HASSIM, Shireen

Women and voting patterns: a study of the extent of electoral cohesion among women. N.p: n.pub, [1998?], 15p.

Gives details of an HSRC multi-year research project designed to investigate the needs and attitudes of women voters. It is proposed: 'To investigate, through a representative national survey, the needs and aspirations of women voters; To investigate the extent to which women constitute a definable electoral constituency in South Africa. In other

words, to what extent does gender identity translate into political interest; To investigate whether the “gender gap”, or the differences in male and female electoral behaviour, have validity in a transitional society.’ The paper describes the project’s rationale, problems, aims, research design and methodology, intended outcome, benefits, timetable, and the project team.

329 HAVENGA, R

Now its back to work, South Africa. *Management Today*, vol 15, no 6, July 1999, pp16–19.

Reaction from leading opinion-formers and business people to the election results and the task ahead for the new government. (ISAP).

330 HAWTHORNE, Peter

Mbeki takes charge: Africa. *Time*, vol 153, no 22, 7 June 1999, pp28–29.

States that Thabo Mbeki, South Africa’s next President awaits certain victory. Wonders whether the election will produce a credible opposition. (ISAP).

331 HAWTHORNE, Peter

The road ahead. *Time*, vol 153, no 8, 1 March 1999, pp34–35.

Reckons soaring crime is one of the problems President Nelson Mandela’s successor will have to face. Briefly discusses the problems the African National Congress (ANC) face in Parliament and looks at how other political parties in the country figure. Relates some South Africans fear that too much power to the ANC could be the beginning of the end for the country’s brave new democracy. (ISAP).

332 HAZELHURST, Ethel

Forget facts. It’s urble burble time. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 1, 9 April 1999, p16.

Critically examines the ANC’s economic, industrial and monetary policies as expressed in its 1999 election manifesto and notes some mutually exclusive aspects of them. Concludes that ‘whatever the sequel, the manifesto highlights the pressures caused by the multiple personalities of the ANC’.

333 HOME Affairs scandals may affect elections. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 12, 26 March 1999, pp5–6.

Describes a succession of crises involving Home Affairs Director-General Albert Mokoena: conflict with IEC Chairman Judge Kriegler over the provision of bar coded IDs and the independence of the Commission; media exposure of the alleged sales of counterfeit IDs with departmental involvement; his ownership and management of a professional basketball team, and problems with the finalisation of the voters’ roll.

334 HOW they line up. *Election Update* 99, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp1–2.

Reports that political parties wishing to participate in the elections had until 5pm on Monday, 3 May to pay the required deposit and submit their candidates’ list. Each party had to pay R100 000 to participate in the national election, and R20 000 for every province in which it wished to contest the elections. (A deposit is refundable if, and

when, the particular party gains a seat in the elections in which it participates.) Altogether, 31 political parties submitted lists. Of these 21 paid the required deposit to ensure participation, the other 10 did not. The names of the parties are listed. Subsequently five of the ten parties failed to pay the deposits by Friday 7 May, and, therefore, were excluded. The names of these parties are also listed. As a consequence, in all, 26 parties will be fighting the elections on 2 June 1999. A full page table is featured on p 2: 'Parties contesting National Assembly and Provincial Legislature Elections' indicating clearly which parties are contesting seats in the National Assembly, and which are standing for Provincial Legislatures.

335 HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Post-election focus 1999: a detailed guide to the 1999 election results. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: HRC, 1999, 93p.

'This report offers a brief overview of the June 22, election results at both the national and provincial level. The report also gives brief profiles of the current parties in parliament as well as the new cabinet. Unlike 1994, where scores of people were killed in the run-up to the election, 1999 saw only a few isolated incidents of violence. HRC's pre-election focus identified a number of potential flashpoints, this report revisits those areas and reports on various violent incidents believed to be election related. This report also looks at the Independent Election Commission's (IEC) performance on the day.' Research manager and editor: Sally Sealey. Contents: National election results '99; Political parties in Parliament (thirteen parties, with concise history of each and some comment on past performance); Cabinet (with profiles of the Cabinet members); Criminal justice system; Independent Electoral Commission; Election polls; Racial support; HRC: perspective on IEC officials, Presiding Officers, Local Electoral Officers and Observers (Observations of 2 June 1999: reports from Johannesburg Prison, South Johannesburg, Gauteng), Thokoza and Katlehong; Western Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, North West, Northern Cape; Challenges facing the new government. Tables are included for National results 1999 (by party, result, percentage, seats '99, seats '94, percentage) and for National election regional breakdown 1999, and Provincial results (by party with results and percentage).

336 HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Pre-election focus 1999: a detailed guide to the 1999 elections. Johannesburg: HRC, 1999, 53p.

Research manager and editor: Sally Sealey; researchers Shenaaz Meer, and others. 'This report offers a brief overview of the run-up to the June 2 elections. The key focus of the report is the identification of possible flashpoints during the pre-election phase and on June 2 itself. The HRC has identified possible flashpoints in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and Gauteng. Clearly, the levels of violence associated with this election are nowhere near the levels of 1994.' (Introduction) Contents: South Africa's political history at a glance (brief chronology, 1910-1999); Population: South Africa (table by province, subdivisions, area, male, female, total); Parliament (structure and functions; table of number of seats by province and risks of defections to various parties); Current state of parties in the National Assembly and in the Provincial Government; Independent Electoral Commission (constitutional issues, court cases, registration and voters roll); Profiles of politicians (leaders of the major

political parties contesting the June 2 1999 election); Sixteen parties will contest the national election; Party manifestos; Funding of political parties; Media access (role of the Independent Broadcasting Authority); Opinion polls (HSRC survey March 99); Election violence.

337 HUMPHRIES, Richard

Assessing the 1999 election machinery: views of political parties and other stakeholders. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp65–82.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

'Chapter 6 discusses the views of political parties towards various key policy and electoral machinery issues, including voter registration, voter education and state funding for political parties for election campaigning. Senior figures in each political party were interviewed after the election to elicit their views on these issues. A key component of the interviews was their perceptions of and comments on the IEC's role in guiding the country towards election day on 2 June 1999. Besides political parties, IEC personnel at national, provincial and local levels were also interviewed ... the author assessed the role of competing political parties in the election and concluded that elections are potentially divisive processes, pitting contending parties with their respective policy platforms and organisational machinery against one another in a race for votes. Viewed in this light, the 1999 South African election generated much less conflict than that which pervaded the founding democratic election in 1994. This chapter surveyed the views of political parties and some other actors on the IEC's handling of the electoral machinery. Although all political parties, large and small, had negative comments about aspects of the IEC's handling of the election, they felt that the IEC had "done a good job under the circumstances". Senior figures in each political party repeatedly noted that the 1999 election was conducted in a much better political and administrative environment than the 1994 election. They nevertheless pointed out that the IEC's planning for the 2004 general election had to start soon and not shortly before the next election.' (From 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion'.)

338 IDENTIFICATION documents — the latest. *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp3–4.

Reviews the latest state of play in the ongoing disputes surrounding the legal requirement of bar-coded IDs for registration and voting, the probability of legal actions and initiatives towards a settlement, said to be led by Nelson Mandela, to prevent a long legal process and possible delays to the election.

339 IEC. *Election Update 99*, no 1, 13 November 1998, p2.

Two concise reports: the first, 'The appliance of science' provides details on the cost and methods involved in the use of an electronic mapping system for district delimitation to provide a scientific basis for the compilation of the voters roll; the second, 'The IEC asks for more' deals with the under funding of the IEC who have been given only R500m of the R965m originally requested. An additional R100m granted towards the cost of a new voters roll has reduced the shortfall somewhat, but is nevertheless still an inadequate amount.

340 The IEC. *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, p7.

This article includes reports that the IEC have confirmed that the ballot papers will be printed locally; that they have published regulations for voter education accreditation in Government Gazette No 19529, 24 November 1998; that Great Britain has committed R11 m to the IEC for the training of officials in election skills; and that the IEC has been cited as respondent in cases being brought by the NNP and the DP to challenge the regulations that only people with bar-coded IDs can register to vote.

341 IEC. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, p3.

Brigilia Bam was appointed Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission on 19 February 1999 (replacing Johann Kriegler). This brief article notes favourable reactions to the appointment, and includes some statements from her on the position and objectives of the IEC.

342 IEC. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, p3.

Presents a concise overview of issues of concern to the IEC, noting that a draft election timetable was published on 4 March, that a case brought on behalf of prisoners demanding the right to vote was rejected by the Pretoria High Court on 23 February, that the IEC's management capacity has been augmented by the arrival of 35 international advisers and consultants, that the IEC itself is confident about its level of preparedness, and that Nelson Mandela has announced his intention to proclaim 2 June as election day.

343 IEC. *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, p3.

A brief article recording concerns expressed about the independence, or otherwise, of the IEC, noting complaints by the New National Party, and trouble in the Kimberley area revolving around the dismissal of Johan Griesel.

344 IEC cash flows. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, p4.

Largely based on a Mail & Guardian report, of 5 February 1999, on the seemingly excessive costs incurred by the IEC in its head hunting of senior staff, and on the salaries likely to be paid to them. Gives details of the recruitment firms involved, and on possible conflicts of interest arising.

345 IEC: as much reason for disquiet as satisfaction: editorial. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 9, 12 March 1999, p14.

Comments on reasons for the widespread unease that still exists despite the Independent Electoral Commission's claim to have registered seventy percent of South African voters. (ISAP).

346 IEC: finances — the cupboard is bare. *Election Update 99*, no 2, 27 November 1998, p3.

Brief reports on the financial difficulties facing the Independent Electoral Commission, on the rejection of their request for a further R230m in addition to the R640m already received, and on the announcement by the Open Society Foundation of a promised donation of R7m to the IEC to be used for voter education.

- 347 IEC: registration.** *Election Update* 99, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp2–4.
 Reports on registration figures as released on 31 March 1999. Total 18 045 587. These indicate an average registration level of 79.25% of the eligible electorate. The article includes a table, and a political analysis of provincial situations. Mentions the need for liaison committees, and the importance of election monitoring. The dismissal in the Northern Cape of LEO Johan Griesel, together with twelve of his team, is discussed, and the consequences assessed.
- 348 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, pp74–89.
 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, 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).
- 349 INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY**
 Elections 1999. Report on coverage of the 1999 general elections. N.p: Independent Broadcasting Authority, 1999, various paging.
 Report dated July 1999, on the IBA's mandate to monitor the fair and equitable treatment of political parties in the 1999 election. Contents: Chairperson's report, by Mandla Langa, project report, monitoring analysis, complaints and mediation, and financial report. Appendices include: Correspondence with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC); ANC complaints; Broadcasting Monitoring and Complaints Committee (BMCC) ruling on Federal Alliance (FA) complaint and community broadcasters and broadcasting areas.
- 350 INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY**
 1999 elections: regulations and guidelines. [Johannesburg?]: IBA, 1999, various paging.
 Contents: Executive Summary focusing on advertisements and Party Election Broadcasts (PEBs) and the allocation of time for these. (4p.); 'Regulations relating to party election broadcasts, political advertisements, the equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting licensees and related matters in respect of the 1999 general elections.' (11p) Annexures: A: List of regional and national SABC stations as well as their prime listenership times. B: National and regional stations formulae to calculate the allocation of party election broadcasts. C: Guidelines for broadcasters.
- 351 INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY**
 Notice to increase daily time-slots for the transmission of election broadcasts on the regulations and guidelines relating to party election broadcasts and political advertisements during the election period for the 1999 general elections. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20051, 5 May 1999, 2p.
 Specific provisions in respect of election broadcasts: revised regulations. General Notice No 815 of 1999 increases time-slots from four to eight of two minutes each, in

terms of Section 4.2.1 of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 153 of 1993, Regulations, Government Notice R427 of 1.04.99.

352 INDEPENDENT Electoral Commission (IEC). Access, vol 1, quarterly 3, July 1999, pp22–23.

'This article examines the IEC's role in terms of recommendations by looking at the IEC's mandate, the function of the IEC in terms of recommendations, a case example, and NIP's [New Institutions Project's] findings.' (Journal introduction). The case example is that of the prisoners' right to vote. Concludes that, thus far, the IEC is implementation driven.

353 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Atlas of results, National election 1999, South Africa. Pretoria: Independent Electoral Commission, 1999, various paging.

ISBN : 0-620-24661-8

Editorial Board: Melanie du Plessis, Managing Editor, Howard Sackstein, Editor, Norman du Plessis, Editor-in-Chief. The foreword, by Brigalia Bam (IEC Chairperson) and Mandla Mchunu (Chief Electoral Officer) emphasizes the role played by the creation of South Africa's first accurate and inclusive Geographic Information Systems (GIS) database in providing a comprehensive electronic map linked to census data, which, in turn laid the foundation for delimitation, registration and electoral processes. This atlas, using the techniques of Spatial Management Reporting (SMR), records trends and illustrates graphically the results of the 1999 National elections. It provides an analysis of the geographical support-bases of individual political parties and shows the degree of marginality of party support in individual voting districts. Table of Contents: A. Voting-age population density; B. Locations of voting stations; C. Voter registration; D. Voter turnout; E. Spoilt votes; F. Summary of election results (National summary, Provincial summary); G. Leading party by voting district; H. Party support by voting district (ANC, DP, IFP, NNP, UDM, ACDP, PAC, VF/FF, UCDP, FA, AEB, AZAPO, MF, AITUP); I. Lead or lag by voting district. (National views, provincial views and metropolitan views); J. Seat allocation (National Assembly seats by party, Provincial Legislature seats by party); K. Comparison of election results. (1994, 1995/6 and 1999 election results; 1999 National and provincial election results; National and provincial results (Cape MC, Mmabatho). Accompanied by a CD-ROM: 1. Elections '99 results database 2. Powerpoint presentations, in order of table of contents.

354 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Call Centre operators training manual. Results Verification System & Polling Station Reporting System. (Pretoria): IEC. IT-Training, 1999, 36p.

Issued May 1999. Provides technical information and instructions for Call Centre Operators relating to: The Results Verification System (Logging in to the Network; Logging in to the Results Verification System; Results Verification System main screen; Accessing the telephone input screen; Capturing telephone results; Updating telephone results; Changing your password; Logging out); Polling Station Reporting System (PSRS) (Accessing the system; Receive call from polling station; Call polling station; Logging out); Problem reporting form procedure. These procedures are

designed to capture both national and provincial telephone results of each Voting District, to record details on the status of polling stations (i.e. whether they are open or closed) and also to record voter turnout figures at regular intervals during the day, as well as to record details of voting stations experiencing problems.

355 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election Centre '99. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1999, 16 leaves.

Coloured brochure [reflecting overhead transparencies?] for results, history, solutions, processing, process structure, reconciliation, verification, database, establishment of centre (with plan), Pretoria showgrounds, Election Centre, media, results '99.

356 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election '99: counting handbook. [Pretoria]: IEC. Electoral Staff Recruitment and Training, 1999, 27p + 4p. (Handbook 2, Counting)

This manual was designed to provide election officers with specific guidance and 'the necessary information' about the voting procedures, the counting process and the layout and management of the counting station. Contents: Introduction to counting, overview of the counting process, materials to be used during the count, the counting steps, group discussion, role and functions of the counting officer, questionable ballot papers, the results slips, role and functions of counters, party agents (role during voting and counting), observers (roles and responsibilities), and Annexure to counting handbook — Valid and rejected ballots.

357 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Election '99: voting handbook. [Pretoria]: IEC. Electoral Staff Recruitment and Training, 1999, 48p. (Handbook 1, Voting)

This voting training manual has been designed to provide election officers with specific guidance and 'the necessary information' about the voting procedures to be followed during the 1999 General Election. Contents: Part 1: Background; Part 2: Introduction to election '99; Part 3: Voting process (What voting officers do?, Special votes and declaration vote applications, voting by tendered ballot); Voting on election day 2 June 1999 (Common problems to be resolved, Mobile voting); Group discussions; Party agents; Observers, and Annexure to voting handbook: Material checklist.

358 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Elections '99. [Pretoria?]: IEC, 1999, 48p.

Coloured, illustrated glossy brochure. Editor in Chief: Howard Sackstein. Editor: Dr Bertie du Plessis. Contents. Foreword; Code of Conduct; key figures in elections '99; structures of the IEC, legal framework; past and present; election timetable; GIS; delimitation; registration; staffing and training; logistics; results and seat allocation; establishment of election centre; facilities and procedures; floor plans; Parliamentary representation; National ballot paper; Provincial ballot papers; administration; establishment of IT infrastructure; communications; provinces; democracy development and voters' education; '94 results; acknowledgements. Coloured illustrations, ballot papers, tables and maps.

359 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Elections '99: observers. [Pretoria?]: IEC, 1999, 23p. (Handbook 4: Voting process)

The aims and objectives of this handbook are, as stated, to introduce and describe the process of voting (including the layout of voting stations) and to explain the roles, functions and responsibilities of observers.

360 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Free and fair election: the criteria for determination. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1998, 3p. (Backgrounder # 7)

'The phrase "free and fair election" is used to refer to an electoral process in which basic human rights are honoured in a reasonably level electoral "playing field", which provides equitable access to voters, political parties and candidates.' This IEC communication lists nineteen elements a 'free and fair' election must include and poses questions the Election Administration Directorate, the Monitoring Directorate and the Adjudication Secretariat must answer in order to supply the IEC Commissioners with the information necessary for them to make a decision on the freeness and fairness of the election and election related events.

361 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

IEC/MTN voter information line. Pretoria: IEC, 1999, 2p.

The IEC announces that MTN is the latest addition to companies co-operating with the IEC in the running of smooth free and fair elections. A new 24 hour information line, able to handle 60 000 calls an hour, will provide the public with information concerning their registration and exact polling station. On election day a second service will provide access to election updates throughout the day.

362 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Informal multi-party discussion: new electoral legislation Cape Town 4 February 1998. Cape Town: IEC, 1998, various paging.

Folder. Contents: Invitation to attend, and acceptance, programme, participants, CVs of Commonwealth team, discussion paper: a new Electoral Act, Electoral Commission, draft Electoral Act [overheads], summary of media project (EISA) and its impact on the electoral process, together with possible questions and answers, prepared by Raymond Louw.

363 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Local Electoral Officer: registration process manual, 1999 elections. N.p: n.pub, [1998], 48p.

Draft. 'This manual explains how and why registration takes place, who may apply to register as a voter, and where and when one may apply to register to vote.' Compiled to help Local Electoral Officers (LEOs) co-ordinate the process of registration, the manual covers the legal requirements for registration, the registration process itself and registration help-line details.

364 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Political parties to contest the election on 2 June 1999. Pretoria: IEC, 1999, 3 leaves.

Lists the political parties participating in the election: National, followed by the nine provinces, separately (in alphabetical order). Dated 8 May 1999.

365 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Report on Conflict Management Committees & Mediation and Arbitration Panels for the National Assembly and Provincial elections June 1999. Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, 94p.

Evaluates the success of the IEC Conflict Management Programme during the 1999 elections, outlines the mechanisms employed and sets out detailed recommendations for the future. Specifically describes the initiation of the Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution Project, its strategies (including the Electoral Code of Conduct and the establishment of an Electoral Court), the creation of Conflict Management Committees, their structure and administrative infrastructure, staffing, training and methodology. Detailed documentation is included in the eleven Annexures, A–L. Report produced and published by the Electoral Institute of South Africa Johannesburg, October 1999.

366 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Tender invitation ... Johannesburg: IEC, 1998, various paging.

Pack includes tender invitations for Tenders number 0168: Service number 4A: Recruitment of staff; 4(B): PR and media consultants; 4(C): Advertising agencies; 4(D): Courier services; 4(E): Security services; 4(F): Telephone services; 4(G): Staff training; 4(H): Cleaning services; 4(I): Travel agents; 4(J): Printing and binding — as well as Tender invitations for Commercial banking services, Financial management services, Internal financial and performance audit, Motor finance, Payroll management; Electoral equipment audit. Compulsory briefing sessions for each are to be held in Pretoria on Thursday 22 January, 1998. Closing date for submission of quotations is Monday 9 February 1998.

367 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION. Communication & Information Directorate

Layout of polling stations. Pretoria: IEC, 1999, [3p].

Subject as indicated by title. Includes layout of the counting station. Plans only, no text.

368 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION. Directorate Media Relations

IEC team returns from United States with prestigious award. Pretoria: Independent Electoral Commission, 2000, 2p.

Media release issued at a briefing in Pretoria on 9 June. Records the technological firsts that won the IEC the 2000 Computerworld Smithsonian Award in Washington DC made to the IEC for its 'unprecedented efforts in using technology to further the ends of democracy'. Among these were GIS, the Wide Area Network (WAN) that connected 526 sites throughout South Africa via satellite, 'Zip-zip' machines

custom-developed to read information off ID book bar codes during the registration and to send these details via WAN, and the Election Centre. Notes the role played by Anderson Consulting in setting up the technological infrastructure for the 1999 election that enabled the IEC to bridge the urban-rural gap and to deliver on its strategic objectives — free and fair elections.

369 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Election '99: make South Africa governable. Manifesto. N.p: IFP, 1999, 6p.

This election manifesto message from Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP President, covers jobs, crime, government of delivery, education, values and, concludes with the way forward. Voters are invited to join the IFP's Revolution of Goodwill and make South Africa a better place for all. Another copy consists of one coloured, folded, concertina'd page. Front cover is IFP logo, back cover portrait of Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Contents identical.

370 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

In re: the application to certify the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1996, as amended. Written argument of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Cape Town: IFP, 1996, 11p.

In the Constitutional Court of South Africa Case No CCT/36/96, argument submitted by J H van der Merwe, MP, Chief Whip of the IFP to the Registrar of the Constitutional Court, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, via fax, November 5, 1996. The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] associates itself with the written argument filed on behalf of the province of KwaZulu-Natal and endorses such opposition as its own. This submission puts forward additional objections and arguments, principally concerning the powers and functions of traditional leaders (including the monarchy), and of the provinces and their possible diminution. Covering letter from J H van der Merwe to the Registrar of the Constitutional Court attached.

371 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Policy documents. Executive summaries. N.p: Mandla Publishing, 199?, 84p.

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.

372 IRISH, Kerry

Media Monitoring Project. *NGO Matters*, vol 4, no 4, April 1999, pp10–11.

Recounts the history of the MMP, topics tackled since its launch in 1993, its ongoing monitoring of racism, human rights and gender in the media and the processes and methods involved in this. Media evaluations are undertaken. Sustainability remains the biggest problem.

373 ISINDISO-SALVATION CHRISTIAN VOICE ORGANISATION

ISCVO for Jesus. N.p: ISCVO, 1999, 2p.

Two page fax, dated 24 Apr. 1999, from a party founded on Christian principles whose goal is to transform the present ungodly leadership of South Africa to one reflecting a voice of God in Jesus' name. Page 1. Diagrammatic representation of the party's beliefs and logo. Page 2. Photocopy of portrait of the President Godfrey Vusimusi Zitha, with cellphone contact number.

- 374 ISSUE: a Journal of Opinion**, vol 27/2. vol 27, no 2, New Brunswick, NJ: African Studies Association Press, 1999, entire issue, 52p.

'The relative uneventfulness of the South African elections may well be the biggest story of all. As all of the authors in this Issue agree, the elections indicate that South Africa is well on its way to consolidating its multiracial democracy. While massive social, economic and racial problems remain, all of the significant political actors seem willing to work within the electoral and legal systems set forth in the new constitution. Although some violence accompanied the elections, its scale and significance, both human and political were far less than was true in 1994. As is so often the case on the Continent, "success" at democracy has resulted in very muted Western press coverage. In this issue, we seek to highlight the importance of these elections and to explore some of the issues that arise out of them. The articles in this issue bring us analyses from South Africa. The articles are organized from more general topics, such as democratic consolidation, to more specific ones, such as the effects of the elections in particular locations. Included are articles on political culture, women, "coloured" and Indian voters, and the place and future of opposition parties. Together and individually, the articles provide numerous insights into the current political situation in South Africa. While they all point to numerous challenges ahead, they also celebrate the uneventfulness — the "normality" — of the elections and the importance of this normality for South African democracy.' (Editor's Introduction, Stephen Orvis). The articles in this Issue are all individually recorded in this bibliography.

- 375 JACOBS, Sean**

The coloured vote in the Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp45-48.

Scrutinises the nature of the 'coloured vote', incorrect assumptions concerning it, its expression at the polls in 1994 and in 1999 and the post-election analysis of it. Focuses on the fortunes of the New National Party, the improved showing of the ANC, key election issues and fears, coloured preferences and the effects of registration regulations.

- 376 JACOBS, Sean**

The media and the elections. In: *ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp147-158.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Focuses on three major aspects of the role of the media in the 1999 elections. Firstly the elections point to the limited influence of mainstream print media on the voter preferences of the majority of voters (i.e. blacks). Secondly, opinion polling has become an integrated part of election coverage. Thirdly, the media emphasized the margins of victory between the political parties rather than issues being debated. Notes an intensification of debate on media independence.

377 JACOBS, Sean and NGWENA, Siph

Slip-sliding away. *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, pp36–41.

‘Opposition parties remain small and seem to pose no threat to the ANC in 1999. However, there are a couple of dark horses which could pose a few surprises.’ The authors survey eight parties likely to contest the election, giving, for each, the name of the leader, percentage support in the 1994 election and seats in the National Assembly. They assess their support base, their appeal to constituents and prospects of success or otherwise. The parties examined are, in order: National Party; Inkatha Freedom Party; Freedom Front; Democratic Party; Pan-Africanist Congress; African Christian Democratic Party; United Democratic Movement and Azapo. The article is illustrated by colour portraits of Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Tony Leon, Stanley Mogoba, and Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa. Letters expressing critical reaction appear in *Siyaya!*, Issue 2, Winter 1998, pp62–63, from James Selfe, DP MP, Louis M. Green, ACDP Deputy President, and B H Skosana, MP, Chairperson of the IFP.

378 JACOBS, Sean and CALLAND, Richard

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp17–19.

Discusses reasons for the low level of registration, the present position and strategies of the parties, local and key political issues, and the role of the media.

379 JACOBS, Sean and CALLAND, Richard

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp21–24.

Reports on the political situation in the Western Cape Province, the New National Party (NNP)’s decline, defections, the United Democratic Movement (UDM)’s mainly ethnic, Xhosa-speaking, support and on the PAC’s list of candidates.

380 JACOBS, Sean and CALLAND, Richard

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp19–21.

Considers the possibility of a post-election coalition between the New National Party (NNP) and the ANC, since neither party seems likely to obtain an outright majority. Both target the coloured vote. Other possible forms of alliance are discussed.

381 JACOBS, Sean and CALLAND, Richard

Western Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp19–21.

‘With less than three weeks to go before the elections, the campaign strategies of the major parties fighting for seats in the Provincial Legislature have concentrated on two things: trying to gain the upper hand in the struggle for the votes of the coloured majority, and winning the slogan war.’ (Introduction)

382 JEFFERY, Anthea

Every vote counts. *Focus*, 20, December 2000, pp17–21.

‘The right to vote is the foundation stone of all the rights guaranteed in the Constitution, for it preserves all other liberties. Yet the Constitutional Court upheld the bar-coded ID requirement that prevented an estimated five to six hundred thousand people from voting in what was only the country’s second democratic election.’ Anthea Jeffery, who holds a doctorate in human rights law from the University of

London, presents a detailed examination of its decision, reached on 13–14 April 1999, rejecting the appeals of the New National Party and the Democratic Party. On April 13 Judge Zac Yacoob handed down the majority judgement in the NNP case. On April 14 Judge Richard Goldstone delivered the majority judgement in the DP case and simply concurred with Yacoob's judgement of the previous day. In both cases the Court divided — with Judge Kate O'Regan dissenting from the majority rulings. Jeffery looks closely at these, points out issues that Yacoob failed to address, criticises his findings and sometimes circular reasoning, and finds O'Regan's conclusion to be sound. She herself concludes: 'The Constitutional Court has always stressed independence from the executive and from the ruling party. It has also invalidated post-1994 legislation and executive action on various occasions and no final conclusion about its potential "executive-mindedness" can be reached without taking these judgements into account. But the right to vote is the most fundamental of all in any democracy and is particularly important in this country. In addition, it was clear that the ruling party, with its determination to obtain a two-thirds or 'overwhelming' majority, had a keen interest in the contested provisions. Here, then, was an opportunity for the Constitutional Court to strike two simultaneous blows for constitutional democracy: to restore the right to vote to those who had clearly enjoyed it prior to October 16, 1998 but thereafter stood to lose it; and to demonstrate its independence from the ruling party on an issue of seminal importance to it. Instead, the majority of the Court upheld the contested provisions and did for reasons that are flawed and unconvincing. There are defining moments in the history of countries and their most important institutions. The Constitutional Court decision on voting rights figures as one of these.'

383 JOHNSON, R W

Can the ANC win the Western Cape? *Focus*, 16, November 1999, pp2–8.

Discusses the province's sharply polarised politics and the future of its ruling coalition. Examines the prospects of the ANC taking over the province and the reasons why they are so very anxious to do this. Touches on the bitter racial polarisation still evident in the Western Cape, the ANC's 'struggle mode' campaigns. Analyses the significance of the coloured vote, giving percentages, the undermining of the legitimacy of the New National Party (NNP) and the involvement of the SACP–COSATU nexus and its success in mobilising workers votes. Depicts the morose mood of Cape Coloureds and the optimistic attitude of white voters. The emergence of the Democratic Party as a major player is described, and the future of the NNP questioned. Figures based on election results and on 'our [i.e. the Helen Suzman Foundation: MarkData] post-election survey data'.

384 JOHNSON, R W

How to use that huge majority. *Focus*, 16, November 1999, pp33–36.

The director of the Helen Suzman Foundation reports that their post-election survey, conducted by MarkData, finds that voters would like to see all races and parties participate in government, and that some even hankered after a government of national unity. The article analyses voter turnout, election results, political party allegiance and voters' attitudes to campaigns, parties and key issues.

385 JOHNSON, R W

J'accuse! *Finance Week*, 22 October 1999, p22.

