SOUTH AFRICA’S FOUNDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTION
1994
A Select and Annotated Bibliography

compiled by
BETH STRACHAN

Order from: publications@eisa.org.za

EISA BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SERIES NO 2
SOUTH AFRICA’S FOUNDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTION 1994

A Select and Annotated Bibliography

compiled by
BETH STRACHAN

2005
Published by EISA
2nd Floor, The Atrium
41 Stanley Avenue, Auckland Park
Johannesburg, South Africa 2006

P O Box 740
Auckland Park
2006
South Africa
Tel: 27 11 482 5495
Fax: 27 11 482 6163
Email: eisa@eisa.org.za
www.eisa.org.za

ISBN: 1-920095-33-0

© EISA

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of EISA.

First published 2005

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

Cover photograph: Yoruba Beaded Crown
Reproduced with the kind permission of Hamill Gallery of African Art, Boston, Ma USA

EISA Bibliographical Series No 2
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Acronyms</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author Index</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Index</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The holding of South Africa’s first democratic election on 27 April 1994 stands out as an epic moment in the history of our country. The founding election, desired, feared, devised and finally delivered was held in an atmosphere of almost jubilant euphoria. Its recording took many forms. This bibliography represents only a fraction of them. However this store of information, housed mainly in EISA’s own Library and Information Centre, still attracts attention.

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

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

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

This bibliography is now published in part as a tribute to the dedicated spirits of the time who provided drive and practical encouragement to an approved electoral
process, confirming its necessity and acceptance; and also in part as a contribution to EISA’s own continuing commitment to good governance and to credible elections, wherever held.

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

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

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

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

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

ACKNOWLEDGENTS
During its compilation the following institutions and their staff assisted in many helpful ways: the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, in particular the John G Gubbins Africana Library with the generous support and co-operation of its Librarian, Margaret Northey; the South African Institute of International Affairs
Library, Jan Smuts House, with the knowledge and enthusiasm of its Librarian, Elna Schoeman; and the Africa Institute, Pretoria with the aid of its most welcoming and efficient staff.

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

Beth Strachan.

EISA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCORD</td>
<td>African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACDP</td>
<td>African Christian Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADM</td>
<td>African Democratic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (Afrikaner Unity Movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEI</td>
<td>African-European Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFSA</td>
<td>Artists for a Free South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AITUP</td>
<td>Abolition of Income Tax and Usury party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMCP</td>
<td>African Moderates Congress party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMP</td>
<td>Africa Moral party, also,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMP</td>
<td>Africa Muslim party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMPS</td>
<td>All Media Product Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANCWL</td>
<td>ANC Women’s League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANCYL</td>
<td>ANC Youth League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APLA</td>
<td>Azanian People’s Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td>Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>African Studies Centre, Leiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Alternative Vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVF</td>
<td>Afrikaner People’s Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVK</td>
<td>Afrikaner Volksfront</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVU</td>
<td>Afrikaner Volksunie (Afrikaner People’s Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWEPA</td>
<td>Association of West European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWEPPA</td>
<td>Association of West European Parliamentarians against Apartheid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZANLA</td>
<td>Azanian National Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZAPO</td>
<td>Azanian People’s Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBB</td>
<td>Blanke Bevryingsbeweging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCCSA</td>
<td>Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCMA</td>
<td>Black Consciousness Movement of Azania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMCC</td>
<td>Broadcast Monitoring and Complaints Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMP</td>
<td>Broadcast Monitoring Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOP</td>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BV</td>
<td>Blanke Veiligheid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVB</td>
<td>Boere Vryheidsbeweging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWB</td>
<td>Boereweerstandsbehweging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>Community Agency for Social Enquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBDP</td>
<td>Community Based Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBM</td>
<td>Consultative Business Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCB</td>
<td>Civil Co-operation Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCG</td>
<td>Concerned Citizens Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCMA</td>
<td>Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCR</td>
<td>Centre for Conflict Resolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDP</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDRT</td>
<td>Community Dispute Resolution Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CEO       Chief Electoral Officer
CF        CitizenForce
CFTC      Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation
CGE       Commission on Gender Equality
CIS       Centre for Intergroup Studies
CLC       Community Law Centre
CMC       Conflict Management Committee
CODESA    Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COGSA     Commonwealth Observer Group to South Africa
COMSA     Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa
CONTRALESA Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
CORE      Co-operative for Research and Education
CORRLUSA  Community Organisations, Residents, Ratepayers, Land Union of South Africa
COSAG     Concerned South Africans Group
COSAS     Congress of South African Students
COSATU    Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP        Conservative Party
CPA       Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CPC       Cape People’s Congress
CPP       Christen Protestante Party
CPPR      Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities
CPS       Centre for Policy Studies
CRLR      Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights
CSO       Community Service Organisation
CSOs      Civil Society Organisations
CSS       Central Statistical Services
CTPA      Cape Teachers Professional Association
CV        Curriculum-Vitae Political Party
DBSA      Development Bank of South Africa
DDCN      Development Contact Network
DEBI      Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative
DDEO      Deputy District Electoral Officer
DEO       District Electoral Officer
DBSA      Development Bank of South Africa
DHA       Department of Home Affairs
DOC       Department of Communications
DP        Democratic Party
DPF       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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECF</td>
<td>Electoral Commissions Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOMSA</td>
<td>European Community Observer Mission in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EISA</td>
<td>Electoral Institute of South Africa, also,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ElSA</td>
<td>Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, now EISA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPSA</td>
<td>Ecumenical Monitoring Programme on South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMSA</td>
<td>Employment Movement of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESC</td>
<td>Electoral Steering Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET</td>
<td>Election Timetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETB</td>
<td>Eastern Transvaal Boerekommando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUNELSA</td>
<td>European Election Unit in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Federal Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Freedom Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>Freedom Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNS</td>
<td>Friedrich Naumann Stiftung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FP</td>
<td>Federal Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2000</td>
<td>Forum2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FXI</td>
<td>Freedom of Expression Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAP</td>
<td>Gender Advocacy Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCIS</td>
<td>Government Communication and Information System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GFSA</td>
<td>Gun Free South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Geographical Information System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLA</td>
<td>Gay and Lesbian Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNU</td>
<td>Government of National Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPP</td>
<td>Government by the People Green Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPP</td>
<td>God’s People’s Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRP</td>
<td>The Green Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HNP</td>
<td>Herstigte Nasionale Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRC</td>
<td>Hunan Rights Commission (South African Human Rights Commission), also,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRC</td>
<td>Hunan Rights Committee of South Africa (Cape Town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>Human Sciences Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HURISA</td>
<td>Hunan Rights Institute of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAC</td>
<td>International Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBA</td>
<td>Independent Broadcasting Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>Interim Crisis Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International CoUnission of Jurists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICO</td>
<td>Independent Civic Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICOSA</td>
<td>Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Identity Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDASA</td>
<td>Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, now Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEA</td>
<td>International Institute for Democracy and Electoml Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDT</td>
<td>Independent Development Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFEE</td>
<td>Independent Forum for Electoml Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 CoIIUnunity Monitoring Centre
JCQLSW Joint Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women
JEP Joint Enrichment Project
JOC Joint Operations Centre
JOCC Joint Operations CoIIUnication 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 CoIIUnittee
LEA Local Electoral Agent
LEAP Legal Education Action Project
LEO Local Electoral Officer
LHR Lawyers for Human Rights
LP Labor Party, also,
LP Labour Party
LPC Local Peace Committee
LRC Legal Resources Centre
LTP Legislative Training 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, also,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Merit Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPD</td>
<td>Institute for Multi-Party Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPF</td>
<td>Multi-Party Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPL</td>
<td>Member of Provincial Legislature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPLC</td>
<td>Multi-Party Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPNF</td>
<td>Multi-Party Negotiating Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUM</td>
<td>Mass United Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>National Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACOPA</td>
<td>National Coalition Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACTU</td>
<td>National Council of Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NADEL</td>
<td>National Association of Democratic Lawyers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NALEDI</td>
<td>National Labour and Economic Development Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCF</td>
<td>National Consultative Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCGLE</td>
<td>National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCOP</td>
<td>National Council of Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td>Northwest Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDI</td>
<td>National Democratic Institute for International Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDPI</td>
<td>National Directorate of Public Investigations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEC</td>
<td>National Executive Committee (ANC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEON</td>
<td>National Electoral Observer Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEP</td>
<td>New Earth Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUM</td>
<td>Non-European Unity Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW NP</td>
<td>New National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIC</td>
<td>Natal Indian Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICOC</td>
<td>National Intelligence Coordinating Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIM</td>
<td>Network of Independent Monitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJP</td>
<td>New Institutions Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIS</td>
<td>National Intelligence Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NKP</td>
<td>Nasionale Kleuring Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMP</td>
<td>New Movement Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN BK</td>
<td>Northern Natal Boerekommando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNBP</td>
<td>New National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOB</td>
<td>National Office Bearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOC</td>
<td>National Operations Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPA</td>
<td>National Peace Accord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>National Peace Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPI</td>
<td>National Police Inspectorate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPKF</td>
<td>National Peacekeeping Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPS</td>
<td>National Peace Secretariat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSMC</td>
<td>National Security Management Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>National Union of Mineworkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMSA</td>
<td>National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUWCC</td>
<td>National Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWAU</td>
<td>North West Agricultural Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWC</td>
<td>National Women’s Coalition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NYC National Youth Commission
NYDF National Youth Development Forum
OAU Organisation of African Unity
ODA Overseas Development Administration
OSF.SA Open Society Foundation for South Africa
OSW Office on the Status of Women
PAC Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PAGAD People Against Gangsterism and Drugs
PASO Pan Africanist Students Organisation
SAPS South African Police Service
SARDC Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SARDF Southern Africa Regional Democracy Fund
SARIC South African Region of Independent Churches
SASG Southern Africa Study Group
SATRA South African Telecommunications Regulating Authority
SAUJ South African Union of Journalists
SAWP South African Women’s Party
SDU Self Defence Unit
SIMUNYE Simunye in Christ Organisation
SMR Spatial Management Reporting
SOCCER Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions And Equal Rights
SOPA Socialist Party of Azania
SP SuperParty
SPP Sindawonye Progressive Party
SPU Self-Protection Unit
SSA Statistics South Africa
SIV Single Transferable Vote
TBVC Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei States
TEC Transitional Executive Council
TLSA Transparency International (South Africa)
TIC Temporary Identity Certificate, also,
TIC Transvaal Indian Congress
TLC Transitional Local Council
TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRP Technical Resource Persons
TTF Technical Task Force
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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPF</td>
<td>United People’s Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USIP</td>
<td>United States Institute for Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWUSA</td>
<td>United Workers Union of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VD</td>
<td>Voting District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEECTU</td>
<td>Voter Education and Elections Training Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VF</td>
<td>Volksfront, also,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VF</td>
<td>Vryheidsfront</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSP</td>
<td>Vukuzenzele Sekusile Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WDF</td>
<td>Women’s Development Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WECCO</td>
<td>Western Cape Civics Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEU</td>
<td>Women’s Empowerment Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WI</td>
<td>Worker’s International to Rebuild the Fourth International (SA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIVL</td>
<td>Workers International Vanguard League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WKFP</td>
<td>Wes-Kaap Federaliste Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLP</td>
<td>Workers List Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNC</td>
<td>Women’s National Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOSA</td>
<td>Workers Organisation for Socialist Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>Workers Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRPP</td>
<td>Women’s Rights Peace Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTC</td>
<td>World Trade Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP</td>
<td>Ximoko Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIMOKO</td>
<td>Ximoko Progressive Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCS</td>
<td>Young Christian Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>Zionist Christian Church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- Northern Cape
- Western Cape
- Eastern Cape
- O.F.S
- KwaZulu/Natal
- N. Tvl
- PWV
- W. Tvl
- E. Tvl

Map showing regions of South Africa.

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

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

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


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

4 ACHEBE, Chinua

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

5 AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION BILL (Act)
Reports. Submission to the MPNP talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Isando. Isando: Multiparty

Submitted: 30 August 1993.

6 **ADAM, Heribert**

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

7 **ADEBAJO, Adekeye**

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

8 **AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY**

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

9 **AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

The African Christian Democratic Party believes that South Africa is a nation under the Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The ACDP represents: 1.) A fresh start to a new South Africa. It is a party of goodwill, uncontaminated by the past; 2.) A dynamic
leadership emanating from diverse political and cultural backgrounds, united behind common Christian principles to bring hope and vision to the nation; 3.) A genuine federal framework of self governance with maximum constitutional powers at the lowest possible level; 4.) Development through the empowerment of grassroots communities and individuals; 5) The application of Christian principles as the foundation for values and norms in a just and equitable society; 6.) A common sense approach to solving critical issues - including job creation, security, the economy, education, health care, the environment, housing and land ownership; 7.) A vibrant open market economy, creating opportunities for all to prosper. Under each of these points the founding statement sets them in context and then elaborates on their purpose and principles. It concludes "It is the ACDP policy to serve the nation and implement change: - from faith in politicians - to faith in God; - from bureaucratic rule - to servant leadership; - from dependence on favours - to self-reliance; - from paternalistic central planning - to local and regional initiatives; - from violence and crime - to peace and stability".

10 AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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

11 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Department of Political Education and Training

Cover title: Umrabulo, let's talk politics. Special edition No. 4 Draft strategy and tactics document. Published as a guide to action and to encourage debate at the ANC's 50th National Conference, this document defines the
movement's long term objectives and tactical positions. Charts a historical course from resistance to colonialism, to the period of negotiations to victory at the 1994 elections. Explains the nature of the National Democratic Revolution, the motive forces of transformation, the character of the ANC, its view of the international situations and its programmes of social and economic transformation.

12 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Lenasia Branch

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

13 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Negotiations Commission

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

14 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Department of International Affairs

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

Comprises: 1 videocassette, (VHS) (15 min.), 1 sound cassette, (20 min.), one brochure. Produced by the Elections Fundraising Unit, African National Congress.

“This programme summarizes the aims and objectives, major components and overall implementation of the elections campaign for South Africa’s first democratic election on 27 April 1994”.

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

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

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

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

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

19 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

20 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

21 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Subject indicated by title.

22 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

23 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The main objectives of the ANC, its messages, tasks and the strategies to implement them are clearly set out in
four sections: Phase One; Preparatory phase, 1 June to 31 August. Phase Two; The campaign - We are the ANC. We are ready to govern, 1 September to 10 December. Phase Three; The campaign: Mobilising for victory, 16 January - 31 March. Phase Four; Election week - Victory week, 1 April - Election day.

24 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

25 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

26 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

27 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

30 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The document does not present a rigid ANC blueprint for the future, but rather a set of basic guidelines it intends to pursue, adaptable through consultation, or by experience. They are elaborated on under nineteen headings: Introduction, A democratic constitution for
South Africa; A new system of local government; Economic policy; The land; The environment; Housing; Health; Social welfare; Education; The development of human resources; Science and technology; Media; Arts and culture; Sport and recreation; Peace and security; Youth; International relations.

31 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

32 AGISHANANG " Building together"
Elections and NGO'S. Johannesburg: Community Based Development Programme(CBDP), 1994, 21 p.

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


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

34 AKHTAR, Shameem

Outlines main features of the first democratic elections in South Africa, focusing especially on President Mandela's
wisdom and tolerance in recognizing contributions by opposition groups, such as Inkatha, the Freedom Front and the National Party. Prospects for democracy in South Africa and objectives of the new government which need urgent attention are identified. (ASC Leiden abstract).

35 ALAC, Sadikau Ayo

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

36 ALBERTS, Paul

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

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

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

38 The ANC election lists. IMSSA Review, no.15, March
"IMSSA recently ran the elections which determined the ANC's candidates for the upcoming national elections. The process involved the administration of four elections in all 14 ANC regions. The elections were for candidates for the national assembly, regional candidates for national assembly, and for provincial legislatures. A fourth election was held in each region to elect the candidates for provincial premiers". (Journal introduction). This article describes the methods and procedures used by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa to run these elections, including an account of the voting and counting systems employed.


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

40 ANC manifesto: populist pull. *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 5, 4 February 1994, p. 43 - 44. Focuses on salient points of the ANC's election manifesto, "A better life for all - working together for jobs, peace & freedom", which was unveiled by Nelson Mandela. Notes the emphasis on democracy, the commitment to peace and job creation through a new trade and industry policy, proposals for a national public works programme and small business, labour-related issues, land and educational reform, and housing. (ISAP).


Reports on the pressure exerted by the ANC on its supporters in the Patriotic Front that elections be held during 1993. Divisions within Afrikaner circles and the
National Party are noted. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).


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


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

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

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

45 ANGLIN, Douglas G.


Includes bibliographical notes, p.28 - 34. "This paper attempts to assess the scale, scope and impact of the international component of the mammoth and multi-faceted effort undertaken to monitor the freeness and fairness of the South African elections". Outlines the wider context and constraints in and under which the international monitors operated and the political environment and electoral arrangements involved. Surveys the monitoring process, its genesis, the establishment of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) and three other intergovernmental observer missions, the Commonwealth Observer Mission
to South Africa (COMSA), the European Union (ECOMSA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU Observer Mission). Describes other groupings, variant methods involved, finance and deployment. Examines their roles and functions, the limits of these, and suggests criteria for assessing effectiveness: legitimacy, impartiality, coordination, observer skills and impact.

46 ANGLIN, Douglas G.  

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


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

48 ANSTEY, M.  

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

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


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


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


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


A report on the elections in South Africa and speculation on its outcome. An insert entitled: "Zulu against Zulu" focuses on the political conflict and violence in Natal, where ANC and Inkatha supporters
wage as ongoing battle. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).


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

55 AWEPA SOUTH AFRICA OBSERVER MISSION

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

56 AWEPPAA

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

Don’t vote: the reasons. N. p: AZASCO, [1994], 1 leaf.

Criticizes sections 28, 40, 121, and 71 of the 'sellout' constitution and urges people to refrain from voting in the 1994 election.

58 **BADAL, Sean**

Gearing up for television’s total onslaught. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 4, 28 January to 3 February 1994, p. 43.

Concise report on the plans of the international media (including the BBC and CNN) for coverage of the 1994 elections, and on the role the SABC is likely to play.

59 **BADAT, Shireen**


Focuses on the many small parties which registered for the April elections, and questions the wisdom of providing state funding to them. (Sardius).

60 **BALLINGTON, Julie**


Within the education drive in 1994, various programmes were developed for different target groups, including programmes that focused on educating women for democracy and electoral participation. This work aims to show what was needed, and the factors that determined the successful democratic process of mobilizing and educating all South Africans, despite the substantive differences between them based on factors such as race, gender and class. Examines the efforts and effects of the voter education drive, with a particular emphasis on the education directed at women voters. (Introduction).

61 **BALLINGTON, Julie**


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

62 BALLINGTON, Julie

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

63 BALLINGTON, Julie


64 BALLINGTON, Julie

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

65 BALLINGTON, Julie

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

66 BALLINGTON, Julie

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

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

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

68 **BARBER, James**

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

69 **BARBER, James**

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

70 **BARKHUIZEN, G.P.**

Analyses the results of a study to discern whether respondents knew what certain abbreviations and acronyms, which were frequently heard during the
build-up to the recent democratic elections, stood for. (ISAP).

71 **BARNARD, Schalk Leopold**

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

72 **BARRON, C.**

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


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

74 **BAUER, Charlotte**

Highly coloured account of the bureaucratic problems
and endless queues encountered by both black and white in acquiring temporary voters' cards through the Home Affairs Departments' offices in Johannesburg.