'Helen Suzman Foundation director Bill Johnson says SA's press, including this magazine [Finance Week] fears tackling the uncomfortable issues of the new order.' His article reviews the pressures for political conformity and their consequences during the 1999 elections and in the post-election period. It gives specific examples of newspapers' election endorsements, and notes the role of political correctness in the position-taking of the media. The article is extracted from a speech to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

386 JOHNSON, R W

Parties, issues and political fragmentation. *Focus*, no 7, May 1997, pp1-9.

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.

387 JOHNSON, R W and JOHNSTON, Alexander

Pressure builds for an election deal. *KwaZulu-Natal Briefing*, February 1998, pp7-10.

Despite Chief Buthelezi having ruled out an IFP/ANC merger, the authors seriously consider the possibility of a joint electoral ticket as one way of avoiding 'bruising electoral confrontation'. They note good working relationships and top level collaboration in national and provincial cabinets, and other favourable considerations as well as reservations, negative attitudes and deep rooted fears.

388 JOHNSON, R W

A seismic shift in power for the province? *KwaZulu-Natal Briefing*, 14, March 1999, pp17-24.

Tension remains high between the majority IFP and its minority coalition party the ANC. In October 1998 the Helen Suzman Foundation commissioned MarkData to carry out a national opinion survey. Johnson separates the data for KwaZulu-Natal and in Table 1 compares the distribution of party preferences with the actual votes cast in 1994 for the nine main political parties. The results of the survey show the ANC pulling ahead. Johnson warns however that survey results should be treated with caution, and notes some 'unknown' factors that influence both these results and the final vote. Against this background he assesses the position and prospects of the major parties — the IFP, ANC, UDM, NNP, MF, DF, FF — their aims, campaigns, disadvantages, and problems. He concludes: 'the political parties are advancing somewhat uncertainly across this uncharted terrain.'

389 JOHNSON, R W

The South African electorate at mid-term. *Focus Letter*, no 6, February 1997, pp1–6; 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.

390 JOHNSON, R W

Voting and the fear factor. *Focus*, 13, February 1999, pp29–32.

Analyses the replies to the Helen Suzman foundation's opinion survey conducted in October 1998 by MarkData investigating the possibility of political disagreement within communities. Concludes that intolerance remains a fact of political life and that 'probably between a quarter and a third of the African electorate does not feel free to vote as it wishes'.

391 JOHNSON, R W

Winners and losers. *KwaZulu-Natal Briefing*, February 1998, p10.

In a 'box' following his joint article with Alexander Johnston, 'Pressure builds for an election deal', q.v. the author predicts how a joint ticket might affect voting in 1999.

392 JOHNSTON, Alexander

The 1999 election and South Africa's post-apartheid political culture. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp17–23.

The author, Professor of Politics, and Head of the School of Undergraduate Studies in the Faculty of Human Sciences at the University of Natal, first outlines the true significance of the 1999 election, and points out some of the contradictions within South Africa's political culture, before analysing the country's late democratization under two main headings: State and Market; and Nationalism in Post-apartheid South Africa. The author concludes: 'Much of South Africa's admirable progress since 1990 has been achieved by cultivating a political culture of incorporation and compromise, which tended to postpone or dilute sharp choices and painful decisions. The first year or so of the new government's tenure will clarify whether a whole host of occupational and identity groups — ranging from traditional leaders, emerging black capitalists, and organized workers to Zulus, Afrikaners, and skilled white professionals — remain incorporated in a constellation of political subcultures, held together by the electoral hegemony and diplomatic ingenuity of the ANC. The alternative is for a more integrated national political culture and a more coherent vision of the national interest to emerge. That will not be easy ...' This article is a shortened, revised, and updated version of 'Political Parties and Political Culture in Post-apartheid South Africa', a paper delivered at a conference on contemporary South African history and politics, in Dublin, on March 5 1999, organised by the South African Embassy in Dublin.

393 JOHNSTON, Alexander

The left and the ANC alliance. Nationalism, socialism and the future of South African politics. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 1, Autumn 1999, pp36–41.

The Professor of Politics at the University of Natal, Durban, looks at the relationship between nationalism and socialism in South Africa, their combination in the liberation struggle, their roles in post-apartheid South Africa, the contradictions between them and the tough strategic choices faced by socialists. Johnston questions whether South Africa needs, or can afford, the continued ambiguity and lack of precision concerning the place and role of ideology in its politics, and in the political platforms competing for voters' allegiance.

394 JOHNSTON, Alexander and JOHNSON, R W

Preparing for next year's big test. *KwaZulu-Natal Briefing*, March 1998, pp22–24.

The authors 'discuss the complexities of ANC provincial politics in the run-up to the election'. The article focuses on the contest for the Chairmanship of the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal and the background and history of the major candidates and contestants. Describes the relations between the ANC and the IFP in that area and the special problems it poses for the provincial ANC. Touches on the reliability or otherwise of a recent Data Research Africa poll.

395 JONES, Zenaide

Political parties on the Internet. *The Star*, 1999, p12.

An analysis of online electioneering, asking the question 'Are they technophobes or technophiles? If they can't manage a website, can they manage a nation?' The findings are presented in tabulated forms under web page, style, substance, languages, links, people, discussion, search, interactivity. Illustrated in colour.

396 JUNE 2 is the date set for SA's general elections, but lagging voter registrations are still a major concern. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 9, 5 March 1999, pp1–2.

Reports the intention by President Mandela to proclaim 2 June as the date of the General Elections. Gives reasons for this early announcement, and for the choice of date. Notes concern over voter registration by the Human Sciences Research Council.

397 JUSTICE AND FREEDOM ALLIANCE

... Policy discussion booklet. Braamfontein, Gauteng: Jafa Media Division, 1997, 56p.

This first edition, August 1997, is described as 'a shortened version of some of Jafa's documents compiled into a historical and discussion booklet'. Included are its 'Blueprint of worlds foremost governmental (political) dispensation', partner provisos and policy statement for acceptance to Alliance, press release (17 May 1995), its constitution manifestos, 1995 and 1996, its ethical code of conduct and oath, alliance partners (SOFASONKE party and CORRLUSA), leader's annual address 3 May 1996 and its JUMLAC campaign against crime. Attached is a two page handwritten description of the party, submitted by its leader Barry Nilsson to EISA, 15 April 1999, which includes a list of the nine 'top members'.

398 KADIMA, Denis

The context of political participation and competition in South Africa and Malawi. In: KADIMA, Denis. Second elections and the status of political participation and competition in selected SADC countries. Paper prepared for the Development Update. N.p: Development Update, [1999], pp2–5.

The author states: 'Both of these countries demonstrate the institutional, political and administrative challenges of ensuring free and fair second elections ... I shall give a limited account of how political participation and competition is affected by such factors as the nature of the political transition in each country, the character of the electoral commissions, levels of violence and intimidation, party funding, primary elections, and access to the media and national resources.

399 KADIMA, Denis

Second elections and testing democracy: political participation and competition in the Southern African Development Community. *Development Update*, vol 3, no 1, October 1999, pp31–41.

Denis Kadima of the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) reviews recent elections in four African countries. He states: 'I will profile four countries: South Africa, Malawi, Lesotho and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) — using them as examples on a continuum of democratic consolidation and dissolution from which to draw my conclusions for the SADC region. On one end, South Africa and Malawi will illustrate the institutional, political and administrative challenges of ensuring free and fair second elections. Lesotho will provide an example of a transition that has failed to bring about democratic consolidation. And, at the other end of the continuum, the DRC will illustrate a political transformation to democracy subsequently eclipsed by the emergence of the authoritarian Kabila regime.' Factors considered include intimidation, violence, funding, primary elections, media, resources and the nature of their electoral commissions.

400 KEENAN, Ted

DP turns on marketing magic: marketing and advertising. *Finance Week*, 11 June 1999, p37.

Reports on the following in the fields of advertising and marketing ... speculation about the Democratic Party's election campaign budget. (SAS)

401 KEENAN, Ted

More smoke than fire?; DP hits pay-dirt: marketing and advertising. *Finance Week*, 4 June 1999, p39.

Reports on the following in the fields of marketing and advertising: the implications of government's possible ban on tobacco in terms of lost revenue; the Democratic Party's election campaign which was characterised by the phrase 'fight back'. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

402 KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY

Kiss. Where have all the jobs gone? What are our rights? Can we raise the Rand? Let's kiss it better. N.p: KISS, 1999, 4p.

Coloured leaflet. Front cover: portrait of Claire Emary. p2 The constitution of South Africa listing six powers and principles to ensure good governance. p3 Illustration of positive power. p4 The KISS manifesto: a business maxim: 'Keep It Simple Stupid' advocating a free economy, a simple tax code and competitive currency with control of state spending. With the leaflet a fax dated 10 February 1999 from Claire Emary to Professor T. Lodge containing a memo re: the role of small parties, arguing that 'if these elections are genuinely to be "free and fair" then entry should be free'.

403 KHOSA, Meshack

Voting in action: focus group and workshop findings. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp83–105.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

'In Chapter 7 the author presents the findings of an HSRC election study based on workshops and focus group discussions held throughout South Africa during July 1999. The aim was to assess the voting public's perception of the efficiency of the electoral process, voter education, voter registration as well as voting and vote counting.' (Introduction). He concludes that the participants were generally appreciative of the handling of the logistics of the election. They also expressed the view that the success of the election illustrated a deepening of democracy, tolerance and patriotism. They commended the IEC for its management of the election and considered the voting stations to be accessible, voting to be free and fair, and voting procedures to be efficient.

404 KNOTT, Caroline

An analysis of the election results by the Democratic Party. *Election Watch*, no 3, 15 July 1999, pp3–4.

A researcher for the Democratic Party analyses the reasons for increased support for the ANC and the DP and the fall in fortunes for other political parties. She highlights the failure of the DP's efforts to fight the disenfranchisement of many South Africans as one of the disappointments of the campaign.

405 KOTZE, Dirk

From transition to consolidation: the 1999 South African general election. *Africa Quarterly*, vol 39, no 4, 1999, pp39–58.

Dr Kotze of UNISA's Department of Political Science first explores the salient aspects of the 1994 election, its symbolism, its introduction of new elements into South Africa politics, the change of electoral system, the results and the trends they demonstrated. He then reviews the preparations for the 1999 elections, discusses the vexed question of identity documents and the independence of the Independent Electoral Commission, the new dimension of 'judicial review', the introduction of a Code of Conduct and the reduction in violence. Election issues are surveyed and the role of the media noted. The election results are analysed nationally and then provincially. Finally the significance of the election is assessed: the supremacy of the South African constitution and constitutionalism in general has been confirmed and the end of Mandela's Presidency signalled. Kotze examines the role voters 'identity' and their own perception of it plays, the changes of attitudes of opposition parties and the

emergence of White Consciousness. The author concludes: 'Though not as emotionally charged as the 1994 election, the election in 1999 has been more significant for the consolidation of democracy in South Africa. It represents the end of the formal transition period starting in 1991.'

406 KOTZE, Hennie

The New National Party in the 1999 election: end of the road or a new beginning?
Politikon, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp167–177.

In the 1999 election support for the New National party (NNP) dramatically collapsed. This article critically assesses the NNP's electoral strategy and performance. In particular, by emphasising the NNP's consensual opposition style and through constructing an 'Opposition Index', it is argued that the prospects for the New National Party may not be as bleak as is commonly assumed. (Abstract). It includes tables of: Opposition index by voting intention (%); and, Opposition index by population group (%). The author is in the Department of Political Science, University of Stellenbosch.

407 KOTZE, Hennie

Proposal 4: Proportional representation in multi-member constituencies (Model 2)
In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp101–113.
ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

Questions which variant of a proportional representation electoral system would be the most suitable for South Africa's National Assembly elections. Focuses on the single transferable vote system and the fixed party list system (with special attention to MMCs (multi member constituencies). Concludes by proposing that a proportional system with multi-member constituencies with compensatory seats be used for South Africa. It is also proposed that a fixed party list or single preferential vote be used for each multi-member constituency.

408 KRAAK, Gerald

The centre holds: towards a rights-based development approach. *Development Update*, vol 3, no 1, October 1999, pp iii–xvi.

This survey of the transition period, 1994 to 1999, concludes that while the new government has secured political and economic stability against the odds, poverty and inequality remain. It also contains a brief overview of the 1999 election and some comments on voter participation and voter 'disenfranchisement'.

409 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, pp75–91.
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 S A 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.

410 KRENNERICH, Michael

Electoral options for South Africa. In: VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp45–48.

ISBN : 0-409-02230-0

'In this chapter no attempt will be made to recommend an electoral system ideally suited for a democratic South Africa. Instead, ways of overcoming the shortcomings of the existing electoral system will be explored and investigated. It appears that the issues surrounding the voter-representative relationship and constituency representation are the most important ones in South Africa's electoral reform debate. It is submitted that electoral reform should strongly emphasise this. It is furthermore noteworthy that an electoral system which ensures a close relationship between voters and representatives and which encourages local accountability is seemingly considered as one in keeping with the political culture of all the population groups in South Africa.' (Author's introduction). The author considers the options, within a PR system, of introducing either open or free party lists, or constituency elements.

411 KRIEGLER, Johann

Independent Electoral Commission: Parliamentary press briefing: 4 August 1998. Cape Town: Legi-link, 1998, 4p + 9p.

Presents an overview of the progress of the IEC in preparing for the 1999 election under the headings: staff establishment, local electoral agents, delimitation of voting districts, geographic information system, wide area network, party liaison committees, time frame, legislation, website. Attached to it are the amendments to Electoral Bill [B69–98] proposed by the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs, 4 August 1998.

412 KRIEGLER quits but IEC must soldier on. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 3, 29 January 1999, p14.

Briefly outlines the difficulties facing the Independent Electoral Commission, and the impact Judge Kriegler's resignation may have on the electoral process.

413 LABOR PARTY

Labor Party election manifesto. N.p: Labor Party, 1999, 1 leaf.

The manifesto summarises the party's mission, its economic policies, its stances on crime, women's rights, housing, health and welfare and education. Gives reasons to vote for the party and promises 'power to all through the employment and empowerment of the poor and jobless!'

414 LANDSBERG, Chris

South Africa should continue to learn from experiences elsewhere. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 1, March 1999, pp14–15.

'International donors and observers are playing a far smaller role in the forthcoming election than in the previous one; however, argues Chris Landsberg, the IEC can still benefit greatly from the skills and experiences of both southern and northern countries alike.' (Journal precis)

415 LASCELLES, D and MAZWAI, T

Vive la difference in the world's economies: the international economy. Don't impose your notion of media freedom on us. *Financial Mail*, 28 May 1999, pp20; 22.

Comments on the following: international economic trends which appear to contradict the view that world events represent a steady process of convergence into a unified whole. Calls for economic policies that can accommodate diversity; freedom of the press and freedom of expression, with specific reference to *Financial Mail* editor Peter Bruce's decision to formally support the United Democratic Movement in the 1999 general election. Illustrates with photographs. (PISAL).

416 LATEST on South African elections. *Africa Research Bulletin*, vol 36, no 5, 1–31 May 1999, pp13563–13564.

In this issue, published 21 June 1999, Stop Press reports that the ANC romped to victory in South Africa's second democratic election taking 266 seats in the 400 seat Assembly. It details the final results and the fates of DP, the NNP and the IFP and questions whether such a huge win for the ANC is healthy for democracy and discusses prospects for the provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal. Included are table of election results, verified and unverified as at June 7th., and percentages for the provinces, in brief.

417 LAURENCE, Patrick

Armies of poor on the march. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 9, 12 March 1999, pp40–43.

Reports that Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Movement (UDM) is engaging the ANC in a struggle for control of the Eastern Cape. Analyses the two factors that give the UDM the status of rival — Holomisa himself, his popularity, prestige and influence, and the perception that the Province is on the verge of collapse. Discusses election prospects in the context of the Opinion '99 survey results (showing loss of ground by the ANC) and of the dismal socio-economic situation there.

418 LAURENCE, Patrick

Bickering while ANC rolls on. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 3, 23 April 1999, pp32–33.

Brief survey of the political situation, including some MarkData survey trends indicating decreased support for the NNP, new Afrikaner support for the DP. Notes Constitutional Court rulings enabling President Mandela to formally proclaim June 2 as polling day. Records ANC President Thabo Mbeki's continued support for Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, ranked 10th on the ANC's national list of candidates.

419 LAURENCE, Patrick

Centre holds as flanks wither. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 10, 11 June 1999, pp36–37.

Argues that the marginalization of black militancy and Afrikaner nationalism as indicated by the 1999 election results signifies a shift in the centre of political gravity. Discusses the ANC's conversion to capitalism, its relationships with the SACP and the IFP and Mbeki's attitudes to them.

420 LAURENCE, Patrick

The cost of Nkabinde's murder: KwaZulu Natal; ANC casts a long shadow as voting day approaches: election '99. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 3, January 1999, pp32–34.

Reports on the following: that a leadership void and consequent violent struggle will be the result of United Democratic Movement (UDM)'s Sifiso Nkabinde's murder in KwaZulu-Natal, and provides a brief career profile of the slain man; that three independent poll reports show that the ANC will emerge as the biggest single party in the South African elections in 1999, that its rivals will consider a grand opposition alliance if they have to, and that the New National Party will be reduced to a mere tenth of parliamentary members. Illustrates with a photograph, graph and table. (ISAP).

421 LAURENCE, Patrick

Democracy or control? South Africa after the election. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 2, Winter 1999, pp29–32.

Queries whether, after its decisive victory in the June 1999 elections, the ANC is not perhaps intent on extending its control over civil society, and democratic institutions — those in particular whose independence is vital to the preservation of democracy in South Africa, the judiciary, the Reserve Bank, the Public Protector and the IEC. Notes the ANC's tendency to present itself still as a liberation movement and the inclination of its leaders to conflate the ANC with the state. With its position buttressed by the receipt of R30m out of R50m available for the funding of political parties and the replacement of three incumbent provincial premises by Mbeki's own nominees, the overall message is not reassuring.

422 LAURENCE, Patrick

Discordant chorus in the opposition ranks. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 1, 9 April 1999, pp32–33.

Defines four major components in the pre-election scene — diminished enthusiasm of the electorate for the political parties, division and confusion among opposition voters, the absence of charismatic personalities, and controversies within the electoral process.

423 LAURENCE, Patrick

Disparate choir of anguished voices from the margins. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 8, 28 May 1999, pp44–45.

Examines the significance of the forthcoming election on the fortunes of five minority parties — those with support at or below 1%, as indicated by the latest Opinion '99

Markinor survey, the Freedom Front (FF), the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), or those as yet unrepresented in Parliament but seeking to win seats for the first time, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and its offshoot, the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA).

424 LAURENCE, Patrick

Drivenback, but not dying. *FinancialMail*, vol 153, no 4, 30 April 1999, pp34–36.

MarkData's opinion polls findings showing shrinking support for the New National Party (NPP) are discounted not only by the party's leaders but by a number of political analysts and observers. Article discusses the effects of Marthinus van Schalkwyk's leadership, defections and the party's economic policies. Concludes that the metamorphosis into a multiracial party has been a painful and costly process, but still it cannot be discounted as a political force, especially in rural areas.

425 LAURENCE, Patrick

The fight for a free and fair ballot. *FinancialMail*, vol 152, no 4, 5 February 1999, pp34–37.

In the *Financial Mail*'s Current Affairs 'Election 1999' Laurence describes the background to the resignation of Judge Kriegler (announced on 26 January 1999), its significance and the issues at stake, principally his perception of encroachment by government on the independence of the IEC and the sole use of bar coded Identity Documents for voting purposes.

426 LAURENCE, Patrick

How many people will be able to vote? *Focus*, 13, February 1999, pp7–10.

Reviews the stages in the dispute centering on the bar-coded ID voting registration requirement and the arguments and stances of the interested parties, including Home Affairs and Judge Johann Kriegler. Advocates an inclusive approach as a means of reviving the credibility and legitimacy of the election. Includes a brief chronology of 'Recent events in the election saga', August 4 1998 – February 8 1999.

427 LAURENCE, Patrick

Hurdles on the way to the polling booth. *Focus*, 12, November 1998, pp3–7.

Examines possible explanations for the ANC government's insistence that voters in the 1999 election must possess a bar-coded ID book. Describes the parts played by the Human Sciences Research Council and the IEC, the stances of the political parties and the possibly disastrous effects of this policy.

428 LAURENCE, Patrick

Is SA liberal legacy alive? *FinancialMail*, vol 153, no 2, 16 April 1999, pp38–40.

Examines the Democratic Party as the custodian of South Africa's liberal tradition, its combative election strategy, the character of Tony Leon and its increasing support at the polls from disillusioned Afrikaners. Allegations of a shift to the right and neo-conservatism are countered by the five DP principles enshrining the core of liberal values to which all new adherents to the party must subscribe.

429 LAURENCE, Patrick

Judge Kriegler, at least, is pleasantly surprised. *Financial Mail*, vol 151, no 10, 11 December 1998, pp34–35.

The Independent Electoral Commission reports that more than 6.5m or just under 25% of the potential voters have been downloaded into their computer in the first phase of registration. Briefly notes the problems encountered before discussing ‘two imponderables’ — the ability of the Department of Home Affairs to meet the demand for bar-coded identity documents, and court challenges from the New National and Democratic parties contesting the legality of the ANC’s decision.

430 LAURENCE, Patrick

Luyt casts himself in the role of giant-killer. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 12, 2 April 1999, p31.

Recounts a conversation with Louis Luyt in which he explains his own political history, his motivation in founding the Federal Alliance (FA), his present stance and his confidence that the ANC can be beaten.

431 LAURENCE, Patrick

A paper tiger? The decline of the SACP. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 15, no 3, Spring 1998, pp34–38.

Assesses the influence and position of the South African Communist Party. Communists account for more than a quarter of the ANC MPs and comprise just under a fifth of the full cabinet. Nevertheless SACP members have been disappointed over prominent comrades reactions to the GEAR strategy but are afraid of provoking a split in the alliance. The Party’s 10th Congress marks the high water mark of Communist disempowerment. A growing Africanism recalls former Black anti-Communist sentiments. Provides details of the personalities involved. Concludes that the party will be outflanked on the left if it does not raise its voice in defence of the poor.

432 LAURENCE, Patrick

A spent force? The New National Party. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 1, Autumn 1999, pp32–35.

The Assistant Editor at the Financial Mail queries whether there is a future for the NNP, and argues that the portents are not auspicious. Maintains that, despite the optimism of its past leader F W de Klerk, its support base among Afrikaners is dwindling and black support is too little to compensate for the loss of traditional white support. Executive summary, p7. [Author’s surname incorrectly given as Lawrence].

433 LAURENCE, Patrick

Taking on the mighty ANC. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 5, 7 May 1999, pp32–34.

Undeterred by inauspicious MarkData poll results and lack of government funding the UDM (United Democratic Movement) leadership remain optimistic that their party is the one best positioned to assume the status of the alternative government party. Based largely on the personality of Bantu Holomisa, and on a paid-up membership of 115 000, the strength of the party could yet prove a surprise at the 1999 elections.

434 LE MOTTEE, Sherri

Make yourself heard — Vote!, Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, 60p + 15p.

An educational programme on democracy and the electoral process for high school students. The material deals with democracy as a concept, as well as a lifestyle, and the democratic skills and knowledge required for participating in the electoral process. The manual is set up as a walk-through programme, and charts, visual materials and learning aids are included in the appendices.

435 LEON, Tony

‘A two-thirds majority for the ANC in next years election? An appalling prospect.’ [Interview]. *Focus*, 11, July 1998, pp11–13.

‘The Democratic Party leader talks about recent by-election success and answers critics who accuse it of moving to the right.’ Topics include the history of the party, its present stance, increasing support and relations with other opposition parties.

436 LEON, Tony

The Democratic Party wants proper change. *Frontiers of Freedom*, Issue no 20, Second quarter 1999, pp21–23.

In this edited version of an address to a South African Institute of Race Relations Briefing the leader of the Democratic Party outlines ways to improve the fortunes of South Africa, pays tribute to Helen Suzman, emphasizes the need for change and predicts increasing black support for DP policies.

437 LEVIN, Melissa

Opting out of organised politics: youth and the elections. *Development Update*, vol 3, no 2, July 2000, pp89–100.

‘South Africa’s second democratic election in 1999 has been documented and analysed by the media, research agencies and some scholars. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of this election — the failure of the youth to vote — has been neglected. Melissa Levin fills the gap by reviewing the statistics and exploring why youth appear to be opting out of organised politics.’ She finds that there was a direct correlation between urbanisation and youth registration, gives reasons why low registration figures matter, and discusses these in historical context, noting the roles played by rebellion, indifference and marginalisation. She concludes that ‘clear strategies need to be evolved to encourage the mass participation of young people in all aspects of public life’.

438 LIMPING voter registration process on unhappy augury for election day mismanagement and inefficiency. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 5, 5 Feb 1999, pp1–3.

Reports that, as a kind of rehearsal for the actual election, the second round of registering voters, organised by the IEC on 29, 30 and 31 January, was not auspicious. Describes the range of problems encountered, continuing disputes over the necessity for bar coded IDs, the resignation of Judge Kriegler, Mbeki’s response to this, and subsequent acrimony.

439 LODGE, Tom

1999 elections. N.p.: n.pub.1999?, 9p.

First considers a number of different developments evident in public opinion surveys that indicate the potential for important changes in voters' intentions and shifts in 'partisan identification', then tabulates a comparison of party identification as indicated by IDASA surveys of Sept – Oct 94, Oct – Nov 95 and June – July 97, and finally indicates multiple opportunities for opposition parties to make some important headway. He concludes: 'Thus the battle is waiting to be joined. While the ANC is sure to win, there are a relatively large number 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.'

440 LODGE, Tom

The African National Congress. In: ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp65–87.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Covers the tasks facing the party in the 1999 elections, policy issues, activist activities in 1998, candidates adoption and listing and its own appraisal of the government's performance. Focuses on its campaigns and messages to the electorate, with special attention to the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Notes its crusade against the United Democratic Movement and assesses the effects of the party's electioneering.

441 LODGE, Tom

The ANC lists. *Election Talk*, Newsletter 4, April 1999, pp4–5.

EISA's Director of Research Programmes comments on the composition of the ANC's penultimate lists of party candidates and analyses their implications. Notes new names and the significance of rankings. Following a province by province appraisal, he concludes that balance rather than personal connections has been the paramount consideration in the construction of the list.

442 LODGE, Tom

Consolidating democracy: South Africa's second popular election. Johannesburg: EISA and Witwatersrand University Press, 1999, 258p.

ISBN : 1-86814-339-2

'Two convictions were important in influencing the production of this book. The first is that elections, however uneven the contest enacted within them, yield very important insights concerning the relative depth and resilience of democratic culture: they can be used to measure many more important things than the popularity of different political parties. This book is primarily concerned with a political process — democratisation — which does not begin or end with elections but which is most easily evaluated during the times when they take place. The second conviction is less obviously evident here but has nevertheless informed the way in which this book has been researched and written. It is that elections supply one of the best opportunity available for assessing

the state of the state.’ (Author’s introduction). Contents: Introduction; Consolidating democracy; the Electoral System; South African voters; Party preliminaries; Campaign trails; Provincial proceedings; Inputs and outcomes; God’s kingdom on earth; Conclusion: democracy consolidated? Postscript: Taking office; Thabo Mbeki’s first government. The author concludes that ‘ ... Since 1994, despite social inequalities ... South Africa has travelled quite far along the road to democratic consolidation.’ The work also includes abbreviations, glossary, notes, sources and index, illustrations and tables.

443 LODGE, Tom

Democracy in a dominant party system. In: LODGE, Tom. South African politics since 1994. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp68–79.

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 p29.

444 LODGE, Tom

Don’t shoot the pianist. *Election Update 99*, no 3, 11 December 1998, pp11–12.

Surveys voter registration to date, progress made and difficulties encountered. Notes confusion surrounding the bar coded ID problem and the need for information and publicity. Calls for support for the registration process and action from the politicians.

445 LODGE, Tom

Election ’99: well done, but what next? *Election Talk*, Newsletter 5, September 1999, pp1–2.

EISA interviews with nearly 4000 voters on election day suggest widespread satisfaction with the election process (the sole grievance, time spent waiting), and an electorate ‘generally well-informed, politically responsive and open to a range influences’. More comprehensive exit polls confirm these findings that the elections were generally efficiently administered and that public interest in politics remains high. However Tom Lodge notes three problems that need addressing — the high cost of the election, the reliability of the voter’s roll and its verification, and the timing of voter education.

446 LODGE, Tom

Electoral corruption. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, p24.

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.

447 LODGE, Tom

Electoral corruption — openness ensures integrity of democratic process. *TI – SA News*, Issue 1, 1999, pp4–5.

Defines the term 'corruption', describes various aspects and forms of political and transactive corruption, then focuses on corruption before 1994, the situation in 1999 and the challenge to the Independent Electoral Commission to ensure that elections are free and fair through a process that is beyond corruption.

448 LODGE, Tom

Final say. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp48–52.

Investigates to what extent the 1999 general election represented a reinvigoration of democratic political culture in South Africa. The article examines registration, its related problems, polling day, the merits and demerits of high technology, the performance of the IEC, observation, complaints, political violence and the effective use of resources. Notes the disappointing conduct of the media but concludes that as far as the procedural aspects of the election were concerned the 1999 election was much better conducted than its predecessor. This is followed by a section 'Popular participation' which looks at some questions concerning voter behaviour.

449 LODGE, Tom and POTTIE, David

Going, going, gone. *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp15–18.

Focuses on Judge Kriegler's resignation on 26 January 1999, the reasons for it, and media and political reactions to it. Discusses his affidavit submitted on 12 January 1999, and his views on the funding of the IEC.

450 LODGE, Tom

Intimidation and restriction on voter choice — lessons from the 1994 election. *Election Update 99*, no 2, 27 November 1998, pp10–12.

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.

451 LODGE, Tom

The moving target. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp27–28.

Critically examines the varying estimates of the number of eligible voters given by the Independent Electoral Commission and the Department of Home Affairs, and the new agreement reached on 4 March 1999 that the appropriate figure be reduced to 22.8m.

452 LODGE, Tom and NTULI, Sibusiso

Party presence and voter trust. Findings from EISA pre-election day and exit poll surveys. Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, 1999, 50p.

ISBN : 1-919814-16-7

'On the 1st and 2nd June 1999, the Electoral Institute organised two surveys, undertaken by teams of university students working in five different provinces. In this report we show the findings of their fieldwork. There are two separate issues we believe are important in the consolidation of a democratic political system. The insights from the survey conducted on the pre-polling day, 1st June 1999, are presented

in a commentary on the character of party activity during the election campaign. It will become evident to the reader that South Africa is unusual for a new democracy, in that the parties embody a relatively well institutionalised political culture. The second essay in this volume considers voters' perceptions after casting their ballots, about integrity of the electoral process. Local levels of trust and confidence in the authorities are evaluated in the light of international experience. This experience suggests that voter trust may be a very important determinant of electoral participation in developing countries. The full results of these surveys are reproduced in table format in appendices at the end of this volume.' (Authors' introduction).

453 LODGE, Tom

Policy matters. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp27–28.

Lodge identifies the most important issues for voters as determined by local opinion polls and examines how the parties have responded to these in their manifestos. A broad area of consensus is indicated, but points of differentiation are noted. The author concludes: 'In South Africa's second democratic election, at this early stage at least, political parties are doing their best to make this an election about issues, not just perceptions and personalities.'

454 LODGE, Tom

Policy processes within the African National Congress and the Tripart Alliance. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 1, 1999, pp5–32.

After its unbanning and before its accession to power, democratic policy determination practices were beginning to establish themselves within the alliance led by the ANC. This article examines the extent to which these procedures have survived the 1994 election and the degree to which they have been replaced by technocratic forms of decision making, taking the debates over macro-economic policy as a case study. The decline of activist contributions to the ANC's policy agenda is explored against the more general background supplied by social democratic party systems. (Journal abstract)

455 LODGE, Tom

Second elections and democratic consolidation. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, pp17–18.

Examines the procedural requirements and criteria second and successive elections have to satisfy in order to consolidate a new democratic system. Considers other factors in the party system and the effects of a dominant party system on South Africa.

456 LODGE, Tom

Seventy percent proof? *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, p23.

'Update #6 reported that the IEC Chief Executive Officer, Mandla Mchunu, had announced that the IEC would be satisfied with a registration figure of 70% of eligible voters. The remarks of newly-appointed IEC head Brigalia Bam in her press conference on 20 February appeared to support the view that this is the IEC's target figure, its measure of success. On the whole, public and media reaction to what amounts to an important policy statement has, to say the least, been muted.' Tom

Lodge begs to differ, and argues that there are very real political risks arising from low registration.

457 LODGE, Tom

What sort of IEC can we afford? *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp18–19.

Examines the nature and role of the Independent Electoral Commission.

458 LODGE, Tom

Which criteria are most important in choosing an electoral system for post-1999 South Africa? In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Electoral systems roundtable, Cape Town 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999, pp3–6.

In the context of the local political environment the author suggests the considerations which should inform an ideal choice of system for South Africa. He notes criticisms of the current simple list system of proportional representation, outlines some arguments for and against constituency representation and draws attention to the extent of public support for the existing system. He concludes that 'There are good reasons, then, for incorporating a degree of constituency representation into the existing system. Any modification of South African electoral practice, though, should seek to preserve its existing merits. These are: its relative simplicity; its widely representative character, as well as the discretion it gives to party leadership to determine the composition of Parliament in socially progressive ways; the protection it affords to smaller parties; the power it confers upon executive authority to undertake radical reforms; and, the degree of public acceptance it enjoys.'

459 LODGE, Tom

Why there is no health debate in the election. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp30–31.

Surveys health prescriptions as reflected in the manifestos of the political parties and considers the insight they supply into the preoccupations of the different social constituencies which different parties reflect and attempt to address. Health care should be a major political concern, but good policies are likely to involve unpopular decisions.

460 LOUW, P Eric

South Africa's second post-Apartheid elections: a reaffirmation of racial politics but a loosening of ethnic bonds. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol 54, no 2, July 2000, pp217–238.

The author, a member of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Queensland, was in South Africa May-June 1999, and monitored activities and the media during that period. He maintains that 'if anything, the 1999 elections indicate a continuity with South Africa's pre-1994 political culture — continuance of racial politics and of a one-party dominant system'. In his closely argued political analysis of the elections he examines the failure of the politics of racial partnership (the roles played by the United Democratic Movement), Thabo Mbeki's triumph (the ANC's campaign strategies), the emergence of black coalition politics (IFP-ANC coalition

government in KwaZulu-Natal), the emergence of a new opposition (the decimation of the National Party (NP) support base and triumph of the Democratic Party (DP)), the collapse of Afrikaner ethnic voting (white Afrikaners' support for the DP), a Black homeland protest vote (support for the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) and for the UDM), the collapse of the left (loss of support for the PAC and AZAPO), the possibility of a strong opposition, and the emergence of a one party dominant regime. He draws a few comparisons with the political situation in India and in Southeast Asia, then concludes that, in South Africa, race remains the main fuel driving the political system.

461 LOUW, Raymond

Proposal for changes to laws governing the media during the general election. N.p: n.pub, [1999 ?], 10p.

The Director of EISA's Media Project summarises responses concerning the role of the media in the 1999 election first giving the general view and principles and following this with recommendations. These are broken up into sections dealing with the media generally, and then with its constituent elements: print radio and television, the electronic media (the Internet and satellite), and state publications.

462 LOUW, Raymond

... The role of the media and state-sponsored publications during the 1999 General Election. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1997, various paging.

Memorandum addressed to the Chairperson and members of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications outlining the need for a review of the laws, rules and regulations relating to the media to be carried out independently. Describes the project's subject areas, including electronic and print media, Internet and state publications, the consultative process involved and the timetable. Includes sections of the relevant legislations extracted from the Electoral Act 202, 1993 and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No 153 of 1993, as amended. Attached are 'Guidelines for state publishers and state information services' and a 'Letter to all civil servants' concerning assistance to IMC (Independent Media Commission) signed by Dick Hartford.

463 MacGREGOR, Karen

The politics of empowerment: women in Parliament. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 3, Spring 1999, pp26–32.

The author argues that despite women being very well represented in South Africa's Parliament (7th in world terms) numbers alone are not sufficient to advance women's empowerment. Surveys the effects of electoral systems on women, with specific reference to proportional representation and South Africa's List PR system, provides relevant details and percentages from the 1999 election results, examines the ANC's gender policy and its impact on the Cabinet and in Provincial Legislatures and emphasizes the importance of women MP's and of increased attention to gender issues. Includes tables for 'Women in national parliaments' — world rankings 1999'; 'Women MP's in Parliament by party, 1999' and 'Women in Provincial Parliaments,

1999'. This is an edited version of a paper commissioned by the Democracy Development Programme.

464 MACKAY, Shaun

IEC's sleight of hand is not in electorate's long-term interests. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 1, March 1999, pp1–3.

This Centre of Policy Studies article examines the Independent Electoral Commission's claim to have registered 74.6% of all potential voters, a rate achieved by changing its estimate of the total voting population, reducing it to 22.8m, by excluding four categories of people. Discusses the validity of these exclusions, and the significance of them, particularly for opposition parties in the provinces. Predicts these dubious tactics could have negative consequences for the election's credibility.

465 MACOZOMA, Saki and LEON, Tony

Who has it right on race? *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp38–43.

Debate between Transnet MD Saki Macozoma, for the ANC and Democratic Party leader Tony Leon, in the form of an exchange of letters, focusing on affirmative action. In this exchange of views, precipitated by a DP discussion paper 'The Corruption of Transformation' the ANC claim that transformation and non-racialism are inextricably linked and the DP, emphasizing its core beliefs in the run-up to the elections, attacks demographic representivity as a party policy.

466 MADIBA, Gugu

ID crisis and the 1999 elections. *Democracy Watch*, 5, 1999, pp2–3.

Comments on the bar-coded identity document controversy and provides comparative figures and percentages following the second and final rounds of voter registration. Includes map.

467 MAGANYA, Ernest N

Multi-party elections and the consolidation of democratic processes in Southern Africa. Paper prepared for the second ACDESS conference entitled South Africa and Africa: emerging policy frameworks, Johannesburg, 24–27 January 1996. Johannesburg: Acdess?, 1996, 15p.

Unseen. Note: ACDESS = African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies, Address, P O Box 203, Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria.

468 MAIL & GUARDIAN

Election '99. *Mail & Guardian, Special Election Supplement*, vol 15, no 22, 4–10 June 1999, (entire issue 15p).

This country wide survey by the M&G election team provides an impressionistic view of the election situation, and the results of the polls as known late afternoon on Thursday 4th June 1999 (when only 60% of the votes were available). It includes some reactions by the political parties and their leaders, and photographs, some coloured, of voters and personalities involved in the election. Includes twenty four separate articles: ANC crosses two-thirds threshold, by Howard Barrell (p2); Praise songs for Thabo

Mbeki, by Makhosini Nkosi and Wally Mbhele (p3); Knives out for kortbroek, by Howard Barrell (p4); Die ANC ruk in die Kaap, by Marianne Merton (p4); A tale of two cities on the Cape Flats, by Marianne Merton (p5); The Leon roars back in triumph, by Howard Barrell (p5); Now for the horse-trading in KZN, by Ivor Powell and Wonder Hlongwa (p6); Police deny political motives for killings, by Wonder Hlongwa (p6); Security forces fail to stop election irregularities, by Ivor Powell (p6); Change blooms in Namaqualand, by John Matshikiza (pp8–9); The NNP's home where the bakkie still roams, by Justin Pearce (pp8–9); Red faces for black opposition, by Wally Mbhele (p10); Holomisa slates big business, by Mungo Soggot (p10); Real manne wait in the queue, by Thandi Mahlangu (p11); Orania still votes for secession, by David Beresford (p11); Cape Muslims heed the call to the polls, by Marianne Merton (p12); Jurassic Parliament, by Mungo Soggot and E wa ka Ngobeni (p12); Guess who got Ma Mbeki's vote, by Peter Dickson (p13); Election glitch blamed on 'phantom newsroom', by Matthew Krause (p13); It's not a rocket launch, it's the election, by David Shapshak (p13); Wait-and-see attitude among foreign investors, by Donna Block (p14); Weighty win a comfort or a threat? by Richard Calland (p14); The secret of the ANC's success, by Bob Mattes (p15); In the palace's shadow, by Peter Dickson (p15).

469 MANGCU, Xolela

ANC's political dominance may not last forever. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 2, August 1999, pp1–3; 16.

'The ANC's emphatic election victory has seemed to herald the end of black opposition. However, Xolela Mangcu argues that this view ignores the historical pluralism of black politics, and that other political currents may well re-emerge to challenge the ANC.' (Journal introduction). An analyst with the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) propounds a theory of five ten-year cycles since 1948, with South Africa in the sixth cycle characterized as one of service delivery and the African renaissance. Identifies potential sources of opposition to the ANC especially at provincial level.

470 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp19–21.

Reports on IEC activities, voter registration, provincial candidates lists and tensions on the farms.

471 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp23–25.

The final round of voter registration is described together with the views of the IEC, the outlook of the ANC, the confidence of the Home Affairs officers and the ANC's free ID campaign 'Votani Mawethu' in the province.

472 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp17–19.

A further report on the third round of voter registration, party campaigning in the area and the shifting of white political allegiances.

473 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp24–25.

Discusses recent party campaigns in the Province, specifically that of the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) led by former Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, disturbances threatening free and fair elections and defections. Reports on the murder of the ANC Mayor of Ventersdorp, Councillor K P Mashu on 20 March and its implications.

474 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp21–22.

Focuses on the targeting of the miners vote by the UDM and the IFP, on the fluctuating fortunes of the United Democratic Movement, and on the ANC campaign in the area and its endeavours to fend off financial scandals.

475 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp21–23.

Reports on rivalry between the ANC and the UDM on the ground; violence and intimidation; changes in the ANC's provincial list; and campaigning by seven political parties (ANC, UDM, DP, UCDP, AZAPO, FA and ACDP). Includes a note on campaign restrictions at the University of Potchefstroom and a discussion of conditions in the agricultural section and the handing over of title deeds to local residents.

476 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp25–27.

Trouble spots and political and labour tensions are highlighted, the IEC's preparations are noted and party campaigns described. The ANC targets 80% of the votes predicted for it, Mangope's United Christian Democratic Party has received some backing and may obtain about 6% of the vote, the PAC's prospects are poor, and the FF and the DP do battle 'for the soul of Afrikanerdom'.

477 MANSON, Andrew, and others

North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp36–40.

Comments on the organization of the elections by the Independent Electoral Commission and on the role and conduct of the media in the area. Reflects on the unexpected success of the opposition United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) led by Lucas Mangope, the nature of this, and on its support and its relationship with the victorious ANC. Examines the political positions of the 'white right' and speculates on the future of the United Democratic Movement in the region. Introduction and tables

by the compilers of the Update. Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes and seats by party, with comparative figures for 1994; Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting, votes and % votes by party.

478 MANSON, Andrew, and others

Report from the North West Province, by Andrew Manson, Neil Roos and Jennifer Seif. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, pp14–15.

Surveys the second round of voter registration in the area and the reaction of the major political parties to it.

479 MAPHAI, Vincent

Young Turks to the fore: the second general election. *Enterprise*, no 132, May 1999, pp28–30.

Investigates the role, tone and function of the 1999 election, compared to the 1994 elections. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP)

480 MARAIS, C

X marks the spot. *Marketing Mix*, vol 17, no 4, April 1999, pp72–73.

Comments on some of the highlights of the marketing, advertising and public relations mix which has grown up around political parties, politicians and the media in the run up to the 1999 South African general election. (ISAP).

481 MARAIS, Hein

His masterful voice. *Leadership*, October 1999, pp64–78.

Describes the remarkable feat of Thabo Mbeki's ANC which continues to confound its critics and defy political gravity. (ISAP)

482 MARAIS, Hein

Topping up the tank: how the ANC has reproduced its power since 1994. *Development Update*, vol 3, no 1, 1999, pp1–30.

'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, pp9–10, The 'myth' of non-delivery, indicating areas in which the ANC claim to have made good about sixty per cent of their election promises.

483 MARÉ, Gerhard

The Inkatha Freedom Party. In: *ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp101–113.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Begins by describing the political situation following the results of the 1994 elections in KwaZulu-Natal, then looks at some of the important issues affecting support for the IFP in the years between 1994 and 1999. Surveys the election, polls, campaigns and

results giving special attention to the role of traditional chiefs and support among Indian voters. Discusses some controversial issues: a possible provincial alliance between the IFP and the ANC, the formation of a coalition provincial government and the call for a general amnesty outside the TRC process. Analyses IFP support, speculates on the future of the ANC-IFP alliance and on possible action concerning 'tribally' controlled land (the Ingonyama Trust) and re-emphasizes the distinctions between the IFP's national and regional roles.

484 MARÉ, Gerhard

Makin' nice with Buthelezi. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol 14, no 3, May 1999, pp9–13.

Author and sociologist Maré criticises the rapprochement between Thabo Mbeki and Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the presumed offer to Buthelezi of the Deputy Presidency. He explains the ANC's stake in the matter against the background of pre-election 'confusion' in KwaZulu-Natal itself, and the party's relationship with the IFP. The article notes the significance of the change in Premiership of the Province and the possible consequences of an IFP electoral victory.

485 MARKINOR

Opinion '99 2.Set 1: race, language, education, gender — November 1998. Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, 1999, 282p.

Prepared for the Opinion Consortium 12 February 1999 by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris. Original name: Project Nyulo 2. 146 tables list the responses, arranged by race, home language, education and gender, to a range of questions focusing on which persons appeal as good candidates for political office, how well party leaders are doing their jobs, how well government is handling current problems and which party or organisation received or will receive their votes.

486 MARKINOR

Opinion '99 2.Set 2: income, working status, province — November 1998. Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, 1999, 283p.

Prepared for Opinion '99 Consortium by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris, 12 February 1999. Original Name: Project Nyulo 2. 146 tables list responses to their opinion poll arranged by household income, working status and province.

487 MARKINOR

Opinion '99 2.Set 3: first choice party, likelihood to register, likelihood to vote, type of ID — November 1998. Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, 1999, 290p.

Prepared for Opinion '99 Consortium, 12 February 1999 by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris. Original name Project Nyulo 2. Tabulates responses to questions concerning closeness to political parties, form of ID, desire to vote, personal conditions, economic conditions in the country, competence of candidates, of leadership and of the government, and voter intention.

488 MARKINOR

Opinion '99. Press releases. [Randburg]: Markinor, November 1998 – May 1999, various paging.

The SABC in partnership with the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) and Markinor conducted a series of opinion polls in the run-up to the 1999 election. The polls-known as Opinion '99 — were the largest and most comprehensive to be conducted prior to the election. They aimed to provide as complete a picture as possible of South Africa's views of the political, social and economic developments in the country since 1994. Opinion '99 was run by a partnership to increase credibility of the results and to make the best range of data consortium, the public and media in general. The polls were aimed at: Monitoring people's attitudes towards the coming election and their impression of democratic processes in South Africa since 1994. This included their levels of political awareness and their intention to register for, and vote in, the election; Keeping track of changes in popular concerns, support for parties and evaluations of government, opposition parties and the economy, among the voting public, in the run-up to the election; Identifying South Africans concerns and the issues which would influence their party political vote and support for candidates. Contact people: at IDASA, Bob Mattes, Helen Taylor, Cheryl Africa; at Markinor, Mari Harris and Anneke Greyling. Findings 'Last modified 16 June 1999'. Press Releases: Series 1, 10 Nov 1998: Voter Participation, Trust in Electoral Institutions, Ballot Secrecy; 11 Nov 1998: Party support and Voting intention; 12 Nov 1998: Economic Evaluations, Media Release: Identity Documents; 13 Nov 1998: The Public Agenda, The Government, The Opposition; 20 Nov 1998: The Leaders. Series 2, 18 Mar 1999: Media Release: Comment on Voter Registration; 12 Mar 1999: Intolerance and Intimidation; 24 Feb: Leaders and Candidates, The Provinces; 28 Jan 1999: The Public Agenda (II), Economic Evaluations (II), The Government (II); 22 Dec 1998: Media Release: Party support in the 5 most contested provinces; 18 Dec 1998: Voter Participation (II), Party Support and Voting Intention (II). Series 3, 11 May 1999: Summary — South Africa's Political Environment, The Leaders (II), Economic Evaluations (III), The Government (III), The Public Agenda (III); 6 May 1999: Voter Participation (III), Trust in Electoral Institutions (II); 29 April 1999: Party Support and Voting Intention (III), The Provinces (II); Series 4, 28 May 1999: Voter Participation (IV); 24 May 1999: Summary — South Africa's Political Environment (II), The Opposition (II), The Provinces (III), Party Support and Voting Intention (IV), The Government (IV), The Leaders (IV), The Public Agenda (IV), Economic Evaluations (IV).

489 MARKINOR

Opinion '99: demographics (set 1). Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, 1998, 377p. Comprises 180 tables, tabulating the results of a survey conducted by Markinor in October 1998 into electoral matters. Prepared by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris. Original name: Project Nyulo. Responses arranged by race, home language, education and gender.

490 MARKINOR

Opinion '99: demographics (set 2). Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, 1998, 398p. Comprises 180 tables, tabulating the results of a survey conducted by Markinor in October 1998 into electoral matters. Prepared by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris. Original name: Project Nyulo. Responses arranged by household income, working status and province.

491 MARKINOR

Opinion '99: political issues (set 1). Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, 1998, 386p.

Comprises 180 tables, tabulating the results of a survey conducted by Markinor in October 1998, prepared by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris. Original name: Project Nyulo. Among aspects covered by this opinion poll are the respondents personal details, faith or religious orientation, political allegiance, political ability to govern, response to political leaders, performance in Parliament, government's actions and policies, knowledge of political issues, trust in the IEC, possession of IDs, vote in 1994 election, vote in 1999 election.

492 MARKINOR

Opinion '99: trust in electoral institutions. N.p: Opinion '99, 1999, 6p.

Summary of findings in the first survey in a series of opinion polls conducted in the run-up to the 1999 elections. These concern the trust of the people in the key players managing voting procedures, specifically the Independent Electoral Commission and local presiding officers. Tables include an analysis of responses by race, by province and by voting intention. Fieldwork was conducted 1–30 September 1998.

493 MARKINOR

Project Nyulo. Randburg, South Africa: Markinor, [2001], 12 vols, various paging.

This edition comprises: [Project Nyulo 1]: October 1998, Demographics (Set 1), Demographics (Set 2), Political issues (Set 3). Tables dated 4 Nov 98; Project Nyulo 2: November 1998, Sets 1, 2, and 3. Tables dated 11 Feb 99; Project Nyulo 3, Feb/March 1999. Set 1. Race, Language, Education, Gender. Set 2. Income, Working status, Province. Set 3. First choice party, Registration, Voting likelihood, Direction country, Type of ID. Tables dated 16 Apr 1999. Project Nyulo 4, April 1999. Set 1. Race, Home language, Education, Gender. Set 2. Income, Working status, Provinces. Set 3. 1st choice party (national), Registration, Voting likelihood, Direction, Age, Community size. Tables dated 14 May 1999. Projects 2, 3 and 4, were 'Prepared for Opinion'99 Consortium by Anneke Greyling and Mari Harris'. The results of the findings are 'Private & Confidential' and copy right to Markinor.

494 MASEKO, Sipho

The PAC, Azapo and the UDM. In: ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp125–132.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

The poor performances of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation in the 1999 election are examined and reasons adduced. These include lack of adequate finance and of material and capital resources, weak organizational structures, negative attitudes to the negotiated settlement and an inability to provide political solutions to the country's problems. A brief sketch of the history, aims and progress of the United Democratic Movement is provided, together with a note on its policies and future direction.

495 MASS UNITED MOVEMENT

[Manifesto]. N.p: MUM, 1999, 8p.

First states the aims of MUM, originally formed in 1994, then explains its stances and policies on human rights, crime, violence against women, child abuse, housing, education and AIDS/HIV.

496 MASS UNITED MOVEMENT

[Manifesto leaflet]. Durban: MUM, 1999, 1 leaf folded.

Coloured copy of MUM's party manifesto encapsulating its aims and policies. Its 'Trust in MUM' section includes its stance on gay and lesbian rights. Attached is a covering letter to EISA, dated 08 March 1999 and signed by R Bajinath, together with a black and white photo of the party leader. The party's coloured logo appears on the front of its leaflet.

497 MATSHIKIZA, John

Star of the born-again heaven. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 9, 14–20 May 1999, p9.

Speculates on the fortunes of the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the most successful of the born-again political movements, in the context of its unexpected success in the 1994 elections (0.5% of the vote and two representatives in Parliament). Its leader, the Rev Kenneth Meshoe is targeting 20% in 1999, other senior officials 5% to 10%. The importance of born-again constituencies in other countries is noted.

498 MATSHIKIZA, John

Waiting for the God ou. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 18, 7–13 May 1999, p5.

Recounts the author's own attempts to contact the offices of God's People's Party, and its leader J J van Rensburg in Bethal, and to determine its policies. The party did not register for the 1999 elections because of the high costs involved, and financial constraints.

499 MATTES, Bob

A list of opposition campaign opportunities lost. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, pp28–29.

Discusses the political parties campaigns, tactics and strategies and the probable consequences of these. Focuses on the ANC, the New National Party (NNP) and the Democratic Party (DP) and their attitudes to black voters.

500 MATTES, Bob

The SA electorate is not just a herd of voting cattle. *Mail & Guardian*, 12–18 February 1999, pp28–29.

The Manager of IDASA's Public Opinion Service examines what the opposition parties consider to be voters' 'foolish behaviour', explained by them by focusing on the racial and ethnic patterns evident in the 1994 election and interpreted as expressing communal solidarity. He then comments on the way in which such negative images prevent opposition strategists from considering other possibilities and argues that 'voters are not fools'. The basis of their decision making includes the past performance

of the ANC government and the actions, or lack of them, of the other parties. He concludes that the findings of the Opinion '99 survey revealed a realistic, discerning electorate, voter awareness and a keen assessment of the options before them — an inept opposition, and a party reflecting the successes of the previous five years.

501 MATTES, Bob

The secret of ANC's success. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 2, 4–10 June 1999, Special Election Supplement, p15.

The manager of the Public Opinion Service of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa compares the results from the April Opinion '99 survey with emerging election results (as at Thursday 4 June 1999). He suggests reasons for the apparent discrepancies and discourses on the implications of those differences.

502 MATTES, Bob

Stuck in a mould. *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, pp42–45.

Examines partisan support for political parties and how far it follows racial lines, surveys the attitudes of voters, their party identification and evaluation of government performance and discusses the images of opposition parties and how to make these more effective. Includes tables.

503 MATTES, Bob

Who are these people, anyway? A second look. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 19, 5–11 Mar 1999, p32.

Comments on results released by the Opinion '99 consortium on attitudes to elected leaders indicating remarkably poor knowledge of them. These 'discomforting' results indicate that the list proportional representation electoral system has failed to encourage any links between the electorate and its political leaders. 'Relatively few people actively think about, or think very highly of, the vast breadth of the nation's leadership ranks.'

504 MATTES, Robert, and others

The evolution of party support since 1994, by Robert Mattes, Cherrel Africa, Sean Jacobs. Cape Town: IDASA, Public Opinion Service, 1998, 23p. (POS reports, no 1)
ISBN : 1-874864-65-9

IDASA's Public Opinion Service monitors, researches and disseminates information about popular opinion, conducting periodic attitude surveys on selected issues of interest. This report focuses on developments in voter attachments to or away from political parties since 1994, both in general and at national or provincial level. Findings, supported by statistical tables, are presented under the following headings: Recent surveys and developments; Independents and the 'floating vote'; Changes in partisan identification; Voting intention; Group support patterns; Group support profiles; Party support profiles; Partisan support in the provinces; Survey descriptions. Fieldwork for IDASA was done in 1994 and 1995 by Market and Opinion Surveys Durbanville, and in 1997 by Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd.

505 MATTES, Robert

Four years down and six months to go. N.p: n.pub, 1998, 4p.

The author, manager of IDASA's Public Opinion Service, reviews the results of the first Opinion '99 survey, produced in November 1998 by a consortium of IDASA Markinor and the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Writing in his personal capacity he summarizes and interprets the results of the survey.

506 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, pp1-9.

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)

507 MATTES, Robert, and others

Judgement and choice in the 1999 South African election. Cape Town: IDASA Public Opinion Service, 1999, 11p + 3p.

'In this article, we set the basic points of the theoretical framework of voter choice that underlie the Opinion '99 research project. In contrast to prevailing theories that have characterized voter choice in South Africa as an ethnic or racial census, this approach emphasizes the role of how voters learn about government performance and the alternatives offered by opposition parties. We then deduce a very simplified model that consciously excludes all "structural" variables and includes only measures of voter evaluations of government performance and views of political parties and candidates. We use Discriminant Analysis to predict the partisan preferences of respondents from a nationally representative September 1998 survey with these measures. We find that the partisan choices of a very large majority of South Africans can be correctly predicted with this model.' (Authors' precis). Paper by Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor and Cherrel Africa, submitted to *Politikon*, the South African Journal of Political Studies, 23 July 1999. Includes a table: Successful classification rates for the three equations. The authors are all with IDASA's Public Opinion Service.

508 MATTES, Robert

Opinion '99. *Election Talk*, Newsletter 4, April 1999, p3.

The Programme Manager of Public Opinion Services at IDASA describes the election research consortium, its nature and benefits and the series of national opinion surveys conducted between September 1998 and April 1999. Analyses the significance of their impact on the electoral process.

509 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, pp37-63.

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.

510 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, pp119–142.

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.

511 MATTES, Robert

Time for a make-over, Mickey Mouse. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 14, no 50, 18–23 December 1998, p22.

In the context of the results of the voter survey Opinion '99 the author discusses how voters could be persuaded to vote differently from the way that they did in 1994, and what the voters can expect from the ANC government's political competitors, apparently locked in the past and failing to offer any real alternatives. What should the parties do? Mattes suggests some bold imaginative thrust is required, a change of image and focus, risks to be taken, and above all better and fuller information concerning leadership, candidates, policy and stances. Includes a colour photograph of Tony Leon.

512 MATTES, Robert

Votes available: anyone want them?, N.p: n.pub, 1998?, 9p.

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.

513 MAZWAI, T

Now for a shared vision: home truths. *Enterprise*, no 134, July 1999, p8.

Reflects on the analysis of the South African democratic elections by the British press. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

514 MBEKI, Thabo

Election victory acceptance speech, 3 June 1999. [Pretoria]: n.pub., 1999, 2p.

Viva, ANC, Viva! The people have spoken. Mbeki congratulates the electorate on its choice and pledges himself to fulfill the ANC's election promises, most especially to continue the fight for peace and prosperity.

515 MBEKI refuses to remove Winnie from ANC list. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 16, 23 April 1999, pp6–7.

Discusses the circumstances surrounding Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's defence of Madikizela-Mandela's position as 10th on the ANC's list of candidates for the National Assembly, and his dismissal of her criminal convictions as occurring 'within a particular political context'. Notes the Democratic Party's contention that neither she nor another sixteen candidates meet the ANC's own criteria for inclusion.

516 MBEKI's South Africa. *Economist*, 29 May – 4 June, pp11–12.

Surveys the South African political situation in the run-up to the 1999 election, the position and nature of the ANC, the attitudes of its 'revolutionary' members and the character and actions of its leader, Thabo Mbeki. Touches on the prospects for a two-thirds majority. Concludes: 'The way forward next week is not a thumping majority for the ANC but a commitment to honest, tolerant and effective government ...'

517 MBHELE, Wally

Fresh splits in Free State ANC. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, p4.

Examines the changes made to the ANC's Free State provincial list on the recommendation of its candidate for premier, Winkie Direko, and the significance of these 'deployments'. Presents the views of various ANC officials on the situation and on rivalries within the party in the run-up to elections.

518 MBHELE, Wally

IEC promises 'smooth' poll. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, p6.