75 BAUER, Charlotte

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

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

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

77 BEKKER, Hennie

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

78 BELL, T.

Stresses that it is important to wait until after the
election before establishing a workers' party. Suggests that a mass workers' party is a manifestation of the fact that much of the Left has lost direction. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

79 BERNSTEIN, Henry

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

80 BERTELSTEIN, Eve

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

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

Expresses the party's viewpoints on various election-related topics including the limiting of government's
powers, the prevention of corruption, intimidation and violence, power sharing and a possible united front for Afrikaners.

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

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


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


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

85 BIERBAUM, N.

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


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

87 **BLACK SASH**

ISBN : 0-9583106-6-1 pbk

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

88 **BLACK SASH**


89 **BLOOM, Jack**

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

90 **BODENSTEIN, J.**  

Focuses on elections, electoral systems and voter education.

91 **BODENSTEIN, Jobst Wilhelm**  


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

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

93 **BOEHMER, Elleke**  

"Elleke Boehmer was in South Africa in late April, at election time. This is her story". She presents a personal impressionistic account of 27 April 1994 - 'frieze dried drama' and of the atmosphere at a Durban
polling station - "the queue is garishly sunlit, sedate and still very long. This is the beauty of the banal".


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

95 BOOYSEN, Susan


This case study of the Matla Trust Voter Education Research project analyses voting-related attitudes in the run-up to South Africa's 1994 election. The study was aimed at the empowerment of voters. Empowerment is defined along the lines of the motivation and the skills to participate in the election. The research methodology used was qualitative focus groups and a major, quantitative, baseline attitude survey. The latter was designed to reflect the attitudes of the whole of the South African electorate. It was unique in that it did detailed regional and demographic comparisons. The research illuminates the meaning which South African voters attached to, and feelings they had about, voting, elections and democracy. The study also identifies the "demographic fault lines" in empowerment to vote and to participate. The paper first investigates the extent of motivation to vote and reasons for voting. Motivation was high, also well before the election. The reasons for voting shed light on the meaning attached to democracy and voting. They also give important information on the expectations the voters have of a new government. The research showed systematic demographic
disempowerment in terms of voting skills. Whilst indications are that these were overcome in a largely successful April 1994 election, continued work is required to advance empowerment for wider political participation. The paper also provisionally investigates some implications of this case study for the deepening of democracy in South Africa. Diagrams and tables relate mainly to vote intention, possession of identity documents, belief in ballot secrecy and spoilt ballots.

96 **BOOYSEN, Susan**

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

97 **BOOYSEN, Susan**
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).


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

99 BOPHUTHATSWANA


Submitted: 12 May 1993.

100 BORAIINE, Alex


The executive director of IDASA analyses the pre-election situation and proffers six reasons to celebrate South Africa's first democratic election - as markers in the progress to a totally new era, in the beginning of
the building of a common society and of a just society, in the start of a positive stance, and, most of all, as a marker of the end of apartheid.

101 **BRADDER, Ross**

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

102 **BRAHIMI, L.**

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

103 **BRATTON, Michael and VAN DE WALLE, Nicholas**
Explaining democratic transitions In: THEIR.


104 **BRATTON, Michael**

Paper presented at the 37th annual meeting of the

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

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

106 **BREYTENBACH, Willie**

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


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

108 **BRINK, A.**

109 **BRINK, Andre**  


110 **BROAD** strategic tasks facing the ANC after April 28.  

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

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

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

112 **BROWNSTONE, Meyer**  

A member of the OXFAM - Canada Pre-Election Mission stresses the urgent need for international
support, both for the electoral process in South Africa and for democratic transformation. (Sardius).

113 **BRUMMER, Stefaans**  

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

114 **BRUMMER, Stefaans**  

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

115 **BUHLUNGU, Sakhela**  

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

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

117 **BUNTMAN, Fran**


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


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


Report on the late agreement to participate in the
elections by KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi. Gives reasons for this move. (Sardius).

120 BUTHELEZI's late, late entry. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 4. 22 April 1994, p. 41 - 42.

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

121 BUTLER, Mark

Subject indicated by title. Includes maps.

122 BUTLER, William J., and others
ISBN: 0-916265-08-4

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

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

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

124 CALLAND, Richard


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

126 CAREER AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGIES

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

127 CAREER AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

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

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

Reports that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is trying to obtain ancillary support from other organizations, including business, and looks at the role of the Business Election Fund (BEF). Discusses the financial position of the IEC and looks at the supplementing of the IEC’s monitors by the National Peace Secretariat (NPS). (ISAP).
CARGILL, Jenny and MAPHETO, Andrew  
COSATU takes stock: ... and finds a surplus of stresses. Finance Week, vol. 61, no. 3, 14 April 1994, p. 13 - 16.

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

CARGILL, Jenny  

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

CARGILL, Jenny  

Looks at the anticipated costs of the transition, particularly the integration of the various armed forces, labour issues within the SA Police, rationalization of disparate state departments into regional administrations and a national government, and the inauguration. Discusses the role of the Financial &
Fiscal Commission, the Commission for Provinces and the Public Service Commission in determining the effective control of transitional costs. (ISAP).


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

133 **CASSETTE, Jacqueline**

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

134 **CASSIDY, Michael**

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


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

136 CAVILL, John

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

137 CAWKER, G. and WHITEFORD, Andrew

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

138 CAWTHRA, G.

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

139 CENTRAL METHODIST MISSION. Inner city. Voter Education Project
How to vote ... it's your right to vote. Johannesburg: Career and Resource Development Strategies, 1994?, (4p.).

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

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

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

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

142 **CHARNEY, Craig**


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


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

144 CHIDOWORE, Richard

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

145 CHIDOWORE, Richard

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

146 CHIDOWORE, Richard

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

147 CHIPPS, Cheryl

Compares voter eligibility in 1994 and 1999 and concludes that "nearly 2m. people have lost their right
to vote in the 1999 election as a result of changes in criteria and documentation requirements”.

148 CHITIYO, Yvonne

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

149 CHOTHIA, Farouk, and others

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

150 CHOTHIA, Farouk

Secret talks have led to agreement on an amendment to the interim constitution (Article 160) to include a guarantee on the position of the Zulu monarchy in KwaZulu-Natal. The objectives of the government and the ANC include the weakening of the IFP’s anti-election campaign and the bringing of pressure to bear on King Goodwill Zwelithini to stop his call for a boycott of the election. International mediation and a fourway summit are predicted and the reactions of Mangosuthu Buthelezi are described.
Voter education programmes in KwaZulu-Natal are being thwarted by both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC. Specific instances of this are quoted. Problem areas have been identified by the KwaZulu-Natal Education for Democracy Forum and the information forwarded in a memorandum to the Independent Electoral Commission chairman Justice Johann Kriegler.

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

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

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

156 CHOTHIA, Farouk

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

157 CHOTHIA, Farouk

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

158 CHOTHIA, Farouk

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

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

160 CHOTHIA, Farouk

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

161 CHRISTIANS FOR TRUTH


162 CHUBB, Karin

Unpublished paper.
163 CILLIERS, J.
An outline to effect defence related legislative reform. 

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

164 CILLIERS, J. and SASS, B.

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

165 CLARKE, Marlea

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

166 COCHRANE, J. R.

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

Unseen.

This article outlines the dilemmas facing COSATU and the ANC in the Western Cape. First it notes the findings of a draft survey, to be published by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape (Ethnic consciousness and potential voting behaviour in the Coloured community) then
sketches the history of the resistance of coloured people to apartheid. It notes their acceptance of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the persistence of political conservatism, the existing level of unionization and the implications of these factors for COSATU in its need to help deliver an ANC victory in the 1994 elections.

170 COETZEE, P. W.

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

171 COHEN, Tim

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

172 **COLLINS, Deanne**

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

173 **COLLINS, Gary**

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

174 **COLLINS, Steve**
*NGOs team up against violence. Democracy in Action*, vol. 7, no. 1, 28 February 1993, p. 3; 5.
Forty NGO participants met in Durban on 31 January 1993 to develop a multi-faceted approach to the ongoing violence in Natal. Key areas discussed include the failure of the Peace Accord, obstacles to development, the lack of political tolerance and democracy and the culture of violence. The forthcoming general election was seen as an opportunity to educate people about the freedom to chose, through the vote. The idea of "fighting" through a ballot box was raised as one of the central messages for voter education in Natal.


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


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


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

178 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP

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

179 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA

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

180 COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA

releases. Illustrations, and tables of deaths.

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

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

182 COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT


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

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

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

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

COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY

Subject described by the title.

CONRADIE, P.

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

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

188 CONSULTATIVE BUSINESS MOVEMENT

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

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

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

190 CONTRERAS, Joseph
Ballots or bullets. Newsweek, 11 April 1999, p. 6 - 12.

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


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

192 COOPER, Saths
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

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


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

194 COSATU. Northern Transvaal

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


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

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

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

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

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

198 **CRONIN, Jeremy**

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

199 **CRONIN, Jeremy**

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

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

201 CULLINAN, Kerry

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

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

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

203 DALBEC, William

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


Leaflet, directed at companies wishing to give their employees a clear understanding of the elections and the practical processes involved, or to sponsor community groups, describes Damelin's first-time voter training one-
day course and the three options available - 'In-house', 'Public' or 'Train the Trainer', for up to thirty students. A letter from Alan Dawson, Damelin Education Group, is attached.

205 DAVENPORT, T.R.H
ISBN : 0-86486-410-8

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

206 DAVIDSON, Robyn and HOCK, Claire

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

207 DAVIS, Gaye

"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.