Outlines the Independent Electoral Commission's detailed plan to ensure a 'maximally free and fair' election and a speedy announcement of results. Focuses on its arrangements for 2 June 1999, all under one roof at Pretoria showgrounds.

519 McCULLUM, Hugh and CHIRAMBO, Kondwani

Patience, good humour characterise SA voting. *Renaissance*, no 3, July 1999, pp7–8.

Impressionistic account of the 1999 elections as observed by a SARDC (Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, Harare) team who visited polling stations at Soweto, Berea, Hillbrow, Yeoville, Alexandra and Sandton. Emphasizes the patience of the people, the length of the queues and mentions some technical problems.

520 McCULLUM, Hugh

A tale of two elections. *Renaissance*, no 3, July 1999, pp16–17.

Comments on the various aspects of the 1999 elections in Malawi (15 June) and South Africa (2 June). Includes a description of the IEC's high-tec control centre in Pretoria and compares it with the low-tec situation in Blantyre, and notes problems with both. Criticises the role of the media in both countries. Concludes: 'A tale of two elections — hi-tech, low-tech — where the results of both showed the voters to be able to practice democracy even if they are ill-served by media, officials and politicians.'

521 McLEOD, Duncan

State to play an age-old card: identity documents; Psst... want a credit card number? Online fraud: information technology. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 5, 12 February 1999, p79.

Reports on the following: that the government may soon award a tender for replacing the South African personal identity document with a card; how Internet is boosting the incidence of credit card fraud in South African and abroad. Illustrated with a sketch and table. (ISAP).

522 McLEOD, Duncan

This time it could be for real. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 1, 9 April 1999, p31.

Briefly describes IT coverage promised by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), its commissioning of the Internet Solution (IS) to install and run a computer system linked to the IEC, capable of accessing, interpreting and passing on information to the SABC immediately. Use will be made of a Geographical Information System (GIS).

- 523 MEASURING up — more surveys.** *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp5–6.

Firstly analyses the findings of the Human Sciences Research Council's poll of public attitudes concerning democracy, satisfaction with the government's performance, both national and provincial, membership of political parties, and voting intentions. Secondly comments on Opinion '99 poll data concerning possible changes in three provincial governments.

524 MEDIA MONITORING PROJECT

So what's news in the elections? Events not issues: an analysis of media coverage of the 1999 elections. N.p: Media Monitoring Project, 1999, 88p.

Explains the project's objectives and methodology, then reports its major findings on public and private broadcasters, on the coverage of campaigns, and of crime and corruption. Presents a regional analysis, discusses gender issues and examines the role of community radio stations. Includes graphs and tables.

525 MERTEN, Marianne

The daily struggle of the 'ordinary people' of the rural hinterland. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 19, 14–20 May 1999, pp6–7.

Investigates the attitudes of voters in the small towns of the Western Cape rural hinterland. Discovers they will vote for whichever party seems able and willing to address their problems, mainly housing and unemployment, and attend to local grievances.

526 MERTEN, Marianne

General goes walkabout on the ground floor. *Mail & Guardian*, 30 April – 6 May 1999, pp8–9.

Brief anecdotal account of Constand Viljoen's campaign in the Western Cape with specific reference to Cape Town and Stellenbosch and the conditions and people he encountered there.

527 MERTEN, Marianne

Tough choice ahead for Western Cape voters. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 21, 28 May – 3 June 1999, p14.

Comments on the campaigns conducted in the Western Cape Province by the ANC and the New National Party (NNP) as represented by the ANC chairman Ebrahim Rasool and NNP provincial leader Gerald Morkel, focusing on the personalities of the two politicians.

528 MERTEN, Marianne

Western Cape killings: police ignored warnings. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 10, 12–18 March 1999, p4.

Reviews the conflict situation in the Western Cape and the background to the killing of four UDM executive committee members, and an ANC councillor within three days in the wider Nyanga/KTC area. Note the reactions of Western Cape politicians and peace organizations to this pre-election violence.

529 MERTEN, Marianne

Why they youth won't vote. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 15, 16–22 April 1999, p12.

Notes that only slightly more than half (51.3%) of potential first time voters aged eighteen to twenty have registered to vote. This is attributed to disillusionment over the lack of change in their lives and disenchantment with the high level of crime and shortage of jobs.

530 MIJIGA, Foster

The role of international organisations in the 1999 South African general election. *Election Watch*, no 2, 15 May 1999, pp6–7.

Mijiga, programme officer at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, (NDI), states that compared to the 1994 election the role of other countries and international organizations will be minimal. The article lists the six organizations that have applied for accreditation with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and discusses the roles they have played and will play in the electoral process.

531 MINISTERS do not grasp 'independence' — Pityana. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 5, 5 February 1999, pp5–6.

Reports the views of the Chairman of the Human Rights Commission, the Reverend Barney Pityana, on the issue of the independence of Commissions as defined in the constitution, and the failure of some cabinet ministers to grasp their true status. The point in question is discussed in the context of the resignation of Judge Kriegler as chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

532 MINORITY FRONT

Manifesto. United we shall rise. Divided we shall fall. Presenting the new-look Minority Front ... preparing for the future. N.p.: Minority Front, 1999, [8p].

Contents: Message from the leader: Mr A. Rajbansi; mission statement; the new MF logo (a Bengal tiger); Why vote Minority Front?; Minority Front vision; election issues.

533 MOBILISING young voters. *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp6–7.

Describes the circumstances surrounding the poor turnout of young people in the first round of voter registration, suggests reasons for this, notes reactions to the lack of participation, and the explanations offered for this, then details the initiatives proposed by the National Youth Commission (NYC), the IEC and by political parties to mobilise youth.

534 MOLUTSI, Patrick

Southern African Development Community (SADC). Elections focus 1999. *Southern African Political Monthly*, vol 12, no 5, May 1999, pp9–11.

This, the first of a projected series of articles in a SAPEM election corner, presents preliminary general issues already evident in the run up to elections in five SADC countries scheduled to hold elections in 1999 — Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa. It focuses on electoral conduct, electoral systems and their selection and their implications for political stability and democratic government. It discusses the merits and demerits of the predominant First Past the Post (FPTP) plurality systems with special reference to their effects on women and other

marginalized groups and notes the rise in inter-party and intra-party tensions, especially in South Africa. Includes a table of legislatures characterised by one strong ruling party giving number of seats and % of ruling party seats.

535 MONITORS of KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape warn of outbreaks of election violence. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 15, 16 April 1999, pp1–2.

Quotes opinions expressed by Jenny Irish of the Network of Independent Monitors and Mark Jensen of the Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee, both painting pictures of escalating conflict. Includes their recommendations for stemming the violence.

536 MOODLEY, Nashen

Parties appeal to Indian fears. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 21, 28 May – 3 June 1999, p6.

Outlines the policies and strategies of the opposition parties playing on the anxieties of the Indian voters concerning affirmative action and minority rights. States that the Minority Front, led by Amichand Rajbansi is perceived to be adopting an increasingly pro-ANC stance, briefly mentions the ANC's own approach and notes the formation of the Concerned Citizens Group.

537 MORE milestones on the way to 2 June 1999. *Election Watch*, no 2, 15 May 1999, p4.

'The IEC [Independent Electoral Commission] has a calendar of crucial activities and it appreciates being held accountable for its schedule. The following timetable shows what lies ahead in the next few weeks, until 2 June, which has been declared a public holiday so that all South Africans can cast their vote.' (Introduction). Timetable for the electoral process, 3 May – 2 June 1999. Results will be announced from late on 2 June to 5 June. Source: IEC, Notice 200019 of 1999.

538 MORE opinion survey analysis. *Election Update* 99, no 2, 27 November 1998, pp5–6.

First notes some party reactions to the survey Opinion '99, looks at findings from the survey that may suggest priorities for voter education projects and considers the impact that gender differences may have on political participation. Also examines responses concerning the electoral process and questions the position of first-time voters.

539 MOTARA, Shireen

Election '99: women's participation in voter registration. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Commission on Gender Equality, 1999, 32p.

Following consultations with the Independent Electoral Commission, the CGE undertook a survey of women's participation during voter registration on 6–7 March 1999. This focused on rural women's experiences in areas where the number who registered significantly exceeded the numbers for rural men, and for urban women and men. Describes the methods of the survey and its limitations. Topics discussed include democratic citizenship, membership of political parties, responsive government, women's issues and voter education. Includes a literature review, and graphs.

540 MOTARA, Shireen

Turn paper rights into real rights. *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 2, 1999, 3p.

Maintains that very little electioneering has been aimed specifically at women, even though surveys indicate a high level of political awareness among women voters. More has to be done to make women's socio-economic rights substantive. Areas of concern include access to basic needs, skills development and violence against women.

541 MOTARA, Shireen

Women voters march to the polls. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Commission on Gender Equality, 1999, 36p.

Describes the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) its establishment and functions, its aims, challenges and priorities (black women in rural areas). Focuses on its own survey into women's participation during voter registration 6–7 March 1999. Its findings (pp11–30) cover methodology (interviews, limitations, schedules), lessons from other countries, significance of democratic citizenship, reasons for registering and for voting, membership of political parties, women's attitudes to government, change and responsibilities and their recommendations on improving the voter registration process. The survey highlights critical issues concerning women's participation in political processes, outlines challenges to the Independent Electoral Commission, to political parties and to the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE). Overall it indicates a high level of political awareness. At head of cover 'Election '99'.

542 MPUMALANGA. *Election Update* 99, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp27–28.

Brief note on the 1999 election results by the compilers of the Election Update together with tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes and seats, arranged by party; Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting, votes and % votes, by party.

543 MTHOMBOTHI, Barney

But who is my MP?: the body politic. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 12, 2 April 1999, p33.

Comment's on the accepted politician's wisdom that accessibility to constituents is the key to success, and examines this with reference to South African politics and rural constituencies in particular. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

544 MTHOMBOTHI, Barney

Carrot and stick. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 7, 21 May 1999, pp38–40.

First explains some of the rivalries within the African National Congress, focusing on that between ANC militaristic returned exiles and internal leaders, as represented by Cyril Ramaphosa. Notes the major problems facing Thabo Mbeki and discusses his strategies for disarming his critics especially those in the South African Communist Party. Detects a more authoritarian approach allied to an attempt to broaden still further the black base of the party by appealing to the traditional chiefs. Includes portraits of ANC leaders from 1912 to 1997 — 'The long walk to power'.

545 MTHOMBOTHI, Barney

Like extras in an election movie: the body politic: opinion: current affairs.
Financial Mail, vol 153, no 5, 7 May 1999, p36.

Comments on the quality of election campaigns mounted by various political parties. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

546 MTHOMBOTHI, Barney and HAZLEHURST, Ethel

NNP's fate awaits the DP: the body politic; How Mbeki can repay the debt he owes to voters: election analysis. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 10, 11 June 1999, pp40; 42.

Provides the following: comment on the future of the New National Party and the Democratic Party and a report on the impact of the outcome of the general election on economic issues; also discusses the need for a review of the labour laws and job creation strategies. Illustrates with a photograph and graphs. (ISAP).

547 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, pp5-20.

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.

548 MUTHIEN, Yvonne

... Evaluating democracy and the 1999 election in South Africa. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp1-4.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

This chapter outlines the purpose of and background to the Human Sciences Research Council's research which forms the basis of this book. It concisely describes the findings and conclusions reached, and pays tribute to the Democracy SA research team. It sets out 'the modalities of the HSRC's election research package, including the study on bar-coded identity documents, public opinion surveys and attitude surveys as well as the first exit poll to be conducted on election day.'

549 MUTHIEN, Yvonne and KHOSA, Meshack

... Exercising democratic citizenship through voting: policy implications. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp129–134.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

'Chapter 9 attempts to outline some strengths and weaknesses of the 1999 election as well as their potential policy implications. It reflects on the processes of voter education, registration staffing, voting and electoral funding, and proposes nine policy guidelines emanating from the HSRC team study.' These nine policy guidelines are presented as a framework for future elections in South Africa, are clearly explained, and focus on the following: the first relates to the importance of voter education; the second to the importance of registration and the effective maintenance of voters' rolls; the third to the importance of providing relevant, thorough and timely training to electoral staff, especially those to be deployed at the local voting stations; the fourth to the need to reconsider voting district demarcation; the fifth to the counting of votes; the sixth to the clarification and streamlining of the procedures and requirements for declaration and special votes; the seventh underscores the importance of collaboration, partnership and joint ventures; the eighth relates to electoral funding and the ninth to the independent evaluation of the electoral process.

550 MZAIDUME, Dumile

Assessing the IEC's management model for future elections. N.p.: n.pub.c.1999, various paging.

Thesis: M Man. University of the Witwatersrand, 1999. Unseen.

551 NAGGING doubts about bar code decision. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 16, 23–29 April, p27.

This concise contribution by 'Sergeant at the Bar' provides a summary of the decision of the Constitutional Court, written by Judge Zac Yacoob, and signed by all the members of the Court (except Judge Kate O'Regan) that the applicable provisions of the Electoral Act did not constitute an infringement of the right to vote. It then presents Judge O'Regan's dissenting arguments, and notes her insistence on the careful scrutiny of important rights and of the purposes of statutory measures in relation to their efforts.

552 NAIDOO, Kameshnee

Exploring new terrain — tackling a tri-media approach to the 1999 election: an analysis of online coverage of elections by media organisations in their respective countries and recommendations for multi-platform publishing within the SABC ...

Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1999, – p.

MA, Journalism and Media Studies. (Index to South African Theses and Dissertations).

553 NAIDOO, Ravi, and others

A political paradox? Worker expectations of South Africa's democracy. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 3, Spring 1999, pp21–25.

'Trade union backing was a critical factor in the ANC's election victory.' The authors look at what exactly the workers expect in return for this support. The article is based on a survey, led by NALEDI (the National Labour and Economic Development Institute), into workers expectations regarding the Tripartite Alliance, and transformation, and government policies undertaken in late 1998. They suggest possible explanations for the paradox of overwhelming electoral support for the ANC in the 1999 elections and the negative impact of the ANC's GEAR policy on the labour force. The article notes declining support for the Tripartite Alliance since the 1994 elections, but argues that COSATU can still strengthen its position within the Alliance.

554 NASH, Andrew

Legitimizing capitalism: the June 1999 election. *Election Watch*, no 2, 15 May 1999, pp7-8.

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'.

555 NATIONAL Assembly: allocation of representatives for each party.

Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission?, 1999, 12p + 2p.

Tables; no text. Contents: pp1-9. Determination of regional seats for National Assembly. For each province lists party, valid votes divided by quota, initial allocation, remainders, rank, seat allocation. In each instance gives totals, number of seats, and quota. p10. Determination of overall seats for the National Assembly. p11. Determination of national list for the National Assembly. p12. Determination of regional list allocation for parties without a national list. Also two pages attached: National Assembly: summary. Table: no text. Elections '99. Summary: distribution of seats for the National Assembly.

556 NATIONAL COALITION FOR GAY AND LESBIAN EQUALITY

Vote for equality for all: a lesbian and gay guide to the 1999 election. Johannesburg: NCGLE, 1999, 29p.

This pamphlet summarises the responses received to NCGLE's questionnaire, sent to the main political parties on the basis of their size, influence and current policies. Clearly states the rights the Coalition wants, the reasons for these and factors influencing voters' decisions. Includes details concerning the organization itself.

557 NATIONAL survey of eligible South African voters. Alexandria, VA: Public Opinion Strategies, 1993, 118p.

This report contains the complete analysis of the survey of eligible voters in South Africa presented to the NDI (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs) and commissioned by the IRI. (IFES).

558 NDEBELU, S'bu

Interview with Cheryl Goodenough: [ANC election prospects in KwaZulu-Natal]. *KwaZulu-Natal Briefing*, 14, March 1999, pp22–24.

'No party should be allowed to benefit from denying access to potential voters no matter how few.' The Chairman of the provincial ANC explains why he is confident that his party will shortly take power in KwaZulu-Natal. Topics addressed include free campaigning, ANC national and provincial lists, peace talks, the roles of the SACP and of the UDM in the province, violence and his own vision for peace and unity.

559 NDLETYANA, Mcebisi

Is the UDM a government in waiting? *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 2, August 1999, pp12–15.

'The UDM regards itself as the only party with the potential to oust the ANC from power. Do the election figures bear this out? The author argues that the fate of the UDM hinges on whether the ANC delivers on its promises to the electorate.' His article analyses the results of the 1999 election as they pertain to the United Democratic Movement, examines the status of its leader Bantu Holomisa, the role of traditional leaders, and the party's support within and without Transkei.

560 NDLETYANA, Mcebisi

Transkei trails. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp13–17.

Presents an overview of campaigning in the Umtata area dominated by the contest between the ANC and the UDM, as attested by the posters in the region. Reports good relations generally between the two parties despite some incidents of intimidation. Describes the electoral strategy of the UDM, then analyses voter concerns — urban (civil service, threats of retrenchment, jobs, unemployment, Holomisa and his reputation versus Xhosa sense of identification with the ANC), then rural (political affiliations of traditional leaders, control and patronage by the ANC).

561 NDLETYANA, Mcebisi

UDM may not live up to early expectations. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 1, March 1999, pp7–10; 16.

'The UDM has been touted as a major new political force; indeed given its early growth, it has even been suggested that it could become the official parliamentary opposition. However Ndletyana argues that its election performance is unlikely to fulfil these expectations.' (Journal introduction). The author examines the UDM's support base in the Eastern Cape, the personality and importance of Bantu Holomisa in the former Transkei, and the role of Sifiso Nkabinde in Kwa Zulu-Natal.

562 NDLETYANA, Mcebisi

The United Democratic Movement: a critical assessment. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp179–188.

The formation of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) led to speculation that the dominance of the African National Congress (ANC) would be threatened. The popularity of its leaders — Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer — promised to give the party a significant support base. In the June 1999 election the UDM obtained 3.42 per cent of the national vote. In less than two years of its existence, and despite financial

difficulties and lack of a national profile in the period leading up to the election, it managed to become the fifth biggest party. This article argues, however, that the UDM is unlikely to feature prominently beyond the next election. Its support base is regionally concentrated and is built on short-term interests that the ruling party has started to address. (Abstract). It includes tables for the UDM's highest scoring voting district support, by province, and UDM's electoral support, provincial ballot. The author is a policy analyst at the Centre for Policy Studies.

- 563 NEW and small parties.** *Election Update* 99, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp12–13.
'By 18 December 1998, 15 parties had completed registration formalities with the IEC (including the payment of a R500 fee and the submission of 50 signatures by supporters), and a further seven applications had been lodged.' (Journal introduction). Details are provided of some of these parties. The information is from the IEC and from 'The Star' of 22 December 1998.
- 564 NEW NATIONAL PARTY**
Manifesto 1999. New National Party: let's get South Africa working. Pretoria: New NP, 1999, 16p + CD.
Coloured illustrated booklet containing a message from the leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk, introducing the party's commitment to get South Africa working through its policies on crime, justice, economic growth, effective governance, health, housing, real reconciliation, inclusive government and localism. It's slogans: 'Let's get South Africa working. Vote for the New National Party: the party that can get South Africa working.' From reverse in Afrikaans: 'Manifes 1999'. Attached : a fax to EISA from its Federal Council, dated 16 April 1999, and a CD.
- 565 The NEW NP news, Edition 2, no 2.** Pretoria: NNP (New National Party), April 1999, 8p.
Issued by Dirk Bakker, MP. Contents include: Only we can stop the ANC; A great party; A party for all South Africans; Malatsi first DUA chairman; Mnisi's only alternative; Northern Cape will be ours; Blow against crime; Marthinus in touch with the nation. The New NP manifesto (pp3–6) covers the party's attitudes and commitment in the areas of crime, justice, policing, correctional services, economic growth, education, health and welfare, housing, service delivery, reconciliation, inclusive government and localism. Also published in Afrikaans as 'Nuwe NP Nuus'.
- 566 NGO liaison with the IEC.** *NGO Election Consortium News*, vol 2, Issue 1, January 1999, 2p.
Reports on a briefing held by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) on Tuesday 5 January 1999 covering the following topics: IEC structure, political party liaison, NGO liaison, voter education, donor liaison, sharing research, election monitoring, voter registration and future dialogue.

- 567 NGO strategy on voter education: preparing for the 1999 elections.** In: EDUCATION for democracy: a series of roundtable proceedings, Eastern Cape, February – September 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1998, pp90–109.

Roundtable 5. Contents: 'Key challenges facing the South African Electoral Commission', by Bongani Finca; and 'Content and approach to voter education [Voter education: developing a curriculum]', by Ilona Tip.

- 568 NINETEEN Hundred and Ninety Nine [1999] elections.** *Election Watch*, no 2, 15 May 1999, entire issue 8p.

Contents: Find out how your political party promises to improve your quality of life. What do major political parties stand for?, by Keith Gottschalk. (Brief summaries of twelve political parties' manifestos); Registered parties (Seven latecomers); Monitoring the elections (Formation of the South African Civil Society Election Observation Coalition (SACSEOC); Who is eligible to vote on 2 June 1999?; More milestones on the way to 2 June 1999: election timetable (IEC); Will all parties registered appear on the ballot paper? (Includes a table of the 'Parties contesting national election', and one of 'Parties contesting provincial election' arranged by province); Opinion 1: The role of international organisations in the 1999 South African general election, by Foster Mijiga (Lists six accredited with the IEC); Opinion 2: Legitimizing capitalism: the June 1999 election, by Andrew Nash. Note: SACSEOC was actually established as SACSOC, the South African Civil Society Observation Coalition, q.v.

- 569 The NINETEEN Hundred and Ninety Nine [1999] KZN free and fair elections survey — respondents' views of the opposition.** Durban?: Institute for Multi-Party Democracy?, 1999, 5 leaves.

This survey explores the views of respondents on the function of the opposition parties in the democratic dispensation. Two very different conceptions emerge. 'In general, opposition party supporters tend to view the role of the opposition as that of a critical watchdog. In contrast, ANC supporters view the role of the opposition as that of a (perhaps critical) ally that should cooperate with government in developing policy.' Web contact: helmann@impd.org.za. Last updated: May 26, 1999.

- 570 NKOSI, Makhosini**

Poll may be set aside in Nongoma. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 21, 28 May – 3 June 1999, p5.

Reports that the ANC intends to bring an application to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to have the election in Nongoma annulled, citing the removal of its posters within an hour of their erection. The ANC is campaigning there for the first time. Intimidation by the IFP is alleged: defectors to the ANC are being targeted.

- 571 NORTHERN Province.** *Election Update* 99, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp34–35.

A brief analytical introduction and two tables by the compilers of the Election Update, reflect the huge majority won by the African National Congress. The fortunes of some minority parties, including the Ximoko Party and the Dabalorivhuwa Patriotic Front, are noted. Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes and seats, with

comparative figures for 1994, by party; and, Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting, votes and % of votes, by party.

572 NTULI, Sibusiso

Threats to free and fair elections. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp10–11.

Surveys incidents of violence and intimidation in the run-up to the elections, focusing on Freedom Day (27th April) happenings, and the fragile peace in KwaZulu-Natal.

573 NTULI, Sibusiso

Threats to free and fair elections. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp10–11.

The author reviews the situation, focusing on problems concerning voter registration, the elimination of potential violence, the discovery of arms caches, and security plans for KwaZulu-Natal.

574 NUPEN, Dren

Preventing electoral corruption. *NEDCOR ISS Crime Index*, vol 2, no 3, May – June 1998, pp18–21.

‘Allegations of corruption, even if unfounded, undermine the confidence of voters in the lead-up to elections and can affect the outcome of even those elections declared “free and fair”. As evidenced by the charges of corruption after the recent Lesotho elections, the issue must be recognised and preventative steps taken in the run-up to South Africa’s 1999 national poll.’ (Journal precis). This article, focused on the relationship between elections and corruption, is premised on the view that for elections to be declared free and fair certain fundamental principles have to be evident during all stages of the electoral process. The author analyses and discusses these principles, emphasising the imperative need for an independent, impartial and non-partisan electoral authority, and indicating specific areas where the electoral process could be corrupted.

575 O’ DONOVAN, Michael

Election day exit poll. In: *DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election*, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HRSC Publishers, 1999, pp33–50. ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

‘Chapter 4 presents the results of the first ever exit poll to be conducted in South Africa, as well as critically examining the methodology and constraints of such polls. Exit polls were prohibited during the 1994 election. The HSRC exit poll was conducted at 214 voting stations, distributed across all provinces, stratified by metropolitan, urban and rural location, and yielded 11 140 respondents. The age, gender, race and educational distribution of the sample produced interesting results.’ (Introduction). The intention of the exit poll was to ascertain the degree to which voters felt that the poll had been conducted in a manner free and fair to all voters and political parties. O’Donovan’s conclusion is that the poll demonstrated that at the time there was substantial consensus that the election was ‘free and fair’. Tables and graphs demonstrate the survey’s methodology, the results of the poll, freeness and fairness,

secrecy of the votes, force and intimidation, problems experienced, queuing time, impact and effects of voting stations, their size and distribution.

576 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: National Democratic Institute & the University of the Western Cape, School of Government, 1999, pp115–199.

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.

577 OHMAN, Magnus

Public funding of political parties in Africa. Washington, DC: International Foundation for Election Systems, 1999, 55p.

Overview covering the levels of funding, distribution of funds, examples from non-African countries, opinions about public funding and a bibliography of material used in this study. South Africa is included, and specifically discussed, pp11–12. Appendix I: Regulations of public funding in different countries. Appendix 2: Comparison of public funding in selected countries.

578 OJANEN, Julia

Gender and elections: national information audit ... Convened by Women's Net and Commission on Gender Equality. Johannesburg: Commission on Gender Equality Offices, 1998, [18p].

'The information audit, jointly sponsored by Women's Net and the Commission on Gender Equality, was intended to provide a forum for information exchange and an opportunity for strategic discussions on activities and programs around gender and the upcoming elections. In addition this audit helped define an information and communications support role for Women's Net with respect to women and the 1999 elections. The event consisted of a presentation of the IEC, introduction of the organizations and their activities, working groups and general discussion during which a concrete strategy of actions on gender and the elections was explored. The event served as an opportunity for the organizations to establish networks and to exchange ideas around gender and elections activities.' (Introduction).

579 OLIVIER, Johan L and RULE, Stephen

Free and fair: voters' evaluation of the 1999 election. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp225–234.

'A representative sample survey of voters conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) on Election Day revealed that the vast majority of South African voters believe that the election was free and fair, with marginal differences in opinion between racial groups. Most voters lived in close proximity to a voting station and were able to reach it on foot. Although lengthy queues delayed voting at some voting stations, one in two voters waited for less than 30 minutes before voting. Less than 2 per cent indicated that they had been under pressure to vote for a particular party. These positive perceptions, together with the relatively high percentage poll, signal a high degree of national consensus across racial and party political divides about the legitimacy of the election process in South Africa.' (Abstract). This article includes eleven tables from the survey which was undertaken at 214 randomly selected voting stations in all nine provinces. Interviews were conducted with 11 140 voters by way of a structured questionnaire. The article describes the research design and presents the results of the survey regarding accessibility of voting stations, the extent to which voters felt that they understood the procedures, problems experienced by voters, and various issues which impacted on the freeness and fairness of the election. These include the extent to which voters were subjected to intimidation and their perceptions regarding the secrecy of the ballot. The authors are both Chief Research Specialists in the Group 'Democracy and Governance', HSRC, Pretoria.

580 OLIVIER, Johan

The Independent Commission (IEC): the quest for free and fair elections. In: *DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election*, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp21–32.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

Chapter 3 outlines the research conducted on the electoral machinery. It examines the extent to which the IEC was able to establish itself as a credible institution and the availability of green bar-coded identity documents a year before the 1999 election as well as on the eve of the election. The chapter further explores whether the requirement that each voter should be in possession of a green bar-coded identity document in order to vote would inhibit voter participation in the election. (Introduction). The author concludes that the possession or not of a bar-coded ID was NOT a significant factor in whether or not voters registered for the election. Includes figures and tables.

581 OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Voters, the elections and radio: your election information file. Newlands, Cape: The Foundation, 1998, 129p.

Contributors: Jean Fairbairn, Derrick Fine, Hein Marais. File developed as a resource for community radio stations in the period leading up to the 1999 elections. Major sections: A. Introduction to government and the law (including the Constitution and the Bill of Rights). B. Elections and the law governing elections (managing and monitoring, preparation and registration, campaign, voting and counting). C. Broadcasting law and using radio for elections. D. Practical election guidelines for broadcast journalists. Includes glossary and contact list.

- 582 OPINION polling.** *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 2001, pp6–8.
Gives a full report on the findings published by the Independent Newspaper Group on 20 January 1999, from a poll it commissioned, with fieldwork conducted in November 1998 and based on interviews with 3000 people, half of whom were urban residents. These findings have been welcomed by the ANC in contrast to the reception given by the party to the Opinion '99 poll results. Currently the SABC/IDASA/ Markinor has continued to release survey data. The most recent concern the public agenda, key issues in the election campaign, government performance and public confidence in the direction of the country and the economy. This article gives a detailed coverage of the survey's statistical results.
- 583 OPINION 99: second round.** *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp8–9.
Comments on the second set of survey findings generated by SABC/IDASA/ Markinor's Opinion '99 and released in December 1998. 'Data analysis is still in progress, but findings have been released with reference to registration, voting likelihood, public preferences for election day, and voting intentions.' This assessment points to some insights indicated by the survey, some conclusions confirmed and some alterations in party support.
- 584 OPPOSITION denounces Arab gifts to ANC.** *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 16, 23 April 1999, pp7–8.
Reports a donations to ANC election funds of US \$20m (R121m) by two Arab leaders (from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates), and criticism of this by the Democratic Party on grounds of its magnitude and possible influence on foreign policy. 'Comment' includes details of state funding of political parties election campaigns and notes complaints that parties without representation in the legislature are not eligible for funding.
- 585 OPPOSITION to seek talks with Mbeki over GCIS.** N.p.: www.anc.org.za/elections/news/mar/en030808.html, 5 March 1999, 2p.
Five opposition parties want a joint meeting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in a bid to end a government publicity campaign which they claim is a blatant abuse of taxpayers' money to promote the African National Congress.
- 586 OPPOSITION worth its salt: politicians may not have that much clout.** *Finance Week*, 11 June 1999, p9.
Provides editorial comment on the future role of opposition parties following the 1999 general election, also considering the greater influence that business and labour will have on government policy. Illustrates with a graph. (ISAP).
- 587 OUR election.** *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 8, Supplement, 26 February – 4 March 1999, 4p. Folded.
A supplement dealing with the 1999 election sponsored by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa ... researched and written by Fair Share, a unit of the School of Government at the University of the Western Cape. Designed to be used as an educational tool. Contents: South Africa's choices. Founding statements of the

political parties. For each of the thirty two parties presents founding statement, founding date, founder/s telephone and fax numbers and name of contact person. (p1; 4); What voters need to know about economic policies. Covers the following issues: poverty alleviation, job creation, land policy, budget priorities, taxes/debt and economic policy (p2-3); The major parties' economic positions. Displays the economic positions of the eight major parties (ACDP, ANC, DP, FF, IFP, NNP, PAC and UDM) on economic strategy, poverty, job creation, labour, housing, land and budget priorities/debt. (On inside of folder).

- 588 OUTCOMES of elections — 2 June 1999: democracy in action.** *Election Watch*, no 3, 15 July 1999, pp1-3.

Includes the 'complete results' of the June 1999 elections in which the ANC received overwhelming support, and the Democratic DP became the official opposition party. Notes coalition governments in two Provincial Legislatures and an increase in the number of political parties in all legislatures. Suggests democratic and electoral issues in need of attention. Tables of results, National and Provincial. The National Results table includes percentages and seats for the 1994 elections also.

- 589 OUTLOOK for 1999 – 2000.** *Country Report. South Africa*, 1st quarter 1999, pp6-11.

This concise overview by the Economist Intelligence Unit includes material on preparations for the elections, strategies of the opposition parties, relations between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the future of the ANC Alliance, Mr Mbeki's political strategies and violence in the Cape.

- 590 OUTLOOK for 1999 – 2000.** *Country Report. South Africa*, 2nd quarter 1999, pp6-14.

pp6-8: Outlook for 1999-2000: The ANC is expected to win a large victory in the June election, as the opposition parties scramble for second place. Even if it wins a two-thirds majority, the ANC is unlikely to change the constitution. The governing alliance will hold but will be under pressure. The new cabinet will speed up transformation, but not at the expense of fiscal discipline; pp1-14: The political scene: Nelson Mandela has set June 2nd as the election date and the ANC has released its manifesto. The ANC president, Thabo Mbeki, has dropped two provincial premiers. Opposition parties have begun campaigning, but opinion polls point to an ANC victory. Pre-election violence has erupted sporadically but has been overshadowed by the crime wave. Summary from the Economist Intelligence Unit's country analysis report.

- 591 PADAYACHEE, Vishnu, and others**

Democracy and development: reflections on the post-Mandela era, by Vishnu Padayachee, Imraan Valodia and Thokozani Xaba. *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 3, Spring 1999, pp15-20.

The authors identify the issues that are likely to dominate the Mbeki presidency. The composition of the cabinet shows a commitment to redressing gender inequality as well as the delivery of development and social and economic infrastructure. Unless investment, foreign and local, picks up noticeably, there is little prospect that GEAR's growth and employment projections will come close to realisation. The centralization of power around the President has implications for democracy and development. The

President's office is likely to conduct an assessment of ministerial policies before they are put to cabinet. Ministers have wide-ranging powers to appoint and dismiss staff. South Africa will play a greater role in politics and peace-keeping in Africa. The article provides a political analysis of the 1999 elections, focusing on opposition politics, pockets of black opposition to the ANC and, among white voters, the shift away from the New National Party to the Democratic Party. A 'Verified national election results — Regional summary' tabulates percentage votes for sixteen political parties by province and includes total votes. A separate box entitled 'Race and Religion' argues that racial politics remain critical in a democratic South Africa and that religion-based politics remain peripheral.

592 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

The manifesto. N.p: PAC, 1999, 16p.

Contents: The viewpoint of the President, Rev Dr Stanley Mogoba on the challenges facing Azania/South Africa and the goals, objectives and strategies and policies of the party on all major issues. Includes a brief history of the PAC, a statement of its governing principles, a list of office bearers, and (inside front-cover) the poem 'It's about Azania'.

593 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 regionalisation and federalisation of the state.

594 PARDINGTON, Suzanne

South Africa's version of RuPaul takes on politics in 1999 elections. <http://www.journalism.berkeley.edu/SouthAfrica/News>, May 1999, p [8].

Concerns the activities of Pieter-Dirk Uys in support of voter education.

595 PARKS, Matthew

The four most hotly contested provinces. *Election Watch*, no 3, 15 July 1999, pp10–12.

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.'

596 PARLIAMENTARY elections in South Africa, edited by Wilfred P C G Derksen.

N.p: n.pub, 1996, 2p.

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-af.html>

- 597 PARTIES are registering for contesting the elections.** *Election Watch*, no 1, 15 March 1999, (entire issue 8p).

By the end of February 1999 thirty three parties have registered with the Independent Electoral Commission. 'This first issue (of Election Watch) contains the names of the political parties and their leaders; their contact numbers; brief descriptions of what each party stands for; and the issues they want to address.'

- 598 PARTY funding needs to pass the honour test.** *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 12, 2 April 1999, p11.

Editorial, presenting some general discussion on acceptable standards for the financing of political parties.

- 599 PARTY manifestos.** *Election Update 99*, no 14, 12 June 1999, pp11–17.

'We consider the manifestos of each of the sixteen parties contesting the National Assembly elections under the following six headings: general objectives/principles, followed by policies on crime, the economy and jobs, education, health and housing. Briefer surveys are given of some of the ten parties contesting provincial legislatures.' (Introduction).

- 600 PAYNE, Herb**

Hung chamber predicted. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 1, 9 April 1999, p33.

Includes some pre-election predictions in the KwaZulu-Natal battle for control of the Provincial Legislature. Comments on influences and rivalries, and includes some MarkData survey figures.

- 601 PAYNE, Herb**

No zip-zips have been zapped. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 3, 23 April 1999, p31.

Brief report on the seizure by the Office of National Public Prosecutions of two stolen IEC bar code readers, and on the reaction of the IEC indicating that there is no reason to fear electoral fraud.

- 602 PAYNE, Herb**

Signs of a low poll. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 9, 12 March 1999, p43.

The IEC's claim to have registered 70% – 80% of the eligible population after the third (and final) three day registration period is viewed with caution, in the light of its revised assumption of March 1999 of only 22.8m voters. Includes comments by Tom Lodge.

- 603 PAYNE, Herb**

Whatever the engine, it had better perform. *Financial Mail*, 18 June 1999, pp32–33.

Concise comment on the pre-election decision of the ANC and the IFP to form a governing coalition in KwaZulu-Natal, the problems involved in this, and the necessity for it, following the return by voters of a hung Parliament. Notes the important role the choice of a premier will play and the need to bolster administrative capacity.

604 PEACE MONITORING FORUM

Assessment report, Western Cape July 1999. Prepared by Margaret Levick (Human Rights Committee) and Larainne Kaplan. [Cape Town?]: PMF, 1999, 14p.

Peace monitoring and the independent monitoring of elections are indispensable to any new and developing democracy. Despite there being no formal statutory recognition of independent peace monitors in the Electoral Act, a group of 55 volunteers from the Western Cape with human rights and/or conflict resolution training came together to form the initiative which is now known as the Peace Monitoring Forum (PMF). The PMF filled the need for peace monitoring in the Cape Peninsula during the election period. This assessment examines the work of the PMF over the election period, noting its achievements and difficulties. It also looks to the future of peace monitors both in light of the forthcoming local government elections in 2000 and during non-election periods. (Executive Summary). Emerging from this assessment are a number of comments or recommendations, the following being the most pertinent: 1. The Electoral Act must be amended to incorporate the role of independent monitors. This will ensure that peace monitors are an integral, recognised part of any election; 2. Peace monitoring must be recognised as a vital strategy for peace and democracy-building during non-election periods; 3. Funders need to recognise the role peace monitors fulfil throughout the year and especially at election times. Attached is a letter to Ms Dren Nupen from Larainne Kaplan 26/8/99.

605 PEACE MONITORING FORUM

Western Cape PMF documentation report, January – June 1999, prepared by Margaret Levick and Larainne Kaplan. [Cape Town?]: PMF, 1999, 33p.

Provides a full report on the activities of the Peace Monitoring Forum and some critical analysis of its performance as well as that of the Independent Electoral Commission and other role players before and during the 1999 elections. Covers the history and development of the PMF, training and deployment for election day, the relationship between the PMF and the Conflict Management Committee, funding, PMF meetings, monitoring, debriefing, recommendations and 'the way forward' in the Western Cape.

606 PEREIRA, Paul

Constand paying price for electoral defeat. *Finance Week*, 8 October 1999, p24.

Comments on a leadership battle within the Freedom Front following electoral disappointments in the 1999 elections, and on the results of a post-election poll conducted by the FF itself. Much revolves around the future role of Constand Viljoen himself, and on the extent to which self determination (and the creation of a Volkstaat) remains a dominant issue.

607 PEREIRA, Paul

DP's fight back ignores blacks. *Finance Week*, 9 April 1999, p19.

Analyses the extent to which white support for Tony Leon's Democratic Party has increased, as reflected in recently released MarkData opinion poll findings.

608 PEREIRA, Paul

Election '99 — the real issues. *Finance Week*, 28 May 1999, pp14–15.

Reports on the nature of the 1999 general election in the context of issues that are seen to be relevant. The issue of opposition politics is explored, and the policies of some political parties outlined. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

609 PEREIRA, Paul

How the DP came second. *Finance Week*, 18 June 1999, p22.

Speculates on reasons why voters supported the Democratic Party, analyses 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.

610 PEREIRA, Paul

Jobs: all promises, no solutions. *Finance Week*, 30 April 1999, p12.

Reports on a general trend towards political parties including job creation programmes as part of their electioneering strategies. Takes the view that the State can do very little about joblessness. Illustrates with a graph. (ISAP).

611 PEREIRA, Paul and CHRISTIANSON, David

Liberal statesman endorses DP 'fight back'; opposition alienates electorate; the precarious succession. *Finance Week*, 14 May 2000, pp20–21.

Reports on the following: the response of the former German Economics Minister to the Democratic Party's 'fight back' campaign; the view that opposition parties are alienating voters with virtually identical election campaigns; speculation on the outcome of the hypothetical death of Thabo Mbeki, speculating on the quality of potential successors to his position. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

612 PEREIRA, Paul

Racial polarisation looms again. *Finance Week*, 7 May 1999, p17.

Examines the United Democratic Movements support base, its geographical areas of support, principally in the Eastern Cape, its relations with and strategy towards the ANC and its probable future strength. Expresses fears of a return to racially based politics.

613 PEREIRA, Paul

Route to non-racial opposition. *Finance Week*, 25 June 1999, p22.

Speculates on the possibility of opposition parties forming a workable alliance, in the face of an ANC entrenched in power, despite their political differences. Notes areas where their policies overlap.

614 PEREIRA, Paul

Thabo's little election. *Finance Week*, 9 April 1999, p19.

Brief report on the numbers of the electorate and restrictions on their capacity to vote. Notes that there are now another 150 000 potential voters following the recent decision regarding the eligibility of prisoners to cast their votes.

615 PEREIRA, Paul

UDM's future in consensus politics. *Finance Week*, 8 October 1999, p24.

Quotes the United Democratic Movement's co-leader Roelf Meyer's statement that to be attractive 'an opposition party must be in the ANC's slipstream to be attractive'. Notes post-election dissent within the UDM, and defections from it, summarizes its performance in the elections and speculates on its future.

616 PHOTO-FINISHES in West Cape, KwaZulu-Natal. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 22, 4 June 1999, p3.

Article extrapolates from the known votes (more than 50%) to predict that no single party will have an absolute majority in the Western Cape, or in KwaZulu-Natal, and that a coalition will be formed in KwaZulu-Natal and a working partnership in the Western Cape.

617 PIMSTONE, Gideon

Abstract of a paper on hate speech delivered at an EISA conference in Cape Town on 12/3/99. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1999, 4p.

Pimstone, attorney and Chief Researcher Group Democracy and Governance, HSRC, focuses on hate speech as a contributing factor to political violence in the electoral context, as well as in broader situations, and as an issue for electoral efficiency. Notes the role of electoral law in the matter, and the limits of its control.

618 PIMSTONE, Gideon

Hate speech, the constitution and the conduct of elections. Johannesburg: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 1999, 51p. (Occasional papers, May 1999)

'This paper attempts to make sense of what is colloquially known as the hate speech provision of the South African Constitution. As a significant sub-theme, this provision will be examined in the context of electoral policy and conduct.' (Approach and overview). Section 7. 'Hate speech and the conduct of elections' discusses the topic under the headings: elections and rights, hate speech and political process, hate expression and elections, specific harm caused, foreign electoral law and the Electoral Act 73 of 1998. The author concludes that the provision is, 'of course, no guarantor of free and fair elections, but is certainly a means to that end'. Paper originally presented at the 12 March 1999 Electoral Institute of South Africa EISA roundtable 'Hate Speech and the Conduct of Elections'.

619 PIOMBO, Jessica

The UCDP Minority Front, ACDP and Federal Alliance. In: *ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki*, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp133-146.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

This chapter discusses four minority parties which, though small and often regionally based, were able to win a significant enough percentage of the poll to secure at least one seat each in the National Assembly — viz: the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the Federal Alliance (FA), the Minority Front (MF) and the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP). For each, the author reviews its history, composition,

campaign, policies, 1999 election results, bases of support and future prospects. Includes a table of seats in the National Assembly and seats in Provincial Legislatures.

620 PIPER, Laurence

Democracy for a bargain: the 1999 election in KwaZulu-Natal. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp145–154.

While the IFP/ANC race for first place in Kwa-Zulu-Natal was the closest of any in the country, the 1999 election was both freer and fairer than ever before, and the result was readily accepted by all parties. In short, the 1999 election further consolidated both the institutions and culture of liberal democracy. Importantly, this consolidation was predicated in an understanding reached between the IFP and ANC that, whatever the outcome of the election, they would co-operate in government at both national level and in KwaZulu-Natal. In so doing, the stakes of the election were lowered, making a free and fair election not just more affordable but also desirable so as to legitimate future governance. This deal is further confirmation of the trend a KwaZulu-Natal politics away from the ethnically couched confrontational styles of the transition years towards a more ideologically inclusive and co-operative politics. This trend, along with the basic patterns of party affiliation, suggest that KwaZulu-Natal is no more unique politically than any other province in South Africa. (Abstract). The article includes a table of KwaZulu-Natal 1999 election results, national ballot and provincial ballot. The author is a lecturer in Political Studies at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

621 POLITICAL parties. *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp10–12.

Some notes on party funding and the publication of the IBA draft guidelines affecting party election broadcasts are followed by a survey of political party activity. This provides an area by area account of some recent happenings within the ANC, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, New National party, Pan-Africanist Congress, United Democratic Movement and Federal Alliance distilled from newspaper reports.

622 POLITICAL parties. *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp4–6.

Reviews electoral activity throughout December 1998 and January 1999, focusing on party registration, candidates lists and party defections. Notes strong objections from broadcasting representatives to the IBA's proposed guidelines for election coverage by television and radio stations. The article includes a full list of the thirty three parties that have formally registered for the elections, based on information provided by the IEC.

623 POLITICAL parties. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, p5.

This progress report concentrates on candidate lists (those of the ANC and the NNP), defections (mainly from the New National Party), and party electoral expenses.

624 POLITICAL parties. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp4–8.

A close analysis of the ANC's lists is followed by a report on defections, chiefly to the Democratic Party, and a detailed account of the party manifestos of the PAC the Freedom Front, the Afrikaner Unity Movement, Christian Democratic Party, God's People's Party, Keep It Straight and Simple, and the South African Freedom Alliance.

- 625 POLITICAL parties.** *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp4–9.
A brief note on party expenditure is followed by a comprehensive commentary on the campaigns and candidates lists of the ANC, NNP, IFP, DP, PAC UDM, ACDP and Federal Alliance. Registered parties, as at 2 March 1999 are listed on pp7–9.
- 626 POLITICAL parties.** *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp3–5.
Surveys activities, campaigns, happenings and some manifestos relating to the ANC, DP, IFP, NNP, PAC, UDM, Federal Alliance, AZAPO, and SOPA.
- 627 POLITICAL parties.** *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp4–13.
Surveys party campaigns, candidates, manifestos, strategies and electioneering activities relating to the ANC, DP, IFP, NNP, PAC, UDM, Freedom Front, UCDP and the Freedom Alliance. Includes a section on party funding and a list of registered parties, with addresses and other details, as at 30 March 1999.
- 628 POLITICAL parties.** *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp2–7.
Examines the implications of the announcements of ANC candidates for Provincial Premierships, and the personalities, redeployment and changes involved in this in some detail. Specifically discussed are the consequences for Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Thabo Mbeki's support of her, and his own activities, speeches and image. Reviews the NNP's electoral prospects and the DP's electioneering efforts. This is followed by 'only cursory coverage' of the IFP and UDM fortunes. The final section 'Registered Parties' gives details of seven newcomers, bringing the number of registered parties to fifty.
- 629 POLITICAL parties and poverty eradication.** *NGO Matters*, vol 4, no 4, April 1999, pp12–15.
SANGOCO asked political parties to outline four key policy issues they believed would be instrumental in eradicating poverty, and to describe (briefly) the programmes they would implement if elected to power. The article lists the responses from eight parties, UDM, FA, FF, ACDP, ANC, IFP, NP and DP.
- 630 POLITICAL violence is at a low level.** *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 21, 28 May 1999, pp3–4.
Reports that party campaigns have been relatively uneventful in the run-up to the 1999 general election, but warns of possible disruption by youths or other unregistered voters. Lists some incidents of intimidation, attacks and death threats.
- 631 POTTIE, David and SAUL, John S**
'Normalization'? The South African election. *Southern Africa Report (Toronto)*, vol 14, no 4, August 1999, pp12–16.
In two sections. Firstly Saul attempts a brief evaluation of the 1999 election in terms of a one party dominant tilt, class issues, the ANC's neo-liberal policies and its platform of delivery. In the second section Pottie provides 'a careful and detailed analysis of the inner workings' of the 1999 election, seen as a crucial marker in the democratic consolidation process. He discusses the cost of the electoral process itself, the

management of the election, reduced levels of violence, problems of funding, the results, and challenges facing the Mbeki-led ANC.

632 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, pp16–36.

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.

633 POTTIE, David

The IEC takes stock. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp1–2.

The author reports on the post-election debriefing session held in Pretoria on Friday 2 July 1999 during which civil organisations and NGOs were encouraged to comment critically on their experiences in collaborating with the Independent Electoral Commission. Categories addressed included voter education, conflict management, voting procedures, the use of information technology and IEC staff.

634 POTTIE, David

The politics of money: funding political parties. *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp21–24.

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.

635 POTTIE, David

The role of political parties in election monitoring and observation. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, pp17–18.

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.

636 POTTIE, David

The SA elections of 1999. *Election Talk*, Newsletter 4, April 1999, pp1–2.

Comments on the preparations for South Africa's second democratic national and provincial elections, problems facing the Independent Electoral Commission, voter registration and potential support for political parties.

637 POWELL, Ivor, and others

ANC, IFP split over split Deputy offer. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 23, 11–17 June 1999, – p.

This report, compiled by Ivor Powell, Wally Mbhele and Wonder Hlongwa, first considers the possible agreement that the IFP's leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be South Africa's next Deputy President, mentions a new plan to restructure the office of the President, various reactions to this, and the possibility of a coalition in the forthcoming provincial government.

638 POWELL, Ivor

Selling whites a dubious notion. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 17, 30 April – 6 May 1999, p8.

Impressionistic account of the New National Party's campaign trail in Gauteng, on Freedom Day 27 April 1999, and of Marthinus van Schalkwyk's visits to Sharpeville and Vereeniging during which he promoted the idea of a linkage between the Boer Wars (the Wars of Independence) and the liberation struggle.

639 POWELL, Ivor

Top IFP leaders are ANC moles. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, p2.

Allegations of covert defections to the ANC are reported, and denied. ANC strategies in KwaZulu-Natal are described, and its party campaigning in formerly no-go areas noted.

640 POWER, and the burden of a huge victory: editorials. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 10, 11 June 1999, p14.

Provides editorial comment on the African National Congress victory in the 1999 general election, also reviewing the party's performance over the past five years. Thabo Mbeki's future role is outlined, and the role of opposition parties reflected upon. (ISAP).

641 POWERS, Cathy

Who's winning the posters war? *The Star*, 21 April 1999, p8.

The communications experts assess and compare the 1999 election posters of seven major political parties, rates the ANC first and the Democratic Party second. Illustrated in colour. [Newspaper cutting].

642 PREECE, Howard

Election debates miss target. *Finance Week*, 21 May 1999, p20.

Comments on the fact that economic issues should be the overriding issue dominating pre-election debate among political parties and the media. Also provides an overview of economic trends under the African National Congress government. Illustrates with a photograph and a graph. (ISAP).

643 PROPOSAL to IEC for setting rules and guidelines for conduct of civil service in relation to state-funded publications during general elections. N.p.: n. pub, 1998, 7p.

Contains the following regulations: Regulations to ensure that state institutions and officials, state-financed publications and state information services do not use state resources, or are not used, to advance or prejudice the interests of any political party either directly or indirectly — in terms of Section 100 of the Electoral Act No 73 of 1998.

644 PROVINCIAL Legislatures: allocation of representatives for each party.

[Johannesburg]: [Independent Electoral Commission?], 1999, 9p.

Tables: no text. 'Determination of seats for the Provincial Legislature.' For each province lists by party, valid votes, votes divided by quota, initial allocation, remainders, rank and seat allocation. Provides totals, resultant number of seats and quota number.

645 PSOULIS, Christine

COSATU members' attitudes towards the 1999 elections. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol 23, no 2, April 1999, pp24–29.

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.

646 PUTTING women in power: free and fair elections 1999, 23 February 1999, Braamfontein, Johannesburg. [Gender Conference folder]. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, various paging.

Contents: Programme; Appendix, Checklist for ensuring gender equality in the context of free and fair elections, and a copy of Election Update, no 6, 12 February 1999.

647 QUESTIONS over how the ANC selects candidates. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 8, 26 February 1999, pp5–6.

Discusses the response of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to criticism that the published African National Congress lists of election candidates, finalised by the

National Executive Committee, contain names of people with criminal records, or who are under investigation for graft or other malpractices. He has promised a reappraisal.

648 RAMAFOKO, H

Inmates allowed to vote: civilians not too impressed. *Nexus*, May 1999, pp12–13.

Talks to the spokesperson of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Mr Victor Dlamini, to find out about the basic requirements for voting in this year's general elections. Discusses the question of whether prisoners would be allowed to vote, a question which certainly made headlines in the country's major newspapers. (ISAP).

649 RAMAPHOSA, Cyril

The media, the editors and the owners. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 6, 14 May 1999, pp20–21; 53.

Lengthy criticism and rebuttal of the Financial Mail editor Peter Bruce's endorsement of the United Democratic Movement as the party to support in the 2 June 1999 elections. At issue are questions of editorial independence, media control and diversity. Ramaphosa suggests the Financial Mail should not have endorsed any particular party as this contradicts the National Empowerment Consortium (NEC)'s position, which is largely one of support for the ANC.

650 REGISTRATION — a clearer picture. *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp1–5.

This article, based on updated and revised figures released by the IEC, provides statistics for the first round of registration in the northern and southern provinces, and includes tables for registration progress by province, and registration by age and gender. Also includes newspaper reports on local conditions and circumstances and comments on the registration of young people, the gender gap, SANDF involvement and IEC reactions. The dates for the second round of registration have been finalised for Friday, 29 January – Sunday 31 January 1999.

651 REGISTRATION — continued. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, pp1–2.

Discusses registration levels as revealed by the statistics released by the IEC, and explanations suggested for the improved figures. Overall, the second registration session, 29–31 January, appears to have added 4.6m names to the voters' roll and the number of registered voters now totals 14 542 966, or 55.18% of the estimated eligible voters. A third registration period is scheduled for 5–7 March. The IEC are confident that by the end of the period 70% of voters will have registered.

652 REGISTRATION — one more last chance. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp1–3.

Reports on the local level figures for the second round of registration, gives the total number on the voters' roll as 15 033 589, or 57% of its overall target of 26 355 840 and on preliminary activities preceding the third registration drive. A cut-off date of 15 March 1999 for registration has been announced by the Independent Electoral Commission. A brief report on the release of an IDASA opinion poll on March 3 1999

supplying additional insight into the reasons why some people have not registered ends the article.

- 653 REGISTRATION — second bite.** *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp1–3.

With respect to the first round of registration in November and December 1998, the IEC has released detailed local and provincial statistics of people now on the voters' roll. This article provides a political analysis of these, by area, and includes a table of the provincial tallies. This is prefaced by some news from the IEC on preparations for the second round of registration and developments in the youth mobilisation project.

- 654 REGISTRATION — the final push.** *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp1–2.

The newly-appointed Chairperson of the IEC, Brigalia Bam, has announced that 14 807 802 people have registered to vote so far. Detailed registration statistics released on February 17 confirm previous registration patterns. These are tabulated on p2 under 'Voter Registration Progress' and are analysed in some detail in the article.

- 655 REILLY, Ben**

Electoral system choice in post-1999 South Africa: an alternative model. In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Electoral systems roundtable, Cape Town 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999?, pp37–45.

The author first summarises the competing arguments about the various values and consequences of electoral system choice, then states: 'In this paper I shall take a slightly different tack. Rather than attempting to privilege a particular value, such as proportionality or accountability, in advance, I suggest that a better approach may be to specify a particular outcome, and then see what electoral system choice may be best. The outcome I suggest should be privileged over all others is the continuation and consolidation of democracy.' In pursuing this theme he first looks at electoral system choices of the world's 'established' democracies to see whether any patterns or regularities emerge, then at the choices of those countries which share some basic common characteristics with South Africa, taking into account the size criterion (area) and the question of population and tabulating his findings. Next he considers the question of the differing needs of rural/agrarian versus urban/industrialised societies, notes some arguments in favour of some form of district representation in South Africa, presenting points in favour of this in the contexts of the differing needs of transitional and of consolidated democracies. Finally, he argues that the requirements of democratic consolidation are concerned with crafting a system which is responsive to the needs of voters, is accountable in both geographic and policy terms, and which typically leads to a minimal-winning coalition or single-party government that voters can 'throw out' if it does not perform. These goals are maximized by a system based, at least to some extent, upon small geographically-defined electoral districts.

- 656 REVIEW: the political scene.** *Country Report. South Africa*, 1st quarter 1999, pp12–14.

This first section of the Economist Intelligence Unit's overview reports on Mr Mbeki's political position, on his sharp dispute with Judge Kriegler and Kriegler's resignation

from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), on the ANC's election list and opposition parties' reactions to it, and on opinion poll results and the state of the opposition parties.

657 REYNOLDS, Andrew

The case for democratic hope 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, 22p.

'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.)

658 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Electoral systems and democratization in Southern Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, 341p.

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 premiss 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? The author seeks 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 (pp182–190) 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 (pp222–226). Reviewed by Shaheen Mozaffar in *Representation*, vol 37, no 1, Summer 2000, pp77–78.

659 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Electoral systems and democratic consolidation in Southern Africa. In two parts. San Diego, CA: The author, 1996, various paging.

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, pp604–635.

660 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Electoral systems choices for South Africa beyond 1999. In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Electoral systems roundtable, Cape Town 14–15 August 1998. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA, 1999?, pp8–16.

The author sets out his points clearly under nine headings: 1. Why are electoral systems important? 2. The context of electoral system design. 3. The range of choices. 4. The global distribution systems. 5. The important decisions. 6. The pace of electoral system reform around the world. 7. Cited disadvantages of proportional representation. 8. The advantages of PR systems. 9. The main options for South Africa.

661 REYNOLDS, Andrew

The results. In: ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp173–209.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Reynolds outlines the key questions in the 1999 elections and the answers to these that the results provide. First reviews the overall national picture, making comparisons with the circumstances in 1994, then surveys the performance and fortunes of the major political parties, the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Party (DP), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the New National Party (NNP) and other seat-winning parties. Notes how their vote was constituted, ethnically. An overview of the provincial results is followed by a detailed political analysis for each province. The author then examines the structure of the new Parliament, its ethnic diversity and age distribution, reflects on the composition of the new cabinet and speculates on how alternative electoral systems might have worked and on electoral prospects for parties in the future. This chapter is copiously supplied with tables and diagrams.

662 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Women in African legislatures and executives: the slow climb to power. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, 40p.

[2nd edition], published March 1999, with title page, table of contents, preface and footnotes incorporated. Tables. References, pp28–31 Appendix — Women in politics database July 25 1998, pp32–40.

663 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Women in African legislatures and executives: the slow climb to power. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: EISA (Electoral Institute of South Africa), [1999], 26p.

[1st edition]. 'This paper reports the results of a survey of the governments of Africa (and the rest of the world) as they were constituted in 1998. The aim was four-fold: (i) to map the number of women in legislative lower houses in 48 African nations; (ii) to identify, and categorise by type of ministerial portfolio, women in the executives of these cases; (iii) to test the leading hypotheses, which speculate about the factors hindering or facilitating women's access to political representation, through multivariate regression models; and (iv) to investigate the particular importance of

electoral system design to the prospects for women politicians in South Africa.' (Author's summary).

664 RICHARDS, Robin

Managing democracy: the problematic birth of the Electoral Commission. *Focus Letter*, no 4, October 1996, pp11–16.

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.

665 RIGHT PARTY

Manifesto. Edenvale, South Africa: Right Party (RP), 1999, 2p + 2p.

Information sent to EISA, 15 April 1999. It comprises an acceptance form for the party that 'desires an independent state based on ethnic principals because of the uncontrollable rate of crime in the country. Bases its policies on the Swiss canton system'. The acceptance is signed by the party's leader, George Sinclair, and his biographical details are attached together with the party's ten point manifesto, and a coloured logo.