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

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

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

211 DE KOCK, Chris, and others  

212 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl  
An analysis of theoretical factors which might promote violence during the election period. Based on datasets
formulated by the Division for Sociopolitical Monitoring and Analysis, the authors discuss the dynamics of violence and suggest guidelines for appropriate action. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

213 DE KOCK, Chris

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

214 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl

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

215 DE KOCK, Chris

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

216 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl

Subject indicated by title.
217 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl

218 DE KOCK, Chris and SCHUTTE, Charl

In this, and in Part 2, the results of a large (N=8 366) countrywide survey among black potential voters are discussed. “The authors distinguish a number of conditions which may lead to increased violence in the run-up to the coming election, during the voting period and after the announcement of the election result. Some of these factors are: party-political competition, the weakening of central social control, the dynamics of violence itself, crowd dynamics at political meetings, conspiracies, and private armies and local self-defence units.”

219 DE VILLE, Jacques and ASMAL, Kader

Examines electoral systems and South African proposals as expressed by the various political parties, by the South African Law Commission, the President's Council and the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues. Concludes that the list system of proportional representation seems to be the most appropriate system for the election of a National Assembly and regional legislatures.

220 DE VILLE, Jacques and STEYTLER, Nico
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.

DE VILLIERS, Bertus

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

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

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

DE VILLIERS, Bertus

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

224 DE VILLIERS, Michael David
The mathematics of voting: is democracy mathematically obtainable?
Durban: University of Natal, Centre for the Advancement of Science and Mathematics Education (CASME), c.1994, 43p. ISBN 1-86840-064-6

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

225 DE VILLIERS, Michael

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

226 DE VOS, Pierre, and others

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

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

DE WET, J.

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


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).

DECISIVE victory for ANC and strong National Party showing spells success for national unity government.
Assesses the election results and describes reaction of both winners and losers. (Annotation from SAIIB Bibl. 29).

231 DEEGAN, Heather

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


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

233 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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

234 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

235 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

236 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Subject indicated by title.

237 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Submitted 12 May 1993.

238 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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

239 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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

240 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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

241 DESAI, Ashwin and MAHARAJ, Brij

Subject indicated by title.

242 DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. Centre for Information Analysis

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

243 The DEVIL they know. Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 4,
Surveys election campaigns in the Western Cape focusing on rivalry for the Coloured vote and ANC fears of a National Party victory. Speculates on the outcome, on the possibility of a coalition and sees the crucial factor as the estimated 500,000 undecided voters who could sway the province to either the NP or the ANC.

244 DEXTER, Phillip

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

245 DHLOMO, Oscar

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

246 DIAMOND, L.

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

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

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

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

DONALDSON, A.
Stand by for the press. Style, April 1994, p. 92 - 93, 95, 97.
Wonders if South Africa is ready for the largest media circus ever, when the elections make world news on April 27. Relates that CNN's Mike Hanna sees international interest in the story lasting not only until the results come in, but until Parliament convenes for business and the new President has taken office. Reckons it has become more dangerous than it ever was and that people cannot arrive from Europe and go off wandering in Khayelitsha. (ISAP).

An election dossier, which will be updated regularly, Information will be presented under the following headings: Profiles of parties and candidates; Monthly updates on monitoring, surveys and polling results, projections, meetings intimidation, campaign funding,
etc.; Analytic articles reprinted from the local media; Legislation and regulations governing the electoral process; Dates of important events, meetings deadlines for nominations and registration; Bibliographical information; Directory of names, addresses, etc. of political parties, election education agencies, Elections Commission, monitors, etc.


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

253 DU TOIT, Pierre

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

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

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

255 DUNDAS, Carl W.

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

256 DUTCH VIOLENCE OBSERVATION MISSION, 2nd. 1994

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

257 EDDINGS, Jerelyn and RANSDELL, Eric
Democratic prospects following Nelson Mandela's victory in the first multiracial election April 1994; profile of the ANC leader; two articles. (PAIS).

258 ELDREDGE, Matt and SEEKINGS, Jeremy


259 ELDREDGE, Matt and SEEKINGS, Jeremy

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

260 ELDREDGE, Matt

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

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


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

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

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


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

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

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

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

267 ELECTION DOSSIER 1
... South Africa's transitional structures. N. p: n. pub, [1993], 10 p.

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

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

Election Dossier: a guide to companies, Update 3, presents four specific examples of South African companies already active in the field of voter
education, to help them compare notes, and to assist others still ‘fine-tuning’ their ideas.


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


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.


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


Highlights the absence of any coherent arts policy on the part of the major political parties and the total absence of any interesting figures from the arts and
cultural community in the ranks of the politicians. (ISAP).


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


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

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

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

276 ELECTION week - to close or not to close?: industrial relations. Chamber Digest. Durban Regional Chamber
Gives the pros and cons of closing a business during the period of the General Election. (ISAP).


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


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


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


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


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


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

283 ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

"The Electoral Institute of South Africa invited organizations and institutions who had engaged in voter education in various forms in the 1994 and 1995/96 elections, to participate in a roundtable held on the 17th March 1998". The objective of the workshop was to provide participants with an opportunity to reflect, and assess the impact of voter
education in these elections and to open the debate and discussion on the role that can and should be played in the 1999 elections by these organizations. (Introduction). This work includes the questionnaire circulated to identify areas of focus and to assess available expertise, together with an analysis of the responses received. The inference is drawn that the task of voter education was mainly undertaken by NGOs.

ISBN : I-86808-134-6

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

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

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

286 ELKLIT, Jorgen

Title indicates subject.

287 ELKLIT, Jorgen and ROBERTS, Nigel S.

Draft/March 1995. Abstract: "At first sight, the electoral systems in Denmark, Germany, South Africa, and
Sweden may seem different and an attempt to categorize them together odd. All four, however, belong to the same category, which Arend Lijphart calls 'proportional representation two-tier districting systems', and the effects of these systems on the proportionality of the representation of political parties, are, indeed, comparable. The four electoral systems were the basis of their countries' general elections during 1994. The results of these elections are used for analyses and discussions of the relative importance of the differences which one also finds between them. The paper ends with an examination of the behavioural consequences of these institutional arrangements, which are also found elsewhere, i.e. in Estonia, Iceland, Norway and New Zealand (in the new electoral system currently being implemented there)."

288 **ELKLIT, Jorgen and REYNOLDS, Andrew**
Crafting a more powerful and democratic electoral system. N. p.: n. pub.1999, 5 p.

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

289 **EMSLIE, Anne**

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

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

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

**291 ETTINGER, Stephen Joel**

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


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

**293 EUROPEAN UNION ELECTION UNIT**

Unseen. Subject indicated by title.

**294 EUROPEAN UNION POLICE OBSERVERS**

European Union police forces were invited by the IEC to observe and report upon election security matters in the South African 1994 elections. Through the offices of EUNELSA (the European Election Unit in South Africa) a contingent of eighty senior officers were recruited. This report describes their mandate,
composition, orientation, strategy, structure and roles. It contains their 'Observation and evaluation' in which a national overview is followed by ten area assessments, pre-election, voting period, and post election. Annexes: Briefing programme; Press releases and cuttings; SAP - National election security plan; Maps - Police regions and SA provinces; European Union Police deployment.

295 EVANS, Gavin

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

296 EVANS, Gavin

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

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

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

298 EVANS, Gavin
Inside the IEC - a frantic jumpstart to democracy. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 16, 22 - 28 April
First paints a vivid picture of the intense cross-cultural activities and seemingly apparent confusion inside the Independent Electoral Commission's headquarters at 41 Krueis Street, Johannesburg where staff face the massive task of organizing the electoral process. Focuses on the role of the Election Administration Directorate (EAD) and the centre of authority, the 'Ops Room'. Includes some comments on the chairman of the IEC Judge Kriegler.

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

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

300 EVANS, Gavin

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

301 EWING, D.

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

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


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

304 FAST, Hildegarde

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


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

306 FAURE, Murray

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

307 FAURE, Murray

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

308 FAURE, Murray
ISBN : 0-7021-3216-0

Explains the new electoral rules for the 27 April 1994
elections, their implications and salient features, and concludes with a provisional assessment of the system against the background of the previous one and other types. Includes a chronological review of electoral systems in South Africa from 1910 to 1994.

309 FAURE, Murray

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

310 FEDERAL PARTY (South Africa)

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

311 FEDERAL PARTY (South Africa)

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

312 FEDERAL PARTY (South Africa)

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

313 FERNANDEZ, Lovell

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

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

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

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

316 FIRST non-racial elections. Keesing’s Record of World

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

317 FISHER, M.
Lead the way to peaceful canvassing: editorial.

Provides guidelines for a plan of action regarding
canvassing of Black farm workers with an eye on the
April election. Stresses the importance of not forcing
one's own political beliefs onto one's labourers. (ISAP).


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


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


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

321 FORREST, Drew


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

322 FORREST, Drew  

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

323 FORREST, Drew  

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

ISBN : 0-7969-1583-0

On cover: Special Update, vol.3, no.2, 1993/4. “Themes that are explored include the demographic profile of the South African voter, the orientations and expectations - material and otherwise - of voters, and voting intention among the South African electorate. Violence, its impact on the voter and the broader election environment and the necessary processes and procedures to address this and other obstacles facing a free and fair election are explored. Finally, we
venture to provide a tentative preview of the election outcome."
(Preface) Also includes material on the orientations of political parties, the role of women, processes and procedures, monitoring of elections and voter education.