666 ROBINS, Steven

Biting the ballot: facing up to logistical headaches in the Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp15–18.

Examines the Independent Electoral Commission's attitude to voter registration in rural areas, logistical problems, and strategies to deal with these. Discusses academic perceptions of and arguments concerning, the urban/rural 'Great Divide'.

667 ROBINS, Steven

Ethnic and indigenous politics in the Northern Cape: reinventing the apartheid wheel? *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp10–14.

Topics surveyed include the Afrikaner quest for a Volkstaat, the indigenous rights issue among the Griqua, the San's successful land claim and their support for the ANC, coloured nationalism, the importance of the coloured vote and campaign strategies to win this.

668 ROBINS, Steven

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp14–15.

Review of electoral developments in the Northern Cape. Focuses on the major electoral issues — education reform, financial mismanagement and nepotism in the province, crime and unemployment. Comments on voter apathy especially among women and young people and suggests reasons for this.

669 ROBINS, Steven

The Northern Cape: coloured support for the ANC in Namaqualand. *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp11–14.

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.

670 ROBINS, Steven

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp12–16.

Describes and examines the IEC's strategies to encourage voter registration, difficulties and logistical problems, comparative strengths of political parties, the coloured vote and role of the Diamond Fields Advertiser, scandals and controversies, the land question and the alleged bias of the ANC.

671 ROBINS, Stevens

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp8–20.

The author comments on the significance of race and ethnicity in the elections, the dismissal of the Local Electoral Officer (LEO) Johan Griesel and the controversy this has aroused (with allegations of ANC interference in the independence of the IEC). Grievances concerning ANC campaigning methods are also noted.

672 ROBINS, Steven

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp15–19.

Describes the Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen's continuing support for the 'volkstaat' Orania and other FF policies, and considers the possibility of a co-operation agreement with other opposition parties. Continues the saga of the dismissal of the IEC's LEO Johan Griesel and question marks raised over the impartiality of the Independent Electoral Commission.

673 ROBINS, Steven

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp15–18.

'The first section of this report looks, in detail, at the Democratic Party in the Northern Cape, and how it views the problems of the Province, before turning its attention to other aspects of the campaigning.' These includes coalition possibilities, election issues (housing, jobs, farm labour), intimidation and further developments in the 'Griesel saga'. Anticipates a close contest between the NNP and the ANC similar to the 1994 election.

674 ROBINS, Steven

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp17–22.

Notes a co-operation agreement between Constand Viljoen (FF) and the controversial Griqua leader Martin Engelbrecht, then describes the NNP and DP campaigns and rallies in the area, the targeting of the coloured vote and the support of the Khoi and the San — 'indigenous vote'. Robins also reports that recent settlements of San land claims by the government have contributed to ANC support and that a house of traditional leaders is proposed by the NNP, FF and IFP for Nama, San and Griqua

people. In addition he draws attention to concerns and problems relating to farm workers and to educators, and to 'poster wars'.

675 ROBINS, Steven

Northern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp29–33.

Most political analysts forecasts have been proved wrong by the ANC's massive victory and the decline in the New National Party (NNP)'s fortunes. The article investigates contributory factors; the coloured vote, the role of the San community, land and housing issues and the personality of the Premier Manne Dipico. It also surveys the operation of the Independent Electoral Commission in the province and complaints of irregularities made to it. Introduction and tables by the compilers of the update. Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes and seats, with comparative figures for 1994, arranged by party — Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting, votes and % votes, by party.

676 ROBINS, Steven

Western Cape: local expectations and party loyalties. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, pp10–13.

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.

677 ROHAN, Rafiq

Laws of '99 polls need reviewing. *Sowetan*, 30 October 1997, 1 leaf.

Reports on the release by Raymond Louw, on 29 October 1997, of his preliminary discussion document on issues around the role and conduct of the media in the 1999 elections, and the laws, rules and regulations governing them that might have to be reviewed before the elections take place. Several critical areas of concern are thus brought to the attention of the parliamentary portfolio committee on communications, in good time, and searching questions put to them.

678 A ROLL fulfilled. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp1–2.

'The IEC completed its task of compiling a national voters' roll when, on 30 April, its CEO, Mandla Mchunu, presented to the Deputy President the certified voters' roll, the first national roll in South African history.' The roll contains 960 000 pages, making it one of the longest official documents in South African history. It lists a total of 18 363 300 voters. The article comments on provincial statistics and notes some objections to its contents. It includes the names of prisoners, but not of overseas voters despite a court action on their behalf. This failed in the Pretoria High Court when judgement against their inclusion was given on 26 April 1999. Controversy surrounding the rate of registration continues, with criticism of the IEC's arithmetic growing and suggestions being made that possession of the bar-coded documentation was both racially and politically skewed in favour of the ruling party. A table of the Final Voters' Roll is included.

679 ROOPNARANIN, Usha

Tomorrow's voters talk. *Democracy Watch*, 5, 1999, p7.

'Examines children's perceptions of the elections, based on a short survey which provided the children with an opportunity to define in concrete terms what issues and policy positions matter to them.' The research sample consisted of one hundred and twenty children from around the Durban Metropolitan area, between the ages of 10 and 15, randomly interviewed. Research methodology and key findings are outlined. Also published in 'Children First', vol 2, Issue 22, December 1998 – January 1999, under the title: 'Tomorrow's voters talk: election perceptions'.

680 ROUND TABLE ON HATE SPEECH, Cape Town, 11-12 March 1999. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999, various paging.

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 organisations 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, 9p.; 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 precis, 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.

681 RULE, Stephen

Eyes on the ground: fieldworker observations. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp51–64.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

'In Chapter 5 the author presents fieldworkers' observations on election day. A total of 211 fieldworkers completed a questionnaire on their impressions which complemented the perspectives of the voters, because the fieldworkers were stationed at the voting stations for the duration of the day.' (Introduction). In this comprehensive survey the author covers the accessibility of voting stations, their opening and closing times, the length of voting queues, the weather, security arrangements, language

distribution of voters, turnout of ineligible voters, behaviour at and party and media representatives at voting stations, evaluation of freeness and fairness, and policy implications and recommendations. Tables reflect: Buildings or structures used at the voting stations surveyed, by province; Average number of people in voting station queue at 09:00, by province; Ditto at 17:00, by province; Number of voting stations at which each language was dominant, by province; Problems experienced, by voting stations; Party political presence, by voting stations.

682 RULE, Stephen

Outcome of the election. In: DEMOCRACY South Africa: evaluating the 1999 election, edited by Yvonne Muthien. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999, pp107–128.

ISBN : 0-7969-1945-3

'In Chapter 8 the author examines the outcome of the election, compares the levels of voter participation in the 1994 and the 1999 elections and discusses the support for each political party. The chapter also explores electoral geography and issue opinion, as well as the party supporter profiles of the 1999 election' ... And in assessing the outcome the author concludes 'that provincial variations in the degree of support for each political party were largely but not exclusively attributable to the spatial distribution of the black and the white/coloured/Indian sectors of the electorate. However, black voters were not necessarily the most satisfied about the economic and safety situation in provinces where white voters were the least satisfied, and vice versa. Similarly, when subdivided into three standard of living categories, voter satisfaction with the government did not clearly correlate with standard of living across the provinces. This indicates that the election results were not construable merely as a racial or ethnic census of the electorate. Indeed, the results were greatly informed by a widespread sense of trust in the government, satisfaction with the way it governed the country and a perception that race relations had improved since April 1994.' (from 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion').

683 RULE, Stephen

South Africa. In: RULE, Stephen. Electoral territoriality in Southern Africa. Aldershot, etc.: Ashgate, 2000, pp215–257.

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.

684 RULE, Stephen

Surveying the scene. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp5–8.

Looks at the HSRC's Democracy SA Project findings on party support released on 5 May 1999 and details them in two separate sections:- 'Priorities differ markedly according to party support'. The survey indicates the two closely related factors of job creation and crime prevention as top priority for the next ten years. Rule examines the marked differences between the priorities as identified by potential voters for specific political parties and tabulates the findings. 'Party supporter profiles' analyses these in eight sections — five political parties (ANC, NNP, DP, IFP, UDM), "Don't know" voter profile, 'Uncertain' and 'Refuse to say' — by race, gender, language, province, religion, educational level, employment, household finance, dissatisfaction and personal economic situation. See also under ALENCE, Rod, Surveying the scene.

685 RUSSELL, Cecilia and TABANE, Rapule

On the fringe : South Africa's minority parties and what they stand for. *The Star*, 30 April 1999, p8.

The authors tracked down some of the smaller parties to report on their policies. For twenty eight of them it provides the name of the party leader, when formed, main platform, other views, telephone number and fax number.

- 686 SA's second democratic election a resounding success for the ANC, the DP but the NNP is crushed.** *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 22, 4 June 1999, pp1–2.

The ANC sweeps back into power according to this report which went to press when about a quarter of the votes were still uncounted or unverified. Presents percentages at that point. Quotes sections from a speech made by Mbeki at an ANC victory party.

- 687 SABC ELECTION '99: REGIONAL PROGRAMME CONFERENCE,** Johannesburg, 1999 [Report]. Johannesburg: SABC, 1999, various paging.

Held on Wednesday/Thursday 17–18 March 1999. Also entitled: Election 99 Regional Programme Conference. Contents: Agenda, Regional contacts; Provincial distribution; Provincial splits; Pre-election programmes; Sentech maps, Provincial split coverage areas; Finance guidelines; Allocation numbers; Account numbers; Election week schedules; SABC @ result centre; OB infrastructure; Regional broadcast points, Milestones; Editorial guidelines.

- 688 SABC gives rise to 'master's voice' fears.** *Current Affairs*, vol 17, no 22, 4 June 1999, pp7–8.

Accusations of bias against the Democratic Party by the South African Broadcasting Corporation have been brought both by the Independent Media Monitoring Project (MMP) and by the DP itself. In reply the SABC has appealed for parliamentary protection. Other complaints against it lend colour to concern about its future conduct and about its ability (or inability) to sustain independence.

- 689 SACHS, Albie**

Affirmative action and the new constitution. Johannesburg: ANC. Dept of Information and Publicity, n.d. 14p.

Professor Sachs, then Director of SA Constitution Studies Centre, Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape, examines affirmative action from various angles — why it is needed, in other countries, as an aspect of good government, anti-discrimination measures, in different sectors. Appendix (pp13–14) lists constitutional provisions relevant to affirmative action.

- 690 SANGOCO approach to the 1999 General Election.** In: SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL NGO COALITION (SANGOCO) NGO Week, 1998. The economics of poverty and inequality. Cape Town: SANGOCO, 1998, 3p.

This was included in the information folder issued by the Western Cape NGO Coalition for NGO Week 17–21 September 1998. It advocates the influencing of political parties in favour of the poor, encouraging them to respond to SANGOCO's needs and positions as outlined in its election platform. This involves four main areas: Pro-poor policies; NGO environment; Mobilising people to vote; the Electoral system. A suggested programme is given for each area of activity.

- 691 SATGAR, Vishwas and JARDIN, Conrad**

COSATU and the Tripartite Alliance. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol 23, no 3, 1999, pp6–11.

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.

- 692 SCANT attention to gender in party manifestos.** *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, no 2, 19 May 1999, 2p.

Assesses party manifestos from a gender perspective and finds 'there is a marked absence at worst, and a casual mention at best' of gender issues and party attitudes towards them. Specific issues examined are: crime, commitment to gender equality, economy, girl child, HIV/AIDS, health and reproductive rights. Attributed to Policy Department, CGE [Commission for Gender Equality]. Date on p1 given as 21 May 1999. Online at :<http://womensnet.org.za/election/eb3-scantattn.htm>

- 693 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

Democracy or democratic hegemony: the future of political pluralism in South Africa. In: *The AWKWARD embrace: one-party domination and democracy*, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Charles Simkins. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1999, pp281–300. ISBN : 0-624-03729-0

Examines popular attitudes in the electorate, their diversity and orientation, support for the principle of opposition and bases of party choice and popular expectations. Concludes. 'On the balance of probabilities, therefore, a one-party dominant system or at least an "Africanist" party-dominant system is the likely future of electoral democracy in South Africa.' Includes tables, some based on Market and Opinion Surveys (1992) and MarkData Surveys (1994).

- 694 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence**

Where the parties stand now. *Focus*, April 1998, pp25–28.

Compares the results of three national MarkData surveys, February 1994, October 1996 and October 1997, reflecting political choices and party allegiance. Examines the implications of shifts in sympathy, group loyalties and unconditional party support, especially for a dominant ANC. Concludes that racial polarisation is deepening and presents percentages to support this.

- 695 SCHUTTE, P**

Debate strategies and tactics: from the past (1994) to the future (1999). *Communicare*, vol 18, no 1, May 1999, pp68–89.

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).

- 696 SEE no evil, hear no evil ...** *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp2–3.

Describes the election monitoring reports of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) and those of the Media Monitoring Project (MMP). Examines their coverage, complaints of bias and political partisanship, and the extent to which these allegations had substance. Focuses on SABC radio and television coverage. Includes observations by IBA Chairperson Mandla Langa.

697 SEILER, John

ANC's loss is Mangope's gain in North West. *Sowetan*, 14 June 1999, – p.

The author, a political analyst who participated in the SABC-TV's Mafikeng coverage of the June 1999 elections, provides factual information on the United Christian Democratic Party's performance in the elections, discusses the party's immediate political potential as the formal opposition in the North West legislature and its possible role in the National Assembly, examines its support base and attempts to explain the swing away from the ANC to the UCDP on the provincial ballots, both rural and urban. Seiler analyses voting patterns and speculates on the party's future in a changing political environment and new government structures. The article contains references to Lucas Mangope.

698 SEPTEMBER, Connie

Time to implement changes and put people first ... *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol 23, no 2, April 1999, pp20–23.

The first Vice-President of COSATU is interviewed by Jane Barrett on the eve of the election campaign. Questions addressed include relations between Members of Parliament and COSATU and its structures, COSATU women, her own trade union experiences and her probable move to Parliament.

699 SHAPSHAK, David

It's not a rocket launch, it's the election. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 22, 4–10 June 1999, p13. Special Election Supplement

Describes the Independent Electoral Commission's election centre in the Pretoria showgrounds, the Information Technology infrastructure, the satellite-based wide area net-work and the use of GIS (Geographic Information System).

700 SHILOWA says: 'I'll be Mbeki's yes-man'. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 18, 7 May 1999, p7.

Gauteng's probable Premier-elect Mbhazine (Sam) Shilowa will pursue the ANC's national objectives and policies as expressed in its 1999 election manifesto. 'Comment' notes opposition fears that he will be subservient to Thabo Mbeki.

701 SHUBANE, Khehla and STACK, Louise

Election 1999: prospects for the consolidation of democracy in South Africa. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp2–8.

On this topic the authors conclude: 'Despite the voluntary and not-so-voluntary exclusion of a substantial proportion of the South African electorate from the 1999 election, and despite the long queues and the delays in announcing the election results, the legitimacy of the election appears not to have been affected. As a criterion of the consolidation of democracy, elections in South Africa have thus far met the mark. The ANC's large majority might hamper the consolidation of democracy. Democracy in South Africa might atrophy if the share of the vote going to opposition parties does not increase. Party competition in a democracy is not a luxury; it is essential. Though the elections were competitive, the ANC looks set to remain the majority party for a long time to come. The extent to which it exercises dominance as the majority party is likely

to have a powerful effect on the prospects for consolidating democracy in South Africa.'

702 SHUBANE, Khehla

Power-sharing between centre and provinces. In: *AFTER Mandela: the 1999 South African elections*, edited by J E Spence. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999, pp55–59.

ISBN : 1-86203-049-9

In discussing post-1999 election prospects the author reviews the ANC's anxiety to increase its electoral support in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Province and others' fears that it will further diminish their still limited authority and use its political party machinery to achieve centralist goals. He forecasts that the ANC is unlikely to obtain a two-thirds majority, and suggests ways in which provinces can enhance their own powers.

703 SINGH, Amarnath

ANC's election list, tailored to retain its mass support base. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 6, 19 February 1999, pp38–39.

Analyses the ANC's list in terms of the candidates' recent accomplishments and other affiliations e.g. to COSATU. Includes comments by Tom Lodge, and a table giving percentages of Africanists, women, Communist Party members, Indians, trade unionists, whites, populists/youths and coloureds. Those indicate that the ANC's national list has been subjected to 'strategic political intervention'.

704 SINGH, Amarnath

Manifestos: more about rhetoric than reality. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 12, 2 April 1999, pp26–27.

Briefly compares the manifestos of the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Movement (UDM) and the New National Party (NNP), their starting points and stances on crime, economic development and good governance.

705 SINGH, Amarnath

Mbeki issues rallying call to 'African Indians'. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 11, 26 March 1999, p40.

Reports on aspects of marginalisation from which minorities in a democracy seek protection, with specific reference to the South African Indian community and Thabo Mbeki's speech at a recent meeting in Durban on the future of South African Indians. Illustrates with a photograph and tables. (ISAP).

706 SMITH, Charlene

A Mandla! *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, pp54–56.

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.

707 SMITH, Charlene

The issues that few have yet addressed. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 2–27 May 1999, p29.

Contains three separate assessments on issues relevant to the 2 June 1999 elections: — Education, by Philippa Garson, reviews the achievements of the ANC government in the light of problems faced since 1994; The environment, by Fiona Macleod, surveys the policies, or lack of them, of the political parties, and the ANC's record in this regard; and Women's rights, by Charlene Smith, comments on the limited actions of women MPs in this sphere, and concludes, 'A woman would be hard-pressed to vote for any South African political party based on its performance in government, or in vigorously campaigning for a woman's rights.'

708 SOCIALIST PARTY OF AZANIA

Manifesto. Johannesburg: Socialist Party, [1999], 12p + 3p.

The preamble sets the manifesto in the context of the global economy. The manifesto itself covers the party's socialist principles, the problems of poverty, jobs and the economy, health, the environment, housing and welfare. Three further pages provide notes on the party's historical background, its birth, development, immediate programme, attitude to election '99, the odds facing the party and media strategy. Attached to this is an 'Acceptance form' signed by Steven Peter, dated 16/4/99, listing the first ten people on the party's list and a leaflet providing biographical details of the party's President, Lybon T Mabasa.

709 SOCIALIST PARTY OF AZANIA.

Towards a ... Socialists Workers' Republic. N.p: SOPA, 1999, 29p.

Dated February 1999. These documents, emerging from discussions and debates, resolutions and written submissions constitute party guidelines, embargoed until 7 March 1999. The relevance of Black Consciousness is explained together with the need and struggle for socialism and the ills of the capitalist system. The Manifesto pp14–29 covers the party's social and economic plans for socialist future and an Azanian Workers Republic.

710 SOCIALIST PARTY OF AZANIA

Towards a ... Socialist Workers' Republic. Johannesburg: Socialist Party of Azania. Media & Publicity ..., 1999, 29p.

Published March 1999. Final published version. Manifesto pp14–29. Prefaced by a section on Black Consciousness and by one describing existing divisions within South African society and the need for change.

711 SOLE, Judith

Thoughts about the election from the Government by the People Green Party. *Election Watch*, no 3, 15 July 1999, p6.

The leader of the GPGP analyses the party's achievements in the election and emphasizes points from its manifesto. A criticism of the funding of political parties follows.

- 712 SOME win — some lose.** *Election Update* 99, no 14, 12 June 1999, pp28–32.
Commentary on reactions to the 1999 election results as expressed by political commentators in the South African press immediately following the elections (4–9 June 1999).

713 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Bill. Cape Town: Legi-Link, 1999, [3 leaves].

ISBN : 0-621-29020-3

Bill: To amend the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, so as to enable a proclamation calling and setting dates for an election of a provincial legislature to be issued either before or after the expiry of the term of that legislature; and to provide for the allocation of undistributed delegates in a provincial delegation to the National Council of Provinces in a case where competing surpluses are equal; and to provide for matters connected therewith. (Introduced as Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Third Amendment Bill [B 123-98], and amended by the Portfolio Committee on Constitutional Affairs (National Assembly)). Memorandum attached explains the objectives of the Bill (which amends section 108 and Part B of schedule 3 of Act 108 of 1996), lists the organizations consulted, describes the parliamentary procedure involved and notes implications for the provinces.

714 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Third Amendment Bill. Cape Town: Legi-Link, 1999, 5p.

ISBN : 0-621-28546-3

[B 123–98] To amend the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, so as to provide for the President to call and set dates for an election of a provincial legislature; to enable a proclamation calling and setting dates for an election of a provincial legislature to be issued either before or after the expiry of the term of that legislature; to provide for the allocation of undistributed delegates in a provincial delegation to the National Council of Provinces in a case where competing surpluses are equal; and to extend the competence of an authority within the national executive to administer legislation falling outside Parliament’s legislative power for a further two years; and to provide for matters connected therewith. Amends section 108 of Act 108 of 1996, Part B of schedule 3 and item 15 of schedule 6. An attached memorandum (pp4–5) explains the objectives of these amendments (in part to clarify the provision of provincial election dates), lists organizations consulted, describes parliamentary procedure and notes implications for the provinces.

715 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Draft 1 of Electoral Bill, prepared for the Electoral Commission, by Cheadle Thompson & Haysom, 27 February 1998. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1998, 90p.

Contents. Chapters: 1. Electoral principles; 2. Application for registration as voter; 3. Calling and setting date for elections; 4. Preparing for election; 5. Elections; 6. Political parties; 7. Referendums [not yet drafted]; 8. Administration; 9. General provisions. Schedule 1 : Election timetable; Schedule 2 : Transitional arrangements.

716 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Draft Electoral Bill, presented to the Minister of Home Affairs by the Independent Electoral Commission on Wednesday 29 April 1998. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1998, 93p.

p1 Electoral Bill (As introduced) (Minister of Home Affairs) [B-98]. Bill: 'To regulate elections of the National Assembly, provincial legislatures and municipal councils and to provide for related matters.' Contents — Chapters: 1. Application, administration and interpretation; 2. Registration of voters and voters' roll; 3. Proclamation of and preparation for elections; 4. Elections; 5. Agents; 6. Administration; 7. General provisions. Schedule 1: Election timetable.

717 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Amendment Bill, 1996. N.p.: n.pub, 1996, 26p.

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 75 A (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.

718 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Bill. (As amended by the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs (National Assembly)). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1998, 93p.

ISBN : 0-621-28549-8

[BD69D-98] Bill: To regulate elections of the National Assembly, the provincial legislatures and municipal councils; and to provide for related matters. Alterations to clauses 82, 83-96 and new clause 105; p82 Schedule 3: Composition of National

Assembly and provincial legislatures; pp86–93 Memorandum on the objects of the Electoral Bill 1998.

719 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Bill. (As introduced in the National Assembly). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1998, 93p.

ISBN : 0-621-284009

Bill: to regulate elections of the National Assembly, the provincial legislatures and municipal councils; and to provide for related matters. Covers the interpretation, application and administration of the Act, proclamation of and preparation for elections, elections, agents, administration and general provisions. Schedule 1: Election Timetable, Schedule 2: Electoral Code of Conduct, Schedule 3: Repeal of laws. P84–92 Memorandum on the objects of the Electoral Bill, 1998.

720 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Bill: Amendments agreed to the Electoral Bill [B69–98]. N.p.: n.pub, 1998, various paging.

Contents: 1p. [B69–98]; pp1–22 Portfolio Committee amendments to Electoral Bill, as agreed to by the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs (National Assembly) [B69A–98]; 2p. Amendments...[B69B–98].

721 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Commission Amendment Bill. (As introduced in the National Assembly). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1997, 6p.

ISBN : 0-621-27483-6

[B114–97] Bill: To amend the Electoral Commission Act, 1996, so as to further regulate the financial administration and accountability of the Electoral Commission; to provide that regulations regarding the appointment and remuneration of staff of the Commission shall be made with the concurrence of the Public Service Commission; and to provide for matters connected therewith. P6 Memorandum on the objects of the Electoral Commission Amendment Bill, 1997. Clauses 1–4.

722 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Commission Bill. [Cape Town: Government Printer], 1996, 22p.

[B35D–96] As amended by the Select Committee on Health, Welfare and Population Development and Home Affairs (Senate). (Minister of Home Affairs) Chapters comprise: Interpretation and application of Act, Electoral Commission, Administration, staff and accountability of Commission, Registration of parties, Electoral Court, General provisions, Laws repealed, followed by Memorandum on the objects of the Electoral Commission Bill, 1996.

723 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Commission Bill. (As introduced). [Cape Town]: [Government printer], 1996, 25p + 3p.

[B–96] (Minister of Home Affairs) Bill: To make provision for the establishment and composition of an Electoral Commission to manage elections for national, provincial

and local legislative bodies and referenda; and to make provision for the establishment and composition and the powers, duties and functions of an Electoral Court; and to provide for matters in connection therewith. Chapter 4 includes regulations for the registration of parties.

724 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Electoral Commission Bill as introduced, Minister of Home Affairs. [Cape Town]: Government Printer?, [1996], unpagged.

[B-96] 'To make provision for the establishment and composition of an Electoral Commission to manage elections for national, provincial and local legislative bodies and referenda; and to make provision for the establishment and composition and the powers, duties and functions of an Electoral Court; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.' Also issued, 24p + Memorandum on the objects of the Electoral Commission Bill 1996, 3p.

725 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Portfolio Committee amendments to Electoral Bill [B69B-98]. (As agreed to by the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs (National Assembly)). [B69A-98], Cape Town: Government Printer, 1998, 22p.

[B69A-98] Lists amendments agreed to Electoral Bill [B69-98] for thirty seven of its clauses and a new schedule 3 'Composition of National Assembly and provincial legislatures'.

726 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Portfolio Committee amendments to Electoral Bill [B69B-98]. (As agreed to by the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs (National Assembly)). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1998, 5p.

ISBN : 0-621-28548X

[B69C-98] Lists amendments agreed to Electoral Bill, [B69B-98] affecting clauses 1, 6, 39, 41, 49, 82, 83, 96 and new clause 105.

727 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Promotion of Multi-Party Democracy Bill, 1997. Draft. Cape Town: n.pub, 1997, 4p.

Bill: 'To provide for the establishment of the Multi-party Democracy Fund and for matters connected therewith'. The preamble states that 'in order to give expression to the enhancement of multi-party democracy, Section 236 of the Constitution requires national legislation to provide for the funding of political parties participating in national and provincial legislatures on an equitable and proportional basis.'

728 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Promotion of Multi-Party Democracy Bill. [B67-97]. [Cape Town: Government Printer], 1997, 10p.

Bill: To establish the Multi-party Democracy Fund with a view to making provision for the funding of political parties participating in Parliament and provincial legislatures to provide for the management of that fund by the Electoral Commission

and for accountability regarding that fund; to regulate the allocation of moneys from that fund and the purposes for which allocated moneys may be used by political parties; and to provide for incidental matters. Page 10: Memorandum on the objects of the Promotion of Multi-party Democracy Bill.

729 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Assembly

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, as adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996, and as amended on 11 October 1996. [Cape Town]: The Assembly, 1996, 145p.

ISBN : 0-260-20716-7

[B34B–96] ‘One law for one nation’. This text has been drafted in terms of Chapter 5 of the interim Constitution, (Act 200 of 1993), and was first adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996. In terms of a judgement of the Constitutional Court, delivered on 6 September 1996, the text has accordingly been amended to comply with the Constitutional Principle contained in Schedule 4 of the interim Constitution. (Explanatory memorandum).

730 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Assembly

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996. As adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996. [Cape Town]: The Assembly, 8 May 1999, 141p.

ISBN : 0-620-20250-5

[B34A–96] ‘One law for one nation’. ‘This text has been drafted in terms of Chapter 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, (Act 200 of 1993). The text was adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996 and has been consolidated so as to incorporate the amendments effected in terms of the Resolution adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 7 May 1996. The objectives in drafting this text was to ensure that the final constitution is legitimate, credible and accepted by all South Africans. To this extent, the process of drafting this text involved many South Africans in the largest public participation programme ever carried out in South Africa. After nearly two years of intensive consultations, the political parties represented in the Constitutional Assembly negotiated the formulations contained in this text which are an integration of ideas from ordinary citizens, civil society and political parties represented in and outside of the Constitutional Assembly. This text therefore represents the collective wisdom of the South African people and has been arrived at by general agreement. Parties have, however, registered reservations and given notice of their intention to file amendments in respect of various clauses.’ Explanatory memorandum.

731 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Assembly

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Act 108 of 1996, as adopted on 8 May 1996 and amended on 11 October 1996 by the Constitutional Assembly. Annotated version. Appendix 2. [Cape Town]: The Assembly, 1996, pp152–158.

Appendix 2. Election of National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures (Transitional arrangement). Schedule 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Interim Constitution) as amended by the 1996 Constitution. Attached to it:

Constitutional Assembly. Announcements, tablings and committee reports. This contains a list of amendments to the constitutional text, adopted on 8 May and agreed to on 10 October 1996, indicating the section of the act, the issue and whether the formulation is technical or substantive, and – CCT/37/96 Certification of the amended text. Table, listing document number, date received, document (source), and representation.

732 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Assembly

Working draft of the new constitution, embargoed until 15:30, 22 November 1995. [Cape Town: The Assembly], 1995, 63p.

Comprises 15 Chapters: Founding provisions; Bill of Rights; Council of Provinces/Senate; National Executive; Courts and administration of justice; State institutions supporting constitutional democracy; Provinces; Provincial and national legislative and executive competences; Local government; Public administration; Security services; Finances; General provisions.

733 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Court

August and another v. the Electoral Commission and others. Explanatory note together with Constitutional Court of South Africa. Case CCT 8/99 ... Judgment Sachs, J. Parktown, Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission, 1999, 2p + 30p.

The case heard on the 19 March 1999, decided 1 April 1999, concerns the rights of awaiting trial and sentenced prisoners to register and vote in the general elections announced for 2 June 1999. The judgement which is unanimous finds that the prisoners have been effectively dis-enfranchised and ordered the IEC to make all reasonable arrangements for them to register and to vote.