325 FREDERICKS, Izak

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


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


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

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

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


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

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

Editorial. "Despite hundreds of millions of rands, lavish salaries and massive popular support, they have messed it up through sheer incompetence. It has been a gravy train without wheels... The pattern is the same all over: the force of numbers and the strength of individuals overcoming the problems of the election ... How ironic it is that the success of the election depends, not at all on the First World electronics the IEC has at its finger tips, but on the determination of the ordinary people to wait for the computers, the videos, the helicopters and cellular phones to start working". A response to this editorial by Yunus Mahomed was published in the *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 24 April - 5 May 1994, p. 20, under the title "The IEC: inexperienced, yes. Inept, no". q.v.
States its aim -"To provide pro-active and positive political leadership and co-operation on the political front to promote the security, freedom and peaceful co-existence of the Afrikanervolk and those patriots who associate themselves therewith, in actively striving for the establishment of an own Volkstaat/ Self-determination." The seven principle of the Freedom Front are as follows:- 1. That all members accept that God, in the Sacred Trinity, determines and decides over the fate of nations and peoples, and that we as a people undertake to honour God. 2. That unity be fostered amongst our people. 3. That the fundamental right of the Afrikanervolk- and any other nation that so desires - to self-determination i.e. the right to govern themselves in their own state, is inalienable and non-negotiable. 4. That a unitary state, or any other form of state, wherein another nation will govern the Afrikanervolk and like-minded patriots or wherein the Afrikanervolk is subjugated to others, is unacceptable to the Freedom Front. 5. That law and order be maintained so that crime and violence are effectively countered and controlled so vigorously that peace and personal safety are guaranteed. 6. That any form of communism is rejected and will be opposed with all the power at the disposal of the Freedom Front. 7. That our aim is a confederal dispensation for Southern Africa and to this end the Freedom Front will commit and dedicate all the economic and technical expertise at its disposal. Published in English and Afrikaans: Afrikaans under Vryheidsfront, with the slogan 'Vrede: Vryheid Voorspoed: Volkstat'.

Three pages from the Freedom Front Home Page http://www.vryheidsfront.co.za displaying its Introduction, Freedom Front Leader Group, Executive Management Committee and Provincial Leaders, with contact details. States: "Twenty seven political parties were involved in the South African negotiations before
the April 1994 elections. Of these parties 19 took part in the election of 27 April 1994 and only 7 made it to the Parliament. The Freedom Front, being barely one month old at that stage, came fourth after the ANC, NP and IFP."


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


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

335 **FREUND, Bill**


It is crucial to consider and define democracy at a much deeper level than simply the presence of certain formal institutions and procedures. This paper considers democracy also at the level of political culture and history, in the context of South Africa. The South African process of democratization is by no means assured or entirely clear. What is clear is that the new regime which will be formed after the elections scheduled for April 1994 will be the result of a major historic compromise that will definitely limit the transformation of South African society. South African political history has thrown up several distinct democratic traditions. All are at present in some disarray in the current transitional period. The radical popular currents of the mass resistance of the past twenty years are increasingly being swallowed up or marginalized as the ANC approaches State power. The ANC itself, through its drive for power and its need
for compromise (and its limited experience at securing policy aims), will find it difficult to press forward with a nation-building project. The classic institutions of civil society that have been developed within the bosom of a bounded white society are now becoming delegitimated because of their racist associations. The real challenge for the construction of democracy at the political level will be to find some way of uniting these strands in an effective and coherent way. (ASC Leiden abstract).

336 FRIEDMAN, Steven
ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

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

337 FRIEDMAN, Steven and STACK, Louise
ISBN : 0-86975-418-1

Reviews the 1994 election and its outcome, the campaign, boycotting, the IEC its functions and its rudderless swaying without timely legislation, and the polling and vote count itself. "The poll horrified the purists, for it carried the spirit and style of the negotiations into most aspects of election management and the campaign itself. Like the process, it was messy enough to promise certain failure - and to deliver near-total success". Concludes with an outcome agreed by sufficient consensus, flaws revealed by difficult realities and lessons to be learned.
338 FRIEDMAN, Steven
Team SA: it's the centre forward who will score the goals, not the right or left wing. *Finance Week*, vol. 60, no. 1, 6 January 1994, p. 32 - 33.

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

339 FRIEDMAN, Steven

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

340 FRIELINGHAUS, Julia

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

341 FROST, Mervyn

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

342 FROST, Mervyn

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

343 FROST, Mervyn and JOHNSON, R W
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Overviews the bargaining process between 1900 and 1994 that laid the ground rules for a democratic
political order. Against the background of the struggle the author surveys political power play, phases of negotiation, constitution building and the persistence of territoriality. Concludes that "Although there was a multiparty election on 27 April 1994 which was declared 'free and fair' by the IEC and many international observer groups, the political culture within which it took place was far from democratic and the election was not preceded by multiparty politics of a normal kind".


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


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

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

347 **GARBER, Larry**  

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


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).

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


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


Submitted: 17 August 1993.

352 GEVISSER, Mark and LOUW, Chris


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

353 GEVISSER, Mark


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

354 GEVISSE, Mark

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

355 GEVISSE, Mark

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

356 GEVISSE, Mark

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

357 GEVISSE, Mark

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

358 GEVISSE, Mark

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

359 GEVISSE, Mark  

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

360 GEVISSE, Mark  

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

361 GEVISSE, Mark  

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

362 GILDER, Barry  
ISBN : 0-7969-1583-0
“In this chapter Barry Gilder reviews the challenge that voter education poses to the process of democratic transition in South Africa and elaborates on what is being done to meet this challenge”. A description of the work of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) is included.

363 GILIOMEE, Hermann and SIMKINS, Charles
ISBN : 0-624-03729-0

Chapter I of this work traces the use and persistence of party domination in four semi-industrialized countries, Mexico, Taiwan, Malaysia and South Africa. In making comparisons it briefly review party leadership in South Africa, analyses pressures towards a transition to democracy, the consolidation of dominance of the ANC, the electoral process in 1994, the political consequences of this, the character of the party, its problems, and probable future.

364 GILIOMEE, Hermann

The National Party seems likely to remain in control of the Western Cape after the elections. To do so in future, it will have to maintain its current level of Coloured support. (Journal abstract).

365 GILIOMEE, Hermann
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

This chapter first examines some of the developments that gave rise to the party's different and conflicting images, either as 'outfoxed and outlasted' by the ANC in the prolonged negotiations, or as the party which was the main architect of the new system, before
turning to an analysis of the NP’s election campaign and its efforts to project itself as a non-racial party.

366 GILIOMEE, Hermann

Compares the democratic franchise in the American South with that of Coloureds in the Cape Province between 1910 and 1929. Thereafter, the author discusses franchise expansion in the early 1990s, as well as the election of 1994, where most Coloureds voted for the National Party - the very party which had disenfranchised them earlier. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

367 GILIOMEE, Hermann

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.


Comments on the issue of the Goldstone Commission report on public violence presented to President F. W. de Klerk on 18 March 1994. Questions the timing of its publication, and other unanswered matters - the first whether the alleged “third force” activities continue, the second whether Judge Goldstone has still more unrevealed evidence.

369 GOLDSTONE COMMISSION
Towards violence free elections in South Africa.
ISBN : 0-7969-1539-3

"The Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation ... constituted a multinational panel of experts to submit testimony to the commission concerning procedures which would limit the likelihood of violence and intimidation before, during and after the forthcoming elections in South Africa. This book is the testimony of the Panel .... It reflects the full range of the Panel's discussion, including both issues that relate more broadly to the overall structure of the election and those that have direct bearing on the problems of violence. The issues that are discussed include the role and composition of the Independent Electoral Commission, voter education, the scheduling of the election, the voting process, and the counting of ballots, as well as more obviously pertinent questions relating to the role of the police, the role of the international monitors and observers, and the management of campaign demonstrations." (Publishers).

370 GOLDSTUCK, Arthur
ISBN : 0-14-024659-2

Third in a trilogy of urban legends containing anecdotes and humorous stories, focused on voting and the elections. (Don Africana). The review in Boardroom, no. 1, 1995, p. 31, sees the legends that emerged during and before the April 1994 elections as reflecting the psychological history of the final months of the old South Africa.

371 GOTZ, Graeme and SHAW, Mark

Analyses the elections in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand Vereeniging (PWV) region, considers the possibilities of truly democratic choice present and investigates to what degree the first time voters were enabled or constrained to make critical and creative choices in the
election. "The discussion proceeds through three sections. As a first step it considers the underlying political milieu of the Reef, asking to what extent it was conducive to critical choice by opening up or closing off the capacity for social interrogation of those inserted into it. Secondly, it presents an analysis of the period of campaigning itself, showing how the form and content of party campaigns brought a new set of pressures, both negative and positive, to hear on political identities. Lastly, it contemplates the effect of the election itself as a distinct political moment rounding off the campaign".

372 GOTZ, Graeme and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence

In the context of the criteria for 'free and fair' elections, two members of the "Launching Democracy project" report on electoral conditions in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand - Vereeniging (PWV) area. There they detect three sets of constraints creating a milieu largely adverse to open contestation by political parties: pressure to conform to the political characters of a locality (civic associations, street committees churches) and to the partisanship of community structures; the closure of political space, exacerbated by the political campaigns and strategies; the phenomenon of rigid no-go areas leading to open territorial conflict and inaccessibility of information.

373 GOTZ, Graeme and SHAW, Mark
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

This chapter considers the possibilities for adequate democratic choice during the first all-inclusive election in Gauteng (formerly PWV) region. Through a careful examination of some of the events, processes and campaign practices witnessed during the electoral period, as well as the broader political background against which these took place, it seeks to engage the
following key question: given the democratic ideal of free and equal choosers symbolically reinventing themselves and their society during elections, to what degree were first-time voters in Gauteng enabled or constrained to make critical and creative choices? The discussion proceeds through three sections. As a first step it considers the underlying political milieu of the Reef, asking to what extent it was conducive to critical choice by opening up or closing off the capacity for self-interrogation of potential voters. Second, it presents an analysis of the period of campaigning itself, showing how the form and content of party campaigns brought a new set of pressures, both negative and positive, to bear on political identities. Lastly, it contemplates the effect of the election itself as a distinct political moment rounding off the campaign. Reproduced in Double Take, No. 23, first quarter, 1996, -p.

374 GOULD, Ron

Canadian international election management specialist is interviewed by IDASA's media director Sue Valentine, and answers questions concerning the requirements for democratic elections. Topics include the composition of an electoral commission, the roles of Home Affairs and of the security forces, voter education and voter registration.

375 GOULD, Ron

"This report is divided into three parts. Part One, is a summary of the overall impressions formed from the various meetings and consultations which took place; Part Two, consists of a detailed activity report containing some elaboration of information obtained during the course of consultations, and Part Three attempts to summarize the general approach to the various electoral matters which were presented for consideration and discussion to the individuals, organizations and groups, with which I met. Also included are two appendices, one listing names, and
addresses (where available), and individuals I met with (Appendix A), and the other listing publications I received (Appendix B)."

Part 3. 'South African elections - Discussions - Options - Considerations', summarizes discussions concerning election date, representation, Election Commission, Elections Act, ancillary election bodies, political party registration, voter registration, voter education, voting hours and voting period, voting stations, ballot boxes, indelible ink, human resources, counting of the votes, violence and security, election observers - monitors.

376 **GOULD, Ron**
Towards free and fair elections: the role of international observers. *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 9, 1994, p. 4 - 7.

Subject indicated by title.

377 **GOUWS, Amanda**

Reports on research undertaken into women's political attitudes by Markinor polls and by the National Women's Coalition (NWC). In an exercise organized by the Women's Lobby, Markinor's results indicate 33% prepared to raise campaign money, 28% to establish a campaign organization and 19% to seek party candidacy.


Reports on political developments in South Africa in January 1994 - protracted talks between the government, the ANC and the Federal Alliance (FA) in an attempt to encourage the FA to participate in the elections, on threats on the part of the IFP to boycott the elections, on other moves by Afrikaner right wing parties, on the stance of the Pan Africanist Congress to rejoin the constitutional process and on Ciskei's withdrawal from the FA. The UN Security Council by adopting Resolution 894 (1994) expands the mandate of UNOMSA to include observation of the elections.

Warns that government cannot rule effectively and notes the role of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in checking excesses while considering the numerical composition and nature of the GNU. Speculates on the possible outcome of the National Party’s leaving the GNU and stresses the role of an official opposition. Considers the inability of the Constitutional Assembly to fulfill its role, outlines the purpose of a constitution and the need for party representation at the drafting of the constitution, discusses economic preconditions for a competitive global position and looks at features likely to feature at the next election. (ISAP).

GRAHAM, Paul


IDASA’s National Programme Director pinpoints and discusses five areas that require to be managed to ensure free and fair elections: violence to be contained, security maintained and a climate of peace established; institutions of state and government should be de-linked from the ruling party; agreement on a constitutional framework has to be reached; the electoral process itself defined, and the election results verified. Notes the roles of observers and monitors and lessons to be learned from elections elsewhere in Africa.

GRANGE, Helen

The UN tallyman who will watch over us all. *Star*, 1 March 1994, - p.

The director of the electoral division of the United Nations Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA) is currently in South Africa to supervise the roughly 3000 election observers from the UN, the Commonwealth, European Union and Organization for African Unity. (Sardius).

This supplement focuses on women's rights in the new South Africa. Illustrated with sketches and photographs. Selected articles are individually included.

383 GREEN, Pippa

A photographic article on the many-faceted first democratic election in South Africa, held on 27 April 1994. (Sardius).

384 GREEN, Pippa

South Africa's first free election in the end judged - roughly - to be fair, as well. Pippa Green and David Goldblatt went to remote and isolated areas of KwaZulu to see what would happen on The Day. What happened was chaotic, but among the disillusionment and questionable behaviour they found three electoral officers determined to make things work and bring democracy to the farthest-flung rural areas. The story of these men, over those critical days, intimates a wider tale of what real commitment to the democratic process means. (Journal summary).

385 GREENBLO, Alan
End of the beginning. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 5, 5 - 11 May 1994, p. 3.

Editorial comment salutes the celebration of freedom reflected in the election results, culminating with 'the magnanimity in victory of Nelson Mandela and graciousness in defeat of F.W. de Klerk'. Postulates a transformation to a democratic order and a South Africa open to every opportunity.

386 GREST, Jeremy
p. 93 - 99.

Aims to contribute to comparative studies of democratization by addressing the elections and democratization process in South Africa and Mozambique from the 'procedural' and 'normative' perspectives. Analyses the political background to the elections - especially negotiation processes to end civil conflict and set the framework for transition, the management of campaigns, the election campaigns themselves and election results. Looks at prospects for democratic consolidation. (Africa Institute). Also published in: Africanus, vol. 25, no.1, 1995, p. 5 - 14.

387 GRUNDY, Kenneth M.

Describes the election process in South Africa as 'a necessary but not a sufficient component of the democratic process'. Focuses on the elections and problems and challenges facing the new government. The Government of National Unity's structure is discussed, the Reconstruction and Development Programmes examined. Negotiation in every vital policy area is apparent. The transformation of politics into a climate of consensus is regarded in a positive light.

388 GUELKE, Adrian
ISBN : 1-86064-343-4

Examines the orderly transfer of power - "The achievement of the holding of elections with the participation of all the major strands of opinion ... from the far left to the extreme right and encompassing all races or ethnic groups and the acceptance by the parties of the results were seen by many as a miracle". Notes the euphoria of the time and negative judgments of some political scientists. Discusses the integrity of the voting process itself, the technical problems
involved, and those faced by the IEC, in the context of a description of the conduct of the elections and an analysis of their outcome. Reviews the measure of racial polarization among voters, and concludes that the different patterns of voting in the regions largely simply mirrors the differences in their racial composition and reflects party control of territory in the run-up to polling. Pays special attention to KwaZulu-Natal and the extent to which there was freedom from intimidation and coercion there. Contains tables of results. Reviewed in the Mail & Guardian, 14 - 20 May 1999, p. 29 by Anthony Egan.

389 GUELKE, Adrian

Considers the outcome of the May 1994 regional election results, especially the IFP gains in KwaZulu-Natal. Guelke states that it would be unlikely for the ANC-dominated government to neglect regional issues in the post-apartheid era - the IFP's stance will ensure that. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

390 GUPTA, Anirudha

Views the transition to democracy, the demise of apartheid and the April 1994 elections in South Africa from the perspective of an historian. The end of the Cold War, the eroding effect of sanctions and ongoing domestic unrest are regarded as decisive factors which accelerated change in South Africa. The Zulu issue of secessionism and federalism is also analyzed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

391 GUTTERIDGE, William

Traces the background to the military integration process and the military in the post-election period under civilian rule and as a symbol of national unity.
(Sardius).

392 **HADLAND, Adrian**


Ambassadors representing the twelve European Union countries met the Freedom Alliance leaders and discussed the possibility of the Alliance taking part in the elections. (Sardius).

393 **HAFFAJEE, Ferial**


Concise report on the ways in which election regulations have affected voter registration and electioneering on farms. Notes the reactions of the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU).

394 **HAFFAJEE, Ferial**


Notes differences within the Women's National Coalition, the formation of two very small, very marginal women's parties - the South African Women's Party and the Women's Rights Peace Party - and discusses the role women's issues may play in determining how the female electorate votes. Argues that "Women must get their act together if they want to make the most of the opportunities the future government will offer".

395 **HAGEN, Hugo**


The Commonwealth Observer Group to South Africa (COGSA) would accomplish its mission in absolute objectiveness and neutrality, the deputy chairman and former Governor-General of New Zealand, Sir Paul Reeves said in Johannesburg yesterday. (Sardius).

396 **HALLOWES, D.**

Reports on the Voter Education and Election Training Unit's (VEETU's) Election Management Training and Voter Education programmes, the biggest mass training initiatives ever to be undertaken in South Africa. (ISAP).

**397 HAMILL, James**


The author assesses the South African elections and gives reasons for the overwhelming victory of the ANC, for the National Party's victory in the Western Cape and for the IFP, PAC and DP results. (Sardius).

**398 HAMILL, James and SPENCE, J.E.**


The authors interpret the election as a defining moment in South Africa's troubled history. Initially they sketch five grounds for pessimism about the outcome, then detail the results and describes developments that tarnished an otherwise triumphant "electoral coronation" for the ANC. They explain the reasons for the scale of the ANC victory and survey the post-electoral political situation, pinpointing critical issues to be handled. They conclude that the negotiations and elections have paved the way for the emergence of a "wobbly but workable, wheeling and dealing, pluralist democracy".

**399 HAMILL, James**


Paper presented at the conference organized by the University of Birmingham, School of Continuing Studies, the Royal African Society and the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom on 20 May 1994.
After a brief look at the region's history, at the interaction between the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and at the manner in which the Inkatha Movement (precursor of the IFP) used ethnicity and regionalism to further their political projects, this chapter reviews the way the KwaZulu government, the IFP, the King and Buthelezi have engaged in, spoiled, or boycotted multi-party negotiations since 1991. Examines the electoral process, voting, and the results.


Personal account of voting in central Johannesburg in the first democratic election, and of the multicultural experience of queuing for two hours in order to do so. The author concludes: "For whites at least, democracy means having to queue".

"This book provides an assessment of the person or organization, including their strengths and weaknesses, reputation and an analysis of why they will be important in the coming elections in South Africa". (SARDC)

Consider "whether the country's political power-sharing will mean peace and stability; two articles written
before the April multi-racial 1994 elections". (PAIS)

404 HARVEY, Mduduzi ka
On your knees, leaders. And we will vote. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 11.

Personal account by an observer of a visit of six VIP political leaders to Moria City at the time when six million members of the Zion Christian Church congregated to celebrate Easter. In his address Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane blesses the ANC, NP, PAC, DP, AZAPO and IFP leaders present (including Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk) and dispels rumours of an election boycott by his followers.