734 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Court

The Democratic Party, Applicant, versus the Minister of Home Affairs, First respondent, the Electoral Commission, Second respondent. Case CCT 11/99. Heard on 29 March 1999. Decided on 13 April 1999. Judgement Goldstone, Judge [and that of O'Regan]. Parktown, Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission, 199, 13p.

This concerns the second attack made by a political party on the constitutionality of certain provisions of the Electoral Act. 'As in the New National Party case, the main thrust of the argument of the DP related to the constitutionality of the provisions of the Electoral Act which prescribe the documents necessary for registration and voting respectively. The averment is made that the bar-coded identity documents offer no advantage over the older identity documents for the purpose of registration and voting, and that there is no reason why the latter should not have been used for this purpose, more particularly, since legislation is in place making provision for identity documents to be replaced by identity cards at some time in the future. It is contended that, in the circumstances, there is no rational connection between the provisions of the Electoral Act and any legitimate governmental purpose, that the Electoral Act infringes the right to vote and that the infringement is not justifiable under the provisions of section 36 of the Constitution. It was also contended in argument that the documentary requirements for voting were in all the circumstances of the case, unreasonable, and for that reason,

even if there were a rational connection between the purpose of the legislation and the relevant provisions of the Electoral Act, such provisions infringed the constitutional right to vote contained in section 19(3)(a) of the Constitution". In this case the Democratic Party requests leave to appeal against the judgement of the Cape of Good Hope High Court, 26 February 1999, that found such limitation reasonable and justifiable. Several references are made to J Yacoob's judgement in the New National Party case, with which Goldstone is in full agreement. He considers the 'equality argument' and the application for referral for (oral) evidence, discounts both, dismisses the appeal and gives no order as to costs. Seven judges concur. However, Judge O'Regan finds herself 'unable to concur in that judgement or the order he makes, for the reasons I give in my dissent in the judgement of New National Party of South Africa v. Government of the Republic of South Africa and others.' q.v..

735 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Court

The New National Party, Applicant versus the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Finance, the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, the Chief Electoral Officer. [Parktown, Johannesburg]: Independent Electoral Commission, [1999], 112p.

Case CCT 9/99. Heard on 15–16 March 1999. Decided on 13 April 1999. Judgment, Yacoob, J [and those of Langa, D P and O'Regan, J] The NNP has applied for leave to appeal against the judgment of the Cape of Good Hope High Court, 26 February 1999 and challenges the constitutionality of certain provisions of national legislation prescribing the documents which otherwise qualified voters must possess in order to register as voters and to vote, specifically bar coded IDs or Temporary Identity Certificates (TICs) — an issue bearing on the integrity and fairness of the elections. Yacoob's judgement considers the matter in the light of the constitutional and statutory context of the right to vote, of the rationality of statutory provisions, of the effects of relevant circumstances and of denial of the right to vote, and concludes: 'The appeal fails ... The appeal is dismissed with no order as to costs'. Seven judges concur in the judgment (pp1–39). Judge D P Langa agrees. He deals also with the independence of the Commission, the constitutional framework, responsibility for elections, the system of financial accounting, the staffing of the Commission and concludes that the independence of the Commission has not been infringed. Seven judges concur (pp39–72). However Judge O'Regan dissents from both Yacoob's judgement and the order of the Court. She argues the matter under the headings legislative framework, constitutional framework, historical context and reviews the purpose and effect of legislation in relation to those voters with no IDs at all and in respect of those who do have valid IDs. She concludes: 'In my view, given the obligation upon Parliament to seek to facilitate the right to vote so as to build a culture of participation in the political process in our fledgling democracy, those purposes are inadequate to render Parliament's insistence on the bar-coded ID reasonable.' Regarding the independence of the Commission and its impairment she finds that no case had been established (pp73–112).

736 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Constitutional Court

New National party of South Africa v Government of the Republic of South Africa and others, CCT 9/99: the Democratic Party v the Minister of Home Affairs N.O

and another, CCT 11/99. Explanatory note. Parktown, Johannesburg: [Independent Electoral Commission], 1999, [4p].

The Explanatory Note states 'the following explanation is provided to assist the media in reporting this case and is not binding on the Constitutional Court or any member of the Court'. It encapsulates the arguments concerning the requirements of bar-coded identity documents, the challenges to this and the findings of the Courts in this regard. It describes the two part test applied by the Constitutional Court: firstly, the Court asked whether there was a rational connection between the electoral scheme that Parliament adopts and the achievement of a legitimate governmental purpose; secondly it must be ascertained whether the scheme, though rational, infringed the right to vote. It then outlines the three additional issues raised by the Democratic party and Justice Goldstone's consideration of them. The Note then addresses the issue of the independence of the Independent Electoral Commission, and, finally, summarizes the dissenting judgements in NNP and DP cases of Justice O'Regan.

737 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). High Court. Cape Of Good Hope Provincial Division

In the matter between the New National Party of South Africa and the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Finance, the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, the Chief Electoral Officer ... Cape Town: The High Court, 1999, 54p.

Judgment: 26 February 1999; in Case no 16880/98. This application by the NNP relating to the requirement of a green bar-coded identity document for purposes of voting in the next general election submits that this is unconstitutional and impracticable. Linked to it is the issue of alleged Government interference with the independence and impartiality of the Independent Electoral Commission. The document summarizes the affidavit from the former Chairperson Justice J C Kriegler opposing bar-coded ID's as a prerequisite for relevant statutory provisions. The application is dismissed. The order is signed by Dr H van Zyl, Judge of the Cape High Court, E L King, Judge-President and J M Hlophe, Acting Deputy Judge-President.

738 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). High Court. Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division

In the matter between the New National Party and the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Finance, the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, the Chief Electoral Officer ... Cape Town: The High Court, 1999, various paging.

Case no 16880/98. Documents to be filed: Fourth & Fifth Respondents' notice of intention to abide the decision of the Court; Fourth Respondent's Affidavit [that of the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Johann Christiaan Kriegler] 7th January 1999. Material submitted on behalf of the Independent Electoral Commission relevant to the constitutional statutory and administrative issues before the Court, i.e. the three main contentions advanced by the applicant (the New National Party): (a) That the government has placed arbitrary financial restrictions on the IEC whereby the latter has been rendered incapable of performing its constitutional and statutory functions. (b) That in so doing the government has usurped functions of the IEC. (c) That by opting for the green bar coded identity document as the only qualifying document for voting purposes, the government has effectively disenfranchised eligible voters and has at the same time usurped the IEC's functions. The documents contain the affidavit of Judge Kriegler, made and filed on behalf of the IEC, (40p), together with 17 annexures

relating to the budget, establishment, legal position and remuneration and benefits of the IEC, as well as affidavits from the Fifth Respondent, the CEO, M A Mchunu and the Deputy Chief EO, N W du Plessis.

739 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). High Court. Transvaal Provincial Division

In the matter between: the Democratic Party, Applicant, and the Minister of Home Affairs, First respondent and the Electoral Commission, Second respondent. Judgment Ngoepe, J.P. Van der Merwe, J. and van der Westhuizen, J. [Parktown, Johannesburg]: Independent Electoral Commission, 1999, 64p.

Case no 33712./98 Date 12/3/99. Judgements of B M Ngoepe, Judge President, Judge W J van der Merwe and Judge J van der Westhuizen. The first section relates to the hearing of oral evidence, compilation of the voters' roll, the situation concerning identity documents and the actions of the Department of Home Affairs and the Independent Electoral Commission in this regard. Notes reactions to the Human Sciences Research Council's report encapsulating its National and Regional Surveys, 1998. Essentially the applicant questions the constitutional validity of certain provisions of the Electoral Act No. 73 of 1998. The judgement overviews the Democratic Party's arguments and the responses of the Director-General of the Department of Home Affairs and the IEC, especially as they relate to the limitation of the right to vote and the right to free and fair elections. Special attention is given to the nature and extent of the limitation, and to the eligibility of voters. After close and detailed argument the judges conclude that: 'Even if the requirement of green bar coded identity documents is not the only way to achieve the purpose of a free and fair election, and less restrictive measures may perhaps be available to achieve the purpose to a similar degree, the requirement is not rendered unconstitutional in terms of section 36 of the Act.' It then notes the applicants submission concerning freedom of expression, dismisses this, and considers the party's allegation of indirect and unfair discrimination distorting the democratic process and serving to entrench the existing distribution of political power. The judges conclude that 'therefore the challenged statutory provisions cannot be found to discriminate unfairly, directly or indirectly ... and we are satisfied that the application cannot succeed.' The application is dismissed. No order is made as to costs.

740 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc

Broadcasting Act, 1999 (Act No. 4 of 1999). *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20042, 7 May 1999, 66p.

Act No 4 of 1999 repeals Broadcasting Act of 1976 (Act No. 73 of 1976), 'so as to establish a new broadcasting policy for the Republic ... amends certain provisions ... to clarify the powers of the Minister in regard to policy formulation and ... to provide for classes of broadcasting activities in the public interest ... The act resolves to align the broadcasting system with the democratic values of the Constitution and to enhance and protect the fundamental rights of citizens.

741 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Act No. 108 of 1996. *Government Gazette*, vol 378, no 17678, 18 December 1996, 147p.

The President's office notifies that the President has assented to Act No 108 of 1996 'To introduce a new Constitution for the Republic of South Africa and to provide for matters incidental thereto'. Covers founding provisions, Bill of Rights, co-operative government, Parliament, the President and National Executive, provinces, local government, courts and administration of justice, state institutions supporting constitutional democracy, public administration, security services, traditional leaders, finance, general provisions. Schedules: 1, National flag; 2, Oaths and solemn affirmations; 3, Election procedures; 4, Functional areas of concurrent national and provincial legislative competence; 5, Functional areas of exclusive provincial legislative competence; 6, Transitional arrangements; 7, Laws repealed.

742 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Electoral Act, no 73, 1998. [Cape Town]: [Government Printer], 1998, 84p.

'To regulate elections of the National Assembly, the provincial legislatures and municipal councils; and to provide for related matters.'

743 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Electoral Amendment Act, 1997. (Act No. 20, 1997). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1997, 20p.

Government Gazette, vol 385, no 18126, 11 July 1997. '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 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 (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 filing 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.'

744 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Electoral Commission Act, 1996. (Act No. 51 of 1996). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1996, 20p.

Government Gazette, vol 376, no 17478, 4 October 1996. 'To make provision for the establishment and composition of an Electoral Commission to manage elections for national, provincial and local legislative bodies and referenda; and to make provision for the establishment and composition and the powers, duties and functions of an Electoral Court; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.' Assented to 27 September 1996. Also covers the registration of political parties, prohibition on registration under certain circumstances, e.g. confusion over names, and cancellation of registration.

745 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Electoral Commission Act, 1996. (Act No. 51, 1996). Cape Town: Government Printer, 1996, [4p].

Government Gazette, no 17478, 4 October 1996. Extract, pp4; 6; 8 & 10, Chapters 1 and 2. Interpretation and application of Act; Electoral Commission, establishment, powers, duties and functions, composition, conduct and meetings.

746 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 1997 (Act No. 103 of 1997). Cape Town: Government printer, 1997, 12p.

Government Gazette vol 390, no 18517, 19 December 1997. Act: To establish the Represented Political Parties Fund with a view to making provision for the funding of political parties participating in Parliament and provincial legislatures; to provide for the management of that Fund; to regulate the allocation of moneys from that Fund and the purposes for which allocated moneys may be used by political parties; and to provide for incidental matters.

747 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Statutes of the Republic of South Africa — Elections. [Extracts]. [Cape Town: Government Printer], 1983 –, various paging.

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.

748 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). National Assembly

Debates of the National Assembly (Hansard) ... 28 August – 12 September 1996. Electoral Commission Bill. Cape Town: Government Printer, 1996, pp4206–4226.

Views are expressed by the Minister of Home Affairs, by the chairman of the Portfolio Committee and by representatives of the political parties, six of whom support the Bill.

749 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). National Assembly

Publication of supplemented list of candidates. *Government Gazette*, vol 411, no 20473, 15 September 1999, 4p.

General notice No 2109 of 1999 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996), publication of supplemented list of candidates. Annexure. National Assembly: Regional list. Political party, ANC, region, Northern Province, five names listed, with ID numbers and stated place of ordinary residence. Published 10 September 1999.

750 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Parliament

Publication of reviewed list of candidates ... 12 June 2000. *Government Gazette*, vol 420, no 21278, 13 June 2000, 4p.

General Notice No 2208 of 2000: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, lists the names and ID numbers of four Democratic Party candidates for the National Assembly Regional List, Free State, 'reviewed by the political party concerned in accordance with item 6(3) of Schedule 6 to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No 108 of 1996)'.

751 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Parliament

Publication of reviewed lists of candidates ... 17 June 2000. *Government Gazette*, vol 420, no 21309, 21 June 2000, 4p.

General Notice 2306 of 2000: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, lists the names and ID numbers of thirty Inkatha Freedom Party candidates reviewed by the Party concerned 'in accordance with item 6(3) of Schedule 6 to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) ...' for the National Assembly: National List, and another thirty for the National Assembly: Regional List, Gauteng.

752 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Parliament

... Publication of supplemented list of candidates. *Government Gazette*, vol 418, no 21127, 26 April 2000, 4p.

General Notice: notice 1692 of 2000. Date: 20 April 2000. A list of candidates supplemented by the political party concerned in accordance with item 6(3) of Schedule 6 to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), read with item 18 (d) of Schedule 2 to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Act No. 200: of 1993), is published in the Annexure in terms of item 22 of the said Schedule 2. The annexure lists two African National Congress candidates for the National Assembly Regional list for Mpumalanga region.

753 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). President-in-Cabinet

Proclamation by the President of the Republic of South Africa calling and setting a date for an election of the National Assembly under section 49 (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. *Government Gazette*, vol 406, no 19942, 14 April 1999, 2p.

Regulation Gazette No 6493. Proclamation No R42 1999. Under this section, read with section 17 of the Electoral Act of 1998 and after consultation with the Electoral

Commission, the President calls an election of the National Assembly and sets 2 June 1999 as the voting day. N R Mandela, President; M V Moosa, Minister of the Cabinet.

754 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). President-in-Cabinet

Proclamation by the President of the Republic of South Africa. Declaration of the second day of June 1999 as a public holiday in all provinces of the Republic. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20079, 14 May 1999, 2p.

Regulation Gazette No 6532. Proclamation No R58, 1999. Given under the power vested by section 2A of the Public Holidays Act of 1994 (Act No. 36 of 1994) at Pretoria, on 10th day of May, 1999. N R Mandela, President; M G Buthelezi, Minister of the Cabinet.

755 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Provincial Parliament: Western Cape

Publication of reviewed list of candidates. *Government Gazette*, vol 407, no 20054, 14 May 1999, p60.

Government Notice No 834 of 1999. A candidates' list reviewed by the New National Party in the Provincial Parliament Western Cape in terms of item 21 of Schedule 2 to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), is published in the Annexure in terms of item 22 of the said Schedule 2. P J C Pretorius, Secretary: Provincial Parliament: Western Cape 99-04-16.

756 SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY OBSERVATION COALITION

1999 election report. N.p.: SACSOC, 1999, 54p.

Contents: Executive summary; Introduction; Background; The establishment of the South African Civil Society Observation Coalition, SACSOC; The operational framework and modalities of working of SACSOC; Funding and related financial arrangements; Detailed appraisal of two day election period; The methodological framework of observation; Administration of elections; Voters and political parties; The counting process; Conclusion; Deepened engagement of citizenry in the democratic process; Importance of civil society participation; Concluding remarks; Recommendations. This is followed by appendices:- Appendix 1 – Official SACSOC Statement Released (June 4 1999); Appendix 2: – Background and Context of Elections; Appendix 3 – The Electoral Act of 1998; Appendix 4 – Donor and In-kind Support for the Observation Role; Appendix 5 – Table of Completed monitor reports and observers by Province and additional comments on methodology of observation/information-gathering; Appendix 6 – Detailed Tables of Election and Counting Days. The twelve detailed tables arrange responses by province, and in nearly all instances have a set of accompanying questions posed.

757 SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY OBSERVATION COALITION

Handbook. N.p.: The Coalition, [1999], 32p.

Compiled by Ilona Tip, edited by Derrick Marco, this handbook covers the status and role of observers, hints and safety tips, code of conduct, voting and counting procedures and their undertakings together with the relevant forms.

758 SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY OBSERVATION COALITION

Observer handbook. N.p.: SACSOC, [1999], 17p.

Guide designed to assist volunteer observers of the June 1999 election to fulfill their role in a professional manner. Compiled by Ilona Tip of EISA, it comprises 10 information sheets. These cover the role of observers, their functions and tasks, hints for voting day, safety tips, code of conduct for accredited observers, schedule 2 of the Electoral Act 73 of 1998, voting procedure poster, counting procedure poster, summary of key election players, campaign helplist, voting day helplist. These are followed by a contact list of IEC Provincial Electoral Officers (PEOs).

759 SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY OBSERVATION COALITION

Participants workbook. N.p.: OLM Communications, [1999], 48p.

The workbook explains the election context, the role of observers, the code of conduct, the electoral process and the reporting procedure. It covers the role and responsibilities of electoral staff and provides sample scenarios. Sample report forms are also included. Compiled by Ilona Tip, edited by Derrick Marco.

760 SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY OBSERVATION COALITION

Trainers' manual. N.p.: n.pub.[1999], 37p.

The purpose of this manual, issued as part of the Coalition's training programme, is to provide a basis for the training and orientation of observers for elections. It outlines the election context, the role of observers, the code of conduct, the electoral process and reporting procedure. Includes sample forms. Compiled by Ilona Tip, edited by Derrick Marco.

761 The SOUTH African election of June 1999. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, entire issue.

This Special Issue of 'Politikon', the South African Journal of Political Studies, contains eleven articles on various specific aspects of the June 1999 election. These are separately entered under their individual authors.

762 SOUTH African Election'99: Updates 1–15. Editor Bob Jones. Auckland Park, South Africa: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, (2000), 390p.

ISBN : 1-919814-19-1

Cover title: South African Election Update. November 1998 – June 1999. Individual issues were originally published as 'Election Update 99', (q.v.) Editorial team: Bob Jones, Tom Lodge, Sibusio Ntuli. The introduction, pp i–iv, provides information on the seats contested for the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures (including comparative tables for 1994 and 1999), on the electoral system, on the parties contesting the elections, and on the state of the parties in the National Assembly in May 1994. Abbreviations are listed, pp v–vi. This work has been described as follows:- 'The Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) engaged senior South African-based researchers, including Professor Tom Lodge from the Political Science Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, to gather information and report through a bi-monthly publication, presentations and newspaper, the electoral process as it unfolded between November 1998 and the end of the elections in mid June 1999. Provincial partnerships were established with several academic institutions and NGOs to gather information about electoral activities within each of these provinces. The first of 15 Updates detailing the preparations for the elections started in October 1998. The

bulletins ranged in length between 8 and 52 pages and attempted to supply comprehensive information and analysis of all aspects of electoral administration and party campaigning. They provided a summary of the key findings of opinion polls, outlined party candidate selection, tracked voter behaviour, evaluated the ballot and produced an analysis of the results. The issues were researched through the monitoring of all local news reports (press and broadcasting), interviews with officials and politicians, the collation of official documentation, and direct observation. The Update constituted the most reliable and detailed source of electoral information in the country and was frequently cited in the national and daily press. In particular, its incorporation of provincial reports made it a unique authority for observers, party activists, journalists and academic researchers. Full sets of the Update were distributed to the main electoral observation teams, as well as the IEC officials.' This tribute is taken from the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC Countries' 'South African Elections Observer Mission Report, June 1999', compiled by Denis Kadima. A final revision of the text and of the numerous tables was undertaken by Bob Jones.

- 763 SOUTH African election. ANC unfair advantage?** *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol 36, no 4, 1–30 April, 1999, p13511.

Concise report on two current constitutional issues: the possibility and probable consequences of the ANC capturing a two-thirds majority in the 2 June 1999 election and the requirement that voters hold a new bar-coded Identity Document. Notes the rulings of the Constitutional Court on this issue.

- 764 SOUTH African elections: main competing parties.** *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol 36, no 5, 1–31 May 1999, pp13533–13534.

Presents a brief history, stated aims, composition and support base for each of the following parties — African National Congress (ANC), African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), Democratic Party (DP), Freedom Front (FF), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), New National Party (NNP), Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), United Democratic Movement (UDM), Federal Alliance (FA) and Afrikaner Unity Movement.

- 765 SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM ALLIANCE**

Manifesto & policy of the South African Freedom Alliance 1999. Johannesburg: South African Freedom Alliance (SAFA), 1999, 17p.

The manifesto of the party, founded in March 1999, covers the reasons for the formation of the party and its aims and objectives. Party policy is set out in six sections; economic activities, cultural, security, social, foreign affairs and constitutional. The document is signed by SAFA President Charles Boyles, at EISA, Johannesburg, 22/4/1999, his photograph appears inside the front cover. The party's logo is on front cover.

- 766 SOUTHALL, Roger and WOOD, Geoffery**

COSATU, the ANC and the election: whither the alliance? *Transformation*, no 38, 1999, pp68–81.

Explores COSATU's political strategies in the context of surveys, which highlight the membership's attitudes towards the ANC's performance in government. (Africa Institute).

767 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 4, 15 January 1999, pp17–20.

Against the background of the amalgamation of previous homelands with part of the former Cape province, the author surveys voter registration (3–5 December 1998) and electoral prospects. The positions of the major political parties in the province are examined in some detail. The article includes a table of registered voters in formal and informal settlements.

768 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape profile. *Election Update 99*, no 5, 29 January 1999, pp9–11.

Surveys the position in the Eastern Cape in January 1999, political developments, opinion poll results, party election lists, campaigns and organization, all in the context of the forthcoming election.

769 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape report. *Election Update 99*, no 6, 12 February 1999, pp7–10.

Presents an overview of the registration process at the end of January 1999, noting problems encountered and highlighting major concerns — low registration among coloured voters and among young people generally. Describes financial problems facing the East Cape government, and political party activity in the area.

770 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 1999, pp10–12.

Reports on the three-day second round of voter registration (29–31 January 1999), on the ANC's record on provincial government, on its final provincial lists, on political party news and campaigning, on the growth of the UDM and on violence in the area.

771 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp12–15.

Examines the political situation in the Eastern Cape in the light of the provincial budget for 1999/2000, the health services crisis, the build up to the final registration drive, the strategies of the opposition parties and rivalries for the support of traditional leaders.

772 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp7–10.

Gives details of the IEC's activities in the area, its claims concerning registration figures and controversies already arising over these. Discusses the effects of budgetary constraints on ANC unity and reports on the campaigns of the five major political players (ANC, PAC, FA, NNP and UDM).

773 SOUTHALL, Roger, and others

Eastern Cape, by Roger Southall, Megan Addis and Shani Winterstein. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp15–18.

Surveys problems dogging the ANC, notably an inflated civil service and fraud, the emergence of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) as a major threat, defections and ‘party hopping’, and reports on political pronouncements made in the province.

774 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 11, 30 April 1999, pp11–15.

Reviews the political situation and political party campaigns in the area. Focuses on the UDM, its strategies in its home power base (especially in Pondoland), Bantu Holomisa’s role and reputation, defections and the ANC’s response to this, including pay increases to traditional leaders.

775 SOUTHALL, Roger, and others

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp12–15.

Forecasts the provincial outcome of the 1999 elections, sees the ANC set to win, quotes the HSRC opinion poll, with the UDM becoming the official opposition. Provides details of the NNP and DP campaigns, surveys ANC support quoting ‘Opinion 99’ figures. Pays specific attention to the situation in Transkei and to overtures to traditional leaders by the IFP.

776 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp10–13.

This survey details the ANC’s campaign and strategies in the area, its top level activities and attacks on the UDM’s heartland. Key issues include respect for tradition and the power Government to deliver on projects and promises. Notes the reactions of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), its campaign and that of the NNP.

777 SOUTHALL, Roger

Eastern Cape. *Election Update 99*, no 15, 25 June 1999, pp6–13.

Reviews the electoral procedure on election day, logistical and other difficulties, intimidation and security problems. Gives a detailed account of the political countdown to a free and peaceful poll. Interest is focused on the extent of the challenge which the UDM would present to the ANC. Describes the political parties campaigns and provides a political analysis of the election results. Then turns to the composition of the Executive Council and the representatives to the second Eastern Cape legislature. Concludes by outlining some of the problems facing the new provincial government. The introductory overview, and Tables: Provincial Legislature, votes, % of votes and seats, by party with comparative figures for 1994, and Party performance in National Assembly and Provincial Legislature voting votes and % votes, by party, are by the compilers of the Update.

778 SOUTHALL, Roger

Electoral prostitution. *Southern Africa Report [Toronto]*, vol 14, no 3, May 1999, pp14–18.

Argues that, in the run-up to the 1999 elections, a considerable number of politicians are effectively selling themselves to the highest bidder and that political principle is being seriously devalued in the parties' scramble for votes. Considers the impact of proportional representation and of the list system and the implications of these for inter-party movements (defections). Suggested motivations for this 'unprincipled opportunism' include job security or job gain. Concludes that the present electoral system should be carefully re-examined after the election. For the present: 'It is encouraging prostitution rather than principle, favouring parties which are best placed to offer patronage, and thereby undermining the practice of South African democracy'. Contains a table: Interparty movement immediately prior to the 1999 election.

779 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, pp202–228.

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.

780 SOUTHALL, Roger

South Africa 1999: the ANC and democratic consolidation. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp9–16.

Southall examines this topic under the headings: the 1999 election and the transition to democracy; Electoral outcomes and constitutional democracy; Economic management and delivery; Party dominance and political opposition, and concludes: 'The outcome of the 1999 election could have been better, but it could have been a lot worse. The contest has seen the handover of power from one president to another; it has confirmed South Africa's broad acceptance of democratic rules of the game; it has backed a government that is attempting to adjust to and question the demands imposed on the economy by globalization; and it has brought about a reformulation of the opposition forces that could set the scene for a major realignment away from a politics of identity and toward more pragmatic, nonracial, and interest-based voter behaviour. Yet questions remain about the ANC's acceptance of the legitimacy — not of the concept but of the actual practice — of opposition. South Africa has emerged as a democracy in the form of a dominant party state. The future challenge is to ensure that the advantages this has brought in the short term are not overwhelmed by the potential disadvantages in the future. Fortunately, the outcome of the South African general election of 1999 gives solid reasons for hope.' Includes a table: The opposition performance in the election for the National Assembly. The author is a Professor of Political Studies at Rhodes University.

781 SOUTHALL, Roger

The 1999 elections: consolidating democracy or foreshadowing decline? *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 1, Autumn 1999, pp17–23.

The author assesses the prospects for the consolidation and survival of democracy in South Africa and outlines the factors that make it endure. He considers the possible effects of the 1999 election and compares the situation with that of 1994, discusses economic indicators and the international climate, and predicts the outcome: 'Overall, therefore, the result of the election is likely to see a reinforcement of ANC electoral hegemony, underpinned by the acute fragmentation of the opposition'. (Executive summary, p6).

782 SOUTHALL, Roger

The struggle for a place called home: the ANC versus the UDM in the Eastern Cape. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp155–166.

The birth of the UDM constituted a particular challenge to the ANC in the Eastern Cape. In one of the poorest provinces, which incorporated the former homelands of Ciskei and Transkei, the ANC provincial government had been faced by challenges which threatened to erode its base amongst its traditional constituency. The UDM sought to exploit these discontents by cultivating the chiefs and the former Transkeian elite. The ANC responded by its own battle for the chiefs and by deploying national leaders to campaign in Transkei. Even if the UDM fails to develop a national appeal, it may remain an important player in the Eastern Cape. (Abstract) It includes a table for the Results of elections for the East Cape legislature. The author is in the Department of Political Studies, Rhodes University. This article is informed by the author's regular reporting on the Eastern Cape election campaign for 'Election Update 99', (q.v.).

783 SPECIAL votes, declaration votes and tendered ballots. [Johannesburg]: [Independent Electoral Commission?], 1999, 5 leaves.

The procedures concerning Special Votes, Declaration Votes and Tendered Ballots are taken from the IEC's Election Regulations 1999, Government Gazette No. 19951, 14 April 1999, and Election Timetable (ET), Government Gazette No. 20019, 26 April 1999. These clearly define the procedures as they apply to voters, to Local Electoral Officers (LEOs), Presiding Officers (POs) and to the Election Timetable (ET).

784 SPENCE, J E

Second chance for the ANC: the 1999 South African general election. *Government and Opposition*, vol, 34, no 4, Autumn 1999, pp456–472.

'The first part of this article seeks to provide a commentary on events since 1994 to set the 1999 election in context.' It reviews the state of the polity and the socio-economic record of the ANC government. The second part of the article examines the electoral process itself and the outcome of the elections. This is followed by a brief assessment of future expectations. Includes a table of results of the elections to the Assembly giving percentages and seats and comparative figures for 1994.

785 STACK, Louise

Election surveys. What do they really tell us? *Indicator South Africa*, vol 16, no 1, Autumn 1999, pp24–31.

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, pp6–7.

786 STACK, Louise

Long-term trends are a more accurate guide to voter support. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 1, March 1999, pp4–6; 16.

'Election survey results have been incorrectly interpreted, resulting in some misleading conclusions about levels of support for various political parties. Louise Stack discusses the problems experienced in analysing survey results — and produces revised estimates of support for the major political parties.' (Journal precis). Includes graphs of support for the ANC, NP and IFP from October 1992 – November 1998, the DP from October 1992 – January 1999 and the UDM from November 1997 – January 1999.

787 STACK, Louise

The new face of South Africa's legislatures. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 2, August 1999, pp4–6.

'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.

788 STACK, Louise

Ringling the changes — how the ANC's top 50 has shifted. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 1, March 1999, pp11–13; 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'.

789 STACK, Louise and MACKAY, Shaun

Shrunken NNP faces unenviable array of choices. *Synopsis*, vol 3, no 2, August 1999, pp9–11; 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.