405 HARVEY, Mduduzi ka

Brief journalistic report on the mock elections held in Soweto aimed at teaching township people how to vote, and on one voter's experiences at that time.

406 HASSIM, Shireen

This article examines the politics of women's representation in South Africa. It argues that there has been a significant shift since 1994 in ways in which women's organizations have articulated women's electoral interests. While women's organizations and women within political parties have been outwardly in agreement about the need for increasing women's representation, there are differences in their policy positions with respect to strategies for advancing equality. Within women's forums, these differences have been openly and sometimes acrimoniously debated. The article suggests that there is a dual electoral politics: an external level at which the coherence of women as a group is emphasized, and an internal level at which differences between women are recognized and debated. This dual politics is seen as inevitable in a situation in which women continue to be numerically under-represented in electoral bodies.
The article examines the consolidation of women's gains in representation in the 1994 and 1999 elections, and suggests ways in which women's constituency building may be strengthened. (Abstract). It includes a table for 'Women MPs in national legislature by party affiliation, 1994 and 1999'. The author is a lecturer in Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

407 HASSIM, Shireen

The article first argues that "one of the most notable features of the government elected in the first South African democratic elections was the significant number of women elected - nearly 25% of all MPs", then notes the increased percentage of women members of Parliament consequent to the 1994 election, and queries to what extent gender equality has been advanced through government policies and legislation. Considers the effects of proportional representation and the list system, and the dilemmas involved in the promotion of women's issues. Discusses the accountability of women MP's, the tasks facing them and moral pressures on them. Contains two boxes: Box 1, Women MPs in the National Legislature by party affiliation, 1994; Box 2, Policy and legislative changes to end discrimination against women.


Hello Voters is a pre-election magazine introducing the various political organizations participating in the upcoming elections to the voters by means of presenting their manifestos, constitutions, answers to questions put forward by the voters, photographs of the five senior members and a logo or flag of each participating party. (Journal introduction).

409 HENNING, L. and COETZER, A.
The Independent Electoral Commission. *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1994,
p. 179 - 219.

Presents a discussion of the work of the IEC, its composition, objectives, structures and tasks. Major section discuss the preparation and course of the election (voter education, administration and irregularities), financial implications, the election in KwaZulu-Natal, electoral tribunals, the electoral appeal tribunals and the special electoral court, and the vexed question of "a free and fair election?".

**410 HERBST, Jeffrey**  
Creating a new South Africa. *Foreign Policy*, no. 94, Spring 1994, p. 120 - 135.

At the threshold of democratic elections in South Africa, an analyst assesses political and economic issues, such as the stances of the various political parties, especially those of the ANC and the National Party. The author describes the high expectations by Blacks and doubts towards the future by Whites, and touches on aspects such as nationalization, violence and economic reconstruction. (Annotation from SAI/A Bibl.29).

**411 HIGHWAYS to hell.** *Work in Progress*, no. 96, April 1994, p. 16 - 17.

Analysts were asked to survey some of the routes organized right-wing political parties might take to disrupt the elections. Some of the more prominent scenarios are focused on. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP).

**412 HILL, Steven**  
South African elections show the way toward racial fairness. N. p.: n. pub. d.(Entire issue 3 p.).

Includes an account of the "first multiracial election in South Africa completely using party list PR", outlines various types of PR, including the German 'mixed member' system, and advocates the use of the proportional representation voting system in the United States. States that this article has been published in The Humanist.
413 HIRSON, Baruch

Considers the April 27 1994 election in South Africa and critically assesses its effects. The behaviour of the new government, luxurious living by cabinet members, and widespread corruption are all condemned.

414 HIRST, Manton

Advocates that the problems raised by the powers of traditional diviners, or sangomas, to reveal votes are best counteracted by the voter education of indigenous healers. Technically, claiming to have the power to know how people voted, is a form of illegal political intimidation that has to be met by a counter move.


Discusses attempts by employers and unions to reach agreement on the issue of election-day holidays and looks at the different positions of various unions. Highlights fears by employers about the impact of expectations on industrial relations and examines arrangements made to accommodate workers and employers. (ISAP).

416 HORN, Pat

Ninety-four women's organizations and coalitions joined forces to draw up the Women's Charter for Effective Equality. After April elections, armed with a Charter and taking advantage of transition, they intend mobilizing support to pressure a new government to ensure equality in a new South Africa. (Journal introduction). Includes the text of the Women's Charter adopted at the Women's National Coalition second national conference on 27 February 1994.

417 HORN, Pat

Summarizes the challenges facing women's movements and organizations as a new government of national unity is formed and the women's wings of political organizations find themselves in a new role.

418 **HOW** real are the election promises? *Mayibuye*, March 1994, p. 8 - 10.

Focuses on the ANC's election manifesto, identifying its major features and discussing questions such as financial obligations. Principal areas of concern are the drafting of the new constitution, improvement in quality of life, job-creation, rural development, education, housing, health, a programme for peace and security and international relations.

419 **HOY, M. J.**


Memo to EAD (Election Administration Directorate) from EAD Provisioning and Procurement, Tuesday, 22nd March 1994.

420 **HUCK, Sue**

Suppressing the "White tribe": the war against South Africa. *Conservative Review*, March/April 1994, p. 11 - 16.

Takes the "view that popularity of the African National Congress is the result of collaboration of US capitalists, the media, communists, and others". (PAIS).

421 **HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL.** Centre for Socio-political Analysis


This paper analyses political violence in South Africa, focusing on Transvaal, in particular the PWV region
Between February 1990 and December 1993 an estimated 12,000 people died in political violence in these areas. Since 1990, a high profile part of the political violence has been the large incidence of so-called massacres. The political violence has also found expression since 1990 in an increase in attacks on policemen both on and off-duty. The main part of the paper is devoted to an overview of protest and violent events in South Africa in the years 1991, 1992 and 1993, and in the period January-May 1994. Special attention is paid to the Katorus area (Katlehong/Thokoza/Vosloorus inclusive of Phola Park) in the PWV region, which has, since mid-1990, displayed consistently high numbers of unrest-related deaths, injuries and violent incidents. The paper also pays attention to the increase in right-wing violence and taxi violence in the period preceding the April 1994 elections, violence in prison, and witch burnings in Lebowa. (ASC Leiden abstract). Editors of the overview: Anthony Minnaar and Anthea King.

**422 HURDLES** to be surmounted before Mandela-Buthelezi agreement can be hailed as a 'breakthrough'. *Southern Africa Report [Johannesburg]*, 4 March 1994, p. 1 - 3.

Critically examines the compromise reached by ANC President Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha. It comprises an agreement by Chief Buthelezi that the IFP will provisionally register for the April elections and an undertaking by Dr. Mandela to consider international mediation. In a short note on p.6, it is mentioned that international mediation might take place after the elections. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

**423 HUTTON, Barbara**


A 'Project Vote' publication: Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs,
Washington, D.C. Part of an election kit for community educators who will run voter education workshops in their own communities aimed at providing information about elections and motivating people to vote. Includes a directory of organizations involved in voter education in South Africa.

424 **HUTTON, Barbara**

A 'Project Vote' publication. Published by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, D.C. Part of an election kit for trainers who will run voter education workshops with community educators, its aim is to familiarize previously disenfranchised South Africans with democratic election procedures. Illustrated. Includes a directory of organizations involved in voter education in South Africa.


Surveys the IEC's mismanagement of the election, the "deluge of complaints" from political parties, procedural irregularities and the unlawful storage of ballot papers. Notes the estimated high cost of the election - R1,5 bn in all, averaging out at about R66 per voter. However, the article quotes various international observer missions as confirming the election to have been substantially free and fair.

426 **ILLING, Bronwyn, and others**

Describes the manner in which the authors representing the HSRC, the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) and the Education Foundation respectively divided KwaZulu-Natal into Theissen polygons to create artificial catchment areas.
for each polling station. Subsequently they determined the population of each area, assessed the viability of each station and dealt with the problems encountered, including time constraints for the April 27 1994 election. "A coming together of Western scientific models and African realities".

427 **ILLING, Bronwyn**

Reports on the exercise undertaken by the Education Foundation, Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Social & Economic research (UDW) to plot polling stations in KwaZulu-Natal for the 1994 election. Outlines the methodology used and includes an assessment of it, discussing various problems, among them that of applying the methodology nationwide. Includes maps.


As the reality of a national, democratic South African election dawned, IMSSA called a conference to discuss the challenge that elections offer countries that have little experience of democratic elections. IMSSA
invited experts from countries with similar political and economic conditions to share the lessons of their first democratic elections. The programme contents were structured to allow for a focus on the pre-election period, the election period and the post-election period. Delegates’ presentations were based on experiences in Brazil, El Salvador, Bulgaria, Panama and Angola.


IMSSA’s experience over the past years in running ballots, shop steward elections and community elections has placed it in the position to transfer hands-on knowledge of training first-time voters in the South African context, into a comprehensive voter education programme. (Journal introduction). This article describes the choice of programmes offered by the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, their focus, methodology and success. Includes a table of voter education national statistics, July 1993 to March 1994.

431 INDEPENDENT BOARD OF INQUIRY

This is a report on the situation in South Africa as elections draw near. Political violence and acts of sabotage being carried out on ANC, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), these, as well as a shortage of railway lines and electricity pylons threaten the first all race elections. (Annotated by SARDC).

432 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
Election Administration Directorate

Includes recommendations and division reports on logistics, planning, staffing, training, special votes, foreign voting and TVC (Temporary Voting Card) task force.

433 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
Communications Division

Report from the Director, Humphrey Khoza, including approval of the contract regarding Gallaghers Estates and final arrangements for the IEC’s Media Centre. Contents: Media Hall & accreditation system, auditorium, management, Media Centre launch, briefings, research, advertising, KwaZulu-Natal, IFP candidates lists & update voting station lists, deployment on voting and counting days, general.