790 SUBMISSIONS to the Constituent Assembly; Electoral Commission Act. N.p.: n.pub, [1996?], 3p.

Comments on and makes submissions on certain issues contained in the Electoral Commission Bill, under two headings — independence of Commission, and the removal from office and suspension of Commissioners.

791 A SURVEY of recent public opinion poll findings. *Election Update 99*, no 1, 13 November 1998, pp5–8.

First provides details of the results of a Markinor survey conducted in July and released in mid-September 1998 and of the MarkData survey commissioned by the Helen Suzman Foundation which roughly correlated with them. Then notes the first findings of a Markinor poll, Opinion '99, conducted in September 1998 and commissioned by IDASA and the SABC. Responses are analysed in full under the headings registration, intolerance, secrecy and trust in authorities.

792 SURVEYING the scene. *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp13–14.

Reports on the findings of a MarkData poll indicating the possibility of coalition governments in three provinces, Gauteng, Western Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal, and on surveys reflecting attitudes to the government's performance and the varying support for political parties.

793 SURVEYING the scene — before ... and after. *Election Update 99*, no 14, 12 June 1999, pp8–11.

Provides full versions of press releases issued by the HSRC Democracy SA Project on 12 May 1999 (before) and 6 June 1999 (after the election). The first includes reports on the extent to which South Africans are in possession of bar-coded IDs, and to which the majority of the people trust the IEC (Independent Electoral Commission). Tables. Also provides percentages of the number of non-registered voters intending to vote. The second indicates an overwhelming majority (96%) of voters convinced that the elections were conducted freely and fairly and describes reactions to other various practical aspects of the election. For earlier findings see: RULE, Stephen 'Surveying the scene', in *Election Update 99*, no 12, 14 May 1999, pp5–8.

- 794 TAIL wags election dog.** *CPS Monitor*, First quarter 1999, pp1–6.
Begins by pointing out drawbacks to the credibility of the elections — the low percentage of voter registration, the perception that the Independent Electoral Commission is ‘doing the ANC’s bidding’, ANC-IFP tension in KwaZulu-Natal, and the spate of changes in party allegiances. Follows this with a descriptive analysis of the key issues and problems affecting the political parties — ANC, NNP, IFP, FF, DP, PAC UDM, and FA. Sources are newspaper reports, which are listed.
- 795 A TALE full of sound and fury?** *Election Update* 99, no 3, 11 December 1998, pp7–11.
This ‘Conversation Piece’ reviews reactions to the first sweep of registration, noting those of the political parties, focusing on postponements in the four southern provinces, attitudes towards the IEC, newspaper comment and other critical judgements.
- 796 TAYLOR, Mandy**
Delays in Electoral Bill threaten election efficiency. *Parliamentary Whip*, 8 September 1998, p2.
Discusses the delays in passing the Electoral Bill (tabled in Parliament during July 1998) which have led the Independent Electoral Commission to question the feasibility of holding an administratively efficient election in 1999, and to lobby the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) Select Committee on Social Services to change the clause requiring bar-coded identity documents for voting and registration.
- 797 TAYLOR, Rupert and HOEANE, Thabisi**
Interpreting the South African election of June 1999. *Politikon*, vol 26, no 2, November 1999, pp133–144.
After briefly reviewing the campaign and results of the South African election of 2 June 1999, this article outlines the dominant view that the election is best interpreted in terms of a pre-specified conception of racial and ethnic identity (particularly with regard to party campaigning and voting behaviour). The article contests this racialized reading of the election, and through emphasizing the importance of economic and class considerations, argues that there is a need for a more complex and critically informed interpretation. (Abstract). It includes a table of the national election results for 1999 and 1994. The authors are members of the Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.
- 798 THREATS to free and fair conduct of the elections.** *Election Update* 99, no 4, 15 January 1999, p9.
Records reports of any political violence or other kinds of behaviour which might intimidate voters or obstruct electoral procedures. This is the first of a projected series of reports. It focuses on events in KwaZulu-Natal and in the Eastern Cape.
- 799 THREATS to free and fair elections.** *Election Update* 99, no 6, 12 February 1999, p7.
Recounts some isolated incidents of intimidation, makes comparisons with the situation in 1994 and maintains that violence, particularly politically related violence, remains an important threat to the holding of free and fair elections.

- 800 THREATS to free and fair elections.** *Election Update 99*, no 7, 26 February 2001, p8.

Hardly any reports of political violence during this period, but some allegations of intimidation have been reported, and should be heeded. Details of the places and people involved are given in the article.

- 801 THREATS to free and fair elections.** *Election Update 99*, no 8, 12 March 1999, pp10–11.

Specific incidents of politically related violence are described, giving details of the places and people involved. A number of concerns have been raised by political parties as well as by the IEC. Amongst others these involve the conduct and activities of the GCIS (the Government's Communication and Information Service), and of officials of the Home Affairs department and of the ANC.

- 802 THREATS to free and fair elections.** *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp6–7.

Calls for tolerance and condemnation of violence are the order of the day, with fewer and fewer incidents of intimidation reported. Political parties have been publishing their manifestos without hindrance.

- 803 THREATS to free and fair elections.** *Election Update 99*, no 10, 16 April 1999, pp14–15.

Despite the relatively peaceful picture presented, incidents of violence are still occurring. These are detailed in this article. Other matters of interest and concern revolve around the activities of the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), and the ensuring of a fair allocation of space and airtime for electoral coverage. The publication of the final set of '1999 Election Regulations and Guidelines' by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) is noted.

- 804 THREATS to free and fair elections.** *Election Update 99*, no 13, 28 May 1999, pp7–10.

'The Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) has been running a 1999 KZN Free and Fair Elections Survey, conducted by Markinor. Between 6–30 April 1999, 697 interviews were conducted in KwaZulu-Natal. Findings released on 27 May cover political tolerance, violence and intimidation and views on opposition.' (Journal introduction). The survey re-examines political intolerance in KwaZulu-Natal, emerging patterns, ability to disagree with institutions, willingness to vote, secrecy of the vote, and conceptions of the function of opposition parties. Findings also at website: <http://www.impd.org.za>

- 805 THUETSAD, Arvid Bro and SELCH, Camilla**

What do we mean by free and fair elections? *Election Update 99*, no 2, 27 November 1998, pp7–10.

Looks at the basic conditions and requirements for a free and fair election in 1999, how this concept impacts on registration and political party funding, and the implications of 'free and fair' as provided for in South African legislation.

806 TIP, Ilona and VERBEEK, Clare

Educating voters ... *NGO Matters*, vol 4, no 4, 4 April 1999, pp6–7.

'Voter education is a serious responsibility which has been charged largely to the NGO sector.' The article is in two sections. First Ilona Tip explains the Electoral Institute of South Africa's training programmes and describes the manuals available (p6). Then Clare Verbeek, from the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, discusses IDASA's training material 'Your Vote Counts', and the challenges and issues faced in its production (p7).

807 TLEANE, Console

Election assessment: Socialist Party of Azania. *Election Watch*, no 3, 15 July 1999, p5.

Explains the reasons for SOPA's participation in elections, and describes its stance as a revolutionary party promoting Black Consciousness and socialism.

808 TURKINGTON, Tara

ANC, NNP ready to lead N Cape. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 21, 28 May – 3 June 1999, p14.

Describes the attitudes and policies of the African National Congress and the New National Party in the Northern Cape Province, as expressed by its Premier, Manne Dipico and the NNP leader Pieter Willem Saaiman in competition for the premiership. Both argue the virtues of political co-operation after the election.

809 TWENTY six [26] parties to contest elections. *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 19, 14 May 1999, p8.

Five of the thirty one parties planning to contest the 1999 elections failed by the deadline date — 7 May 1999 — to pay their deposits (R100 000 to contest the National Assembly election and R20 000 for each provincial election). This concise report lists the sixteen parties contesting the national election, and another ten contesting provincial elections only.

810 UDM: the better future plan. Cape Town: United Democratic Movement, 1999, 28p.

Running title: Uniting the nation. Publication compiled by A van Wyk. It contains the UDM's manifesto, its message of hope, broad framework and specific solutions — economic growth and job creation, civil order and clean governance. These are followed by brief policy statements on twenty five 'burning issues', including rural revitalisation and constitutional reform.

811 UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The United Christian Democratic Party must govern South Africa because ... Mmabatho: UCDP, 1999, 2p.

Provides twenty four reasons why this should be so, in a brief manifesto compiled by M N Matladi. Attached to it, a covering letter to EISA, dated 15 April 1999, from the UCDP's Deputy Secretary listing enclosures, i.e. the logo of the party, a photograph of the party leader, Lucas Mangope, and the manifesto itself.

812 UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. National Office

[Description of the party and Tenth list]. Arcadia, Pretoria: United Democratic Movement, 1999, 4p.

Four page fax, received by EISA 16 April 1999, containing the approved description of the UDM together with their list of ten candidates for the National Assembly. Acceptance form signed by Annelize van Wyk.

813 UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The United Democratic Movement: UDM. A working nation towards a world class nation. [Pretoria]: UDM, 1999, 1 leaf, folded.

Coloured brochure encapsulating the party's vision, mission, aims and objectives, policies and partnership hopes. Slogan: 'Vote UDM — together we can make a difference'.

814 UYS, Stanley

South Africa's 1999 elections: towards one-party Africanism? *Representation*, vol 36, no 4, Winter 1999, pp307–314.

The author assesses the political situation in South Africa in 1999, and considers possible future developments. He begins by commenting on past elections, comparing and contrasting the situation in 1999 with that prevailing in 1994, and noting improvements. The electoral system is explained and the election results and performance of the parties analysed. Uys detects two cleavages in the National Assembly, one racial, the other 'socialist', and views most of the party political alignments as irrational. He fears that Mbeki's 'Africanism' could ultimately result in most 'non-blacks' being excluded from the mainstream of South African politics.

815 VAN NIEKERK, Phillip

One newspaper, one vote. *Mail & Guardian*, vol 15, no 20, 21–27 May 1999, p30.

In this Editorial the editor of the Mail & Guardian examines the circumstances that have led him to give his endorsement to the African National Congress in the 1999 general election. He discusses the rights and wrongs of newspapers supporting specific political parties and emphasizes the importance of voting as a form of social identification.

816 VENTER, Albert

Proposal 2: Proportional representation and ex post facto accreditation of Members of Parliament. In: *VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system*, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, pp77–81.

ISBN : 0-409-02233-0

Evaluates South Africa's electoral system and recommends changes — either an alternative form of geographical representation: accreditation of Members of Parliament to magisterial districts, or partial geographical representation: an emulation of the German model. The author concludes: 'The relative majority system leads to accountability but is neither fair nor representative. The list system of proportional representation is fair and highly representative, but does not foster accountability. A geographical component together with a party list like the German

model brings together all three criteria. In South Africa with its unique problems of deep divisions and animosity between different groups of people, as well as the lack of proper administrative infrastructure, the list system of proportional representation coupled with geographical accreditation is a fair, representative and accountable electoral system and is therefore recommended.'

817 VICTORY for democracy. *Mayibuye*, December 1993, pp8–11.

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).

818 VINCENT, Louise

Polls apart: South African women and the 1999 general election. *Issue: a Journal of Opinion*, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp31–36.

Surveys the active participation of women in politics, women's constitutional status, the degree of national political representation and the attitudes of the African National Congress and other political parties to these gender issues. In the context of the 1999 election and of the electoral system employed, the author examines the real difficulties that women continue to face both in parliamentary and party politics and in political participation 'more broadly'. Some goals may remain unrealized. The author concludes: 'When the end of apartheid was negotiated, the choice of electoral system was not uppermost in the minds of either participants or observers. The purest available form of proportional representation, the national party list system, was chosen because it seemed simple and fair. Five years later, flaws in that system, chiefly its lack of mechanisms for direct accountability of elected politicians thanks to the absence of constituency representation, have led to suggestions to alter it. Depending on the alternative, this may well mean that instead of a slow improvement in women's representation, future years will see a slow decline so that the gender composition of the national legislature comes in time to reflect more closely the actual status of gender relations in the country.'

819 VLOK, Etienne

COSATU and the elections. *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol 23, no 2, April 1999, pp12–19.

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, mobilisation 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.

820 VON HOLDT, Karl

Wrestling for the gear lever. *Siyaya!*, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, pp48–49.

'In the coming election, COSATU is likely to lend its formidable force to its old ally, the ANC. But not for free ... Summarises 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.

- 821 VOTE for prisoners reignites election controversy.** *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 1, 9 April 1999, p14.

This brief editorial discusses the possible effects on the electoral process of the Constitutional Court's ruling that prisoners have the right to vote in the pending election. It predicts a Court application by opposition parties to enable South Africans abroad to vote, and argues that this would encourage compliance with election results.

- 822 VOTER count by municipality.** Johannesburg: IEC, 1999, 22p.

Dated Wednesday, 7 April 1999. Tables only (no text) listing municipalities alphabetically under province and giving figures for the numbers of voters registered, population and percentage registered. Totals are provided for each province and for the country. Total for the country: Registered 18 356 851; Population 22 799 626; Percentage Registered 80.5%.

- 823 VOTER registration — a rough ride or an easy one?** *Election Update 99*, no 1, 13 November 1998, pp1-2.

Outlines points of contention emerging in the process of voter registration in the period August 1998 to October 1998, specifically concerning the stipulation of the use of bar-coded IDs for registration. Notes the passage of the Electoral Bill through the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and briefly describes plans made public by the Independent Electoral Commission to register South Africa's voters. Notes the findings of the HSRC task team on the number of eligible voters.

- 824 VOTER registration — in stages.** *Election Update 99*, no 2, 27 November 1998, pp1-2.

Notes the initial reactions to the first findings of the Markinor survey Opinion 99, released on 10 November 1998, concerning the possession, or otherwise, of bar-coded identity documents both from political parties and from the Department of Home Affairs. Reviews announcements, media releases and statements by Independent Electoral Commission officials concerning the Commission's plans for registration, and on some of the problems it faces.

- 825 VOTER registration — so far, so-so.** *Election Update 99*, no 3, 11 December 1998, pp1-5.

Concentrates on the progress made in voter registration in the period 24 November – 11 December 1998 and on some minor hitches in the process. This is followed by an area review of the provinces, and some comment on the activities and reactions of the Independent Electoral Commission. The article provides a detailed report on registration in the first wave, 27–29 November 1998 in the northern provinces, and in the second wave, 3–5 December 1998 in the southern provinces. The final figure for the first wave of registration is given as standing at 8 201 346. It includes a table

'National Registration Progress' up to 11 December 1998, and a section of comment on, and figures for, young voters.

826 VOTERS' roll over? Not yet. *Election Update* 99, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp1–2.

'Official IEC figures indicate a final total of 18 million names entered on the voters' roll — that is, before verification and amendments.' Complaints concerning irregularities and omissions still have to be attended to and the figure may increase. Registration finally closed on Monday, 15 March 1999. The provisional voters' roll has to be ready by 12 April and the final version published by the end of the month.

827 VOTING districts: 1999 elections. Miscellaneous maps. [Pretoria?]: Independent Electoral Commission, 1999, 7 leaves.

Contents: South Africa: registration progress at 08.00, 19 January 1999 (9 754 456 voters); Gauteng – polling station locations; KwaZulu Natal – polling station locations; Free State. Edenville TLC, 18 September 1998; Botshabelo TLC, Clustermap, 6 January 1999; City Council of Pretoria MLC Cluster map, 14 December 1998; Eastern Johannesburg MLC – Gauteng 98/07/30.

828 VOTING in 1999: choosing an electoral system, edited by Jacques de Ville and Nico Steytler. Durban: Butterworths, 1996, 125p.

ISBN : 0-409-0223-0

'The Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape initiated a project in 1994 on an appropriate electoral system for the election of members of the National Assembly in 1999. It was prompted by the clear sense that emerged after the 1994 election that members of Parliament were far removed from the electorate as there were no constituencies to which they were accountable. The system of "pure" proportional representation in terms of party lists was the most appropriate system under the circumstances of political transformation. It was a product of its time which now requires reform. The Centre commissioned Prof Jacques de Ville and Mr Pierre de Vos to assess the 1994 electoral system in theory and practice and to suggest possible reforms. As part of the research Professor de Ville visited the Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. In the process of drafting the final constitution, Theme Committee Two of the Constitutional Assembly held a workshop in May 1995 where the research results of the project were presented as well as the views of academics from Unisa, Rand Afrikaans University, Stellenbosch and Heidelberg. This book is published to disseminate the information, ideas and proposals presented at the workshop to a broader public and to contribute to an informed debate over the electoral system.' It was published with the support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, South Africa Office.

829 WATSON, Barbara

En route to political leadership: obstacles and opportunities for women candidacy. In: BALLINGTON, Julie. Report submitted to EISA: Women at the crossroads: women and governance conference, held in Cape Town, 21–23 October 1998. N.p.: EISA, Electoral Institute of South Africa, (1998), (5p).

The author recounts her experience, and that of her organisation WDF (Women's Development Foundation) in the empowerment of women in historically

disadvantaged communities in voter education and the training of councillors and parliamentarians. Notes the power women have to effect change and the role they should play as candidates in the 1999/2000 elections.

830 WELSH, David

The Democratic Party. In: ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999, pp89–100.

ISBN : 0-86486-405-1

Against the background of the political situation in South Africa between 1994 and 1999, the article examines Tony Leon's leadership qualities, the party's political strategies, allegations of racism in its electoral campaign, its own stance on affirmative action, media involvement, defections, financial considerations, increased support and its success in becoming the official opposition.

831 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, pp7–19.

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.

832 WHAT are we voting for? *Election Update 99*, no 9, 26 March 1999, pp24–28.

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. Tables 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.

833 WHAT still needs to be done. Johannesburg?: Independent Electoral Commission, [1996?], 7 leaves.

Seven leaflets outlining the consultative and legislative issues to be addressed before the 1999 elections. Most first require the establishment of the Electoral Commission itself.

834 WHAT the ANC manifesto really says. *Finance Week*, 2 April 1999, p8.

Finance Week's 'Comment' sees the manifesto as containing contradictory policy assertions couched in language both collective and militant. It contrasts its populist promises unfavourably with the ANC's 'Ready to Govern' document of 1994, and its 1992 Policy Guide. FW construes it as demanding a blank cheque from the electorate, and maintains that 'it is not meant for business eyes'.

- 835 WHY GIS in South Africa?** *Computer Graphics*, vol 10, no 5, October 1999, pp10–11.

Discusses the use of GIS in South Africa and illustrates with examples from recent occasions such as the monitoring of the general election. (ISAP).

- 836 WILHELM, Peter**

Brinkmanship but no deal. *Financial Mail*, 18 June 1999, pp32–33.

Comments on the ANC's rejection of the DP-NNP coalition offer of three seats in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature and its threats of confrontation and 'rolling mass action'. Notes the reactions of the DP to this and the concern of Cape business figures who see the need for inclusivity if racial polarization is to be avoided.

- 837 WILHELM, Peter**

Church leaders manage to cool tempers — for now. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 10, 19 March 1999, pp42–43.

Reports on violence in the Cape Peninsula, tensions between the ANC and the UDM (United Democratic Movement) in the Nyanga township and the KTC informal settlement. Notes fears of a wider war of reprisal and increasing electoral animosity as 2 June approaches, and the consequent movement into the townships of police and other security reinforcements to secure safety and free movement. Attributes the possibility of negotiation and a peace pact to the personal intervention and moral authority of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Njongonkulu Ndungane.

- 838 WILHELM, Peter**

Nats flat-footed in musical chairs. *Financial Mail*, vol 152, no 12, 2 April 1999, pp26–27.

Notes political defections to the ANC, specifically those of MP Bukelwa Mbulawa from the Democratic Party (DP) and Patrick McKenzie from the New National Party (NPP), and discusses the significance of these for the forthcoming elections in the Western Cape. Postulates an ANC confident of success, and disarray among the splinter groups.

- 839 WILHELM, Peter**

Qibla's vain crusade. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 8, 28 May 1999, pp47–48.

The Islamic Unity Convent (IUC), chaired by Achmad Cassiem, has called for Muslims to boycott the 2 June elections, and denounced the death threats to Muslims working for the IEC. The article discusses possible links between the IUC and Qibla, described as a fundamentalist group pressing for an Islamic state. The IUC claims to represent 342 affiliates with a total national membership of 100 000 Muslims — a claim disputed by a leading Muslim scholar, Farid Esack.

- 840 WILHELM, Peter**

Untangling an electoral conundrum. *Financial Mail*, vol 153, no 10, 11 June 1999, pp38–39.

Analyses the results of the 1999 election in the Western Cape, party support obtained and the possibility of a coalition. Suggests reasons for the decline in enthusiasm for the NNP, and argues that anti-ANC positions are outdated.

- 841 WILL all parties registered appear on the ballot paper?** *Election Watch*, no 2, 15 May 1999, pp4–5.

Briefly describes the financial requirements for registration and the ballot papers to be issued. Includes tables of the sixteen parties contesting the national election and of the twenty five parties (i.e. those that have paid their deposits by 3 May 1999) contesting the provincial elections and showing the provinces in which they will be active. Source: IEC (Independent Electoral Commission) 8 May 1999.

- 842 WINNIE continues with her support of Thabo.** *Southern Africa Report*, vol 17, no 12, 20 March 2000, pp4–5.

Contains some of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's campaign statements for the 2 June 1999 elections in support of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. SAR's 'Comment' discusses the extent to which her allegiance may prove an embarrassment, and comments on her extravagant claims concerning the murders of farmers.

- 843 WOMEN leaders taking us into the new millennium.** *Election Bulletin*, vol 1, 14 May 1999, 2p.

Presents profiles of four women Members of Parliament, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (ANC), Pregs Govender (ANC), Dene Smuts (DP), Sheila Camerer (NNP) giving their political track records, government, parliamentary, community or party records where applicable, and personal style in each instance. These profiles are edited extracts from a Commission on Gender Equality publication 'Redefining Politics: South African Women and Democracy'.

- 844 WOMEN, politics and the elections, 29 June 1998. A Gender Dialogue report ...** Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Commission on Gender Equality, (CGE), 1998, 35p.

Report on the outcome of interaction between the Commission on Gender Equality and political parties concerning their attitudes to, and intentions towards, gender issues and the full participation of women in politics. Sixteen parties were invited to make presentations: five responded. Submissions are included from the African National Congress, Melissa Levin; National Party, Tersia Wessels; Inkatha Freedom Party, B M Nzimande, MP; Pan Africanist Congress, Imani Milima-X; African Christian Democratic Party, Rhoda Southgate. Appendix I. (pp28–34) 'List of Participants'.

- 845 The WOMEN'S Lobby: update June 1998.** Bryanston, Johannesburg: Women's Lobby, 1998, 4p + 1p.

Includes a note of actions already taken concerning gender issues in lobbying for the 1999 elections. Attached is a sample of the letter sent to the leaders of all political parties urging them to adopt a 30% quota of women candidates at national and provincial levels.

846 WOOD, Geoffery

Continuity and change: political allegiances and attitudes in the Border Region.
Issue: a Journal of Opinion, vol 27, no 2, 1999, pp42–47.

The author, lecturer at Coventry University (UK) states: 'This article explores the nature of party competition in the Border Corridor of the province by examining both the 1999 election results and the results of a detailed opinion survey conducted in the area in late 1998.' The district encompasses greater East London, the provincial capital of Bisho and King Williams Town and is sandwiched between the former homelands of the Transkei and Ciskei. The article includes tables of the 1999 election results and of the survey results. Wood concludes: 'The outcome of the election in the Border Region reveals both continuity and change. It is evident that political allegiances continue to have a strong ethnic dimension. While the UDM sought to establish itself as a multi-ethnic organization, the bulk of its support remains among Xhosa speakers resident in the former Transkei. The ANC has yet to attract a significant following in the White community, and has limited coloured support. Certain structural impediments constrain the progress of new political actors. These include constitutional constraints against members of parliament switching political parties once elected and the relatively high cost of political campaigning in South Africa. The ANC has reaffirmed its position in the 1999 elections as South Africa's dominant political actor. Even organizations with impeccable liberation credentials, such as the PAC and AZAPO, fared dismally. A sizeable component of the electorate is dissatisfied with the government's — above all the provincial government's — performance, but this is largely comprised of members of minority groups and of those located on the periphery. Significant changes include the seemingly terminal decline of the NNP and the fact that the UDM has managed to establish itself as a force to reckon with in the province, even if it has become a de facto Transkeian party. Of even greater importance is the fact that a region previously characterized by violent political instability has become relatively stable, with "normal", peaceful political competition, representing one of the success stories of South Africa's new democracy.'

847 WORKERS INTERNATIONAL VANGUARD LEAGUE

Manifesto for the June 1999 elections. Salt River, Cape Town: Workers International Vanguard League, 1999, [12p].

Explains the international background to the league, examines the disappointing nature of other parties, the ANC, SACP, COSATU, and UDM, the international crisis of capitalism and prospects for socialism. Gives their reasons for participating in elections and the main issues being fought for. Lists their thirty two demands and outlines the task ahead. Issued under the slogan 'Forward to the revolutionary working class party! Aluta Continua! Forward to socialism!'

848 WORKING draft of the new Constitution ... reporting back to the nation.

Constitutional talk. Working draft edition, [1995], (entire issue 32p).

This special edition of 'Constitutional Talk', Official Newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly, is the Assembly's report back and reflects work done so far by the political parties in the Constitutional Assembly, taking into account the submissions and ideas gathered, and broad agreements reached. It contains all fifteen Chapters of the draft constitution, together with various options suggested by the political parties, and

articles and graphics explaining the issues at stake. These include debates about property, open and accountable government, provincial participation at national level, options for the executive, distribution of powers, and traditional authorities. Written submissions are invited, by 20 February 1996.

849 XIMOKO PARTY

Ximoko Party manifesto. Giyani, South Africa: Ximoko Party, 1999, 4p + 2p.

The manifesto of this multi-party organisation, advocating a non-racial, non-sexist democratic country based on universal adult suffrage, lists the party's distinguishing features and states its stances on economic freedom, social development, law and order and defence. Attached is a short curriculum vitae for Madala Alfred Mabunda, President of Ximoko Party, together with a two page document presenting information on the establishment and restructuring of Ximoko Party. This covers its historical background, the demise of the Ximoko Progressive Party, the drive behind the revival of Ximoko Party and the vision and objectives of the party. Includes its views on traditional leadership. Logo in black and white on manifesto.

850 ZONDI, Musa

The IFP's election results analysis. *Election Watch*, no 3, 15 July 1999, p4.

The national spokesperson of the IFP comments on the election itself, criticises the shift of white voters away from the IFP, and bemoans the paucity of financial resources for the smaller political parties.

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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 South Africa
AITUP	Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party
AMCP	African Moderates Congress Party
AMP	Africa Moral Party, <i>also</i> ,
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 Volksumie (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
CEO	Chief Electoral Officer
CF	Citizen Force
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	Dabalorivhiwa 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
ECF	Electoral Commissions Forum
ECOMSA	European Community Observer Mission in South Africa
EISA	Electoral Institute of South Africa, <i>also,</i>
EISA	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
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	Forum 2000
FXI	Freedom of Expression Institute
GAP	Gender Advocacy Programme
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme
GFSA	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), <i>also</i> ,
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 South 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
Jafa	Justice and Freedom Alliance
JCMC	Joint Community 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 Communication Centre
JUMLAC	Jafa United Mobilisation of Lobbies Against Crime
KAMBRO	Karoo Mobilisation Planning 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 Committee
LEA	Local Electoral Agent
LEAP	Legal Education Action Project
LEO	Local Electoral Officer
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
LP	Labor Party, <i>also</i> ,
LP	Labour Party
LPC	Local Peace Committee
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
LTP	Legislative Training Programme
LUSAP	Luso South African Party
MAIL	Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders
MDM	Mass Democratic 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, <i>also,</i>
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
NIP	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
OUA	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

PBKG	Pretoria Boerekommandogroep
PDP	Peace and Development Project
PEB	Political Education Broadcast, <i>also,</i>
PEB	Party Election Broadcasts
PEO	Provincial Electoral Officer
PF	Patriotic Front
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PIFSA	Printing Industries Federation
PIMS	Political Information and Monitoring Service
PLC	Party Liaison Committee
PMF	Peace Monitoring Forum
PO	Presiding Officer
POC	Provincial Operations Centre
POPCRU	Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union
PP	People's Party, <i>also,</i>
PP	Public Protector
PPLC	Provincial Party Liaison Committee
PPP	Progressive People's Party
PR	Proportional Representation
PSRS	Polling Station Reporting System
PWG	Parliamentary Women's Group
PWV	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereening Area
QPC	Quaker Peace Centre
RCC	Results Control Centre
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RDRC	Regional Dispute Resolution Committee
RIIA	Royal Institute of International Affairs
RP	Realists Party
RP	Right Party/Regte Party
RPC	Regional Peace Committee
RPS	Regional Peace Secretariat
RVS	Results Verification System
SAAPAWU	Southern African Agricultural and Plantation and Allied Workers Union
SAAU	South African Agricultural Union
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACBC	Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACOB	South African Chamber of Business
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACS	South African Communications Service
SACSEOC	South African Civil Society Election Observation Coalition
SACSOC	South African Civil Society Observer Coalition
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South African Defence Force
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAFA	South African Freedom Alliance
SAFE	South Africa Free Elections Fund
SAFPA	South African Political Alliance/Suid-Afrikaanse Politieke Alliansie
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SALRC	South African Law Reform Commission
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SANEF	South African National Defence Force
SANGOCO	South African National NGO Coalition
SANGONeT	Southern African NGO Network
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAP	South African Police
SAPA	South African Press Agency
SAPOHR	South African Prisoner's Organisation for Human Rights

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
SOCCER	Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions And Equal Rights
SOPA	Socialist Party of Azania
SP	Super Party
SPP	Sindawonye Progressive Party
SPU	Self-Protection Unit
SSA	Statistics South Africa
STV	Single Transferable Vote
TBVC	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei States
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TI-SA	Transparency International (South Africa)
TIC	Temporary Identity Certificate, <i>also,</i>
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRP	Technical Resource Persons
TTF	Technical Task Force
TVC	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
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, <i>also,</i>
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 Zion Christian Church

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