434 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
Election Administration Directorate

Tabulates the election results by province, subdivided by districts, arranged in alphabetical order. Includes the numbers of spoilt papers and the number of total votes cast.

435 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
International Liaison Office
Final evaluative report on the International Liaison National and Regional Offices. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], various pagings.

An analysis and interpretation of the tasks allotted to the ILO in the 1994 election in its overall mandate of interfacing with the international community. In each instance provides an overview, task accomplishment and task assessment. Includes recommendations for subsequent elections.

436 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
Monitoring Directorate

The report, by the Chief Director, Peter Harris, 14 May 1994, details the activities of the thirteen divisions or
departments of the IEC. Reasons for their formation are given in the introduction which is followed by individual executive summaries from each section, conclusions and recommendations. Annexures include: Final report of the Information and Operations Department, (9 p.) Final report on Election Administration, by Fred M. Hayward, United Nations Observer, (5 p.) Report ... Re: The irregularities found on the EAD vote counting system (20 p.).

437 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION. Monitoring Directorate

These documents are compiled by the Monitor Planning Team of the Independent Electoral Commission. The documents are 1) Tactical Plan for Monitor Deployment for the 26, 27 & 28 April 1994: countdown. This covers the activity deadlines by day. 2) Monitor Deployment Planning Framework. This covers voting station and monitors background and allocation input and will be updated with each fresh round of information received from EAD. 3) Monitor Deployment Planning guide: election days Prepared by Jurie Van Niekerk. This covers the actual processes and forms which are needed in order to develop and produce provincial deployment plans.

438 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION. Monitoring Directorate
Provincial monitor deployment plan: 26, 27 & 28 April, 13 April 1994 ... set of documents. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1994, various pagings.

votes, includes a briefing document describing the process of 'Special Votes' and the final list of Prison Voting Stations per region. (40 p.)

3. Monitor Deployment Plans, drawn up to be able to deploy the monitors in a correct way during the three days of the elections. Documents.

a. Monitor deployment planning guide, election days, prepared by Jurie van Niekerk (National Development, Coordination & Assessment Officer, IEC, Johannesburg). Provides guidelines for regional action, including transport, telecommunications, accommodation and logistics. Feedback to be assessed by the National Operations Centre (NOC), to develop a National Deployment Plan for submission to IEC Commissioners and to ensure contingency planning. (19 p.)

b. General Magisterial District Deployment Plan. Annexure 2. (3 p.)

c. General SPOC Deployment Plan. Annexure 3. (3 p.)

d. General POC Deployment Plan. Annexure 4. (3 p.) Covering note for Monitor Deployment Plans lists procedures to be followed with these.


Reviews the difficulties facing the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in organizing the election and focuses on the appointment and role of district electoral officers (DEOs). Notes the insistence of IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler that the poll in KwaZulu-Natal should be held, then comments on securing of voting stations, procedures for handling problems, the infrastructure in rural areas and the prospects for a relatively fair election. (ISAP).

440 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION


ISBN : 0-620-18625-9

the official report submitted to President Nelson Mandela in October 1994. - "Once in a lifetime". The personal view and experience of the IEC's Director of Information, Paul Bell. - "Against all odds". The achievements of a 'substantially free and fair election', an account by Pat Schwartz.

441 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Announcing the election results. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 15 April 1994, 1 leaf. (Independent Electoral Commission. Communications - information and issues. Fact sheet #51 (15/04/94)), Lists nine projected steps in the procedures for the counting of votes, communication of results, release of running totals, and the final announcements of results.

442 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Communications - information and issues. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], - p.


443 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Counting centre layout. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], 1 leaf fold.

Coloured plan of area. No text.

444 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Counting station procedures. [Johannesburg]: [IEC], [1994], 8 p.

total number of votes/signing of tally statement. [A section from IEC Election Monitoring Training Workshop, day one].

445 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
The declaration of a free and fair election. [Johannesburg?]: IEC, 1994, 1 leaf. (Independent Electoral Commission. Communications - information and issues. Fact sheet #8),

Notes that when the Commissioners determine whether the election has been substantially free and fair they will take into account the number and nature of complaints reported, and the nature of settlements or judgments. Outstanding matters need not stand in the way of declaring a result. Furthermore: "The IEC can declare the election substantially free and fair generally, but may find that in a specific region it is not possible to make that declaration. In such cases it can order that another election be held in the region concerned". Fax dated April 22 '94.

446 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Documentation pack for the EXCO meeting to be held on 29 June 1994. [Johannesburg]: [The Commission], 1994, various pagings.

Includes agenda, draft minutes, memoranda and a copy of the Independent Electoral Commission Amendment Bill, [B - 94].

447 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Contains the draft regulations, as finalized on 4 February 1994, that must be approved by the IEC. Issued: A. F. Tredoux for the Independent Electoral Commission.

448 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Electoral code of conduct for a free and fair election. N. p: IEC, [1994], 1 leaf.

Promises free political campaigning and open public debate throughout the election period. List things that
should, and should not, be done to ensure this.

449 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Regulation Gazette No. 5258. Government Notice No. R. 310. This schedule sets out regulations made by the IEC under powers vested in it by section 41 of the Independent Electoral Commission Act 1993 (Act No. 150 of 1993) and section 76 of the Electoral Act, 1993 (Act No. 202 of 1993) in seventeen chapters: Interpretation; Administration; Franchise; Voting stations; Voting procedures; Special votes and special voters; Counting stations and counting of votes; State electoral fund; voting materials and election material; Observers; Monitors; Election adjudication secretariat; Electoral tribunals; Electoral appeal tribunals; Review of decisions of electoral tribunals; General provisions; Offences and penalties. These chapters are followed by fifteen annexures containing forms and documentation.

450 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Employment contract. EISA, no 84, [Johannesburg]: [IEC], n. d, various pagings.

Includes contract (4 p.), Monitoring Directorate claim form 3, Declaration of Secrecy and Protection of Transformation Act, No. 84 of 1982, sections 2, 3 and 4.

451 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
A free and fair election for all. Final pre-election briefing and news conference …. Johannesburg: IEC, 1994, 1 leaf.

Announces the launching of the IEC Media Centre at Gallagher Estate, Midrand on Monday 25 April 1994 with a media briefing and news conference. Explains the role the Media Centre will play in the election, including the releasing of election results.

452 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Prepared by an IEC task team acknowledging contributions from thirteen organizations. Compilation by Alan Brews. In the context of the 1994 election and of the structure of the IEC, the handbook explains the roles, duties and conduct of monitors and procedures at counting stations. Workshop with exercises.

**453 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Explains their duties and responsibilities, counting station procedures, ballots and the documentation involved. Prepared with the assistance of SACHED Trust and the English Literacy Project.

**454 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Presents key information on roles and powers, on practical aspects of their tasks, preparation, problems and codes of conduct, all in the context of the 1994 election. Compiled by Alan Brews.

**455 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Outlines their duties and responsibilities at the voting station and the counting station. Includes the rules of the Code of Conduct.

**456 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Explains their roles and responsibilities on election days, the administration involved and the layout of voting stations and the part played by observers and monitors.

**457 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**
Handbook for presiding officers of mobile voting stations for April 27 and April 28. [Johannesburg]: IEC,
Explains the role of the mobile voting station the duties and responsibilities of officers involved and the conduct of the poll. Written and produced by the IEC's Election Administration Directorate, Training Division.

458 **INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Includes sections on duties and responsibilities, documents involved, voting days and hours, party liaison, secrecy and security, voters, voting stations and general information. Prepared with the assistance of the SACHED Trust and the English Literacy Project.

459 **INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Government Gazette vol. 344, no. 15508, 15 February 1994, General Notice, Notice 146 of 1994. In accordance with the provisions of section 19(5) of the Electoral Act 1993 (Act No.202 of 1993) it is hereby notified that the following applications for registration as a party to participate in the election to be held on 26, 27 and 28 April 1994, were received. Nineteen parties are listed.

460 **INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Prepared by an IEC task team, with contributions from thirteen organizations. Compilation by Alan Brews, its purpose is to prepare monitors to contribute to free and fair elections by understanding the electoral process and their own roles and skills, including intervention and reporting. Workshop instructions included.

461 **INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**
Compiled by Alan Brews. Prepared by an IEC task team, with contributions from thirteen organizations. Its purpose - to equip trainers with the competence to train staff to monitor the 1994 elections. Provides instructions for a three day workshop.

462 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Prepared by an IEC task team with eleven organizations contributing. Three day workshop covering the roles and duties of monitors, the reporting process, code of conduct, observation of counting and election campaigns, required skills and problem-solving. Attached a letter from Dr N. Magau, Election Administration Directorate, Isando, 11 February 1994 requesting comments from IEC Commissioners and Executive Director on this comprehensive draft manual.

463 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Prepared by an IEC task team with contributions from thirteen organizations, mainly NGOs; compiled by Alan Brews. Aims to provide a basis for the training and orientation of observers for the 1994 elections. Workshop with role-play. Includes instructions for the trainer and a checklist for observing the campaign.

464 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Addressed to all area and regional training coordinators and monitor trainers, these amendments and updates include new and approved voting processes, voting station procedure and reporting procedures. Covering letter signed by Alan Brews.

465 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Nine point memoranda issued in Pretoria on 24 March 1994 outlining the serious difficulties encountered in Natal by the IEC in implementing its mandate to administer and conduct free and fair elections on 26 - 28 April 1994, the meeting arranged with the King of the Zulus, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the 'amakhosi' on 23 March 1994 at Ulundi, proceedings at that meeting, and conclusions reached. Emphasizes the urgency of the situation. Appendices: A: Memorandum to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr. M. G. Buthelezi, on proposed cooperation with the IEC in executing its mandate of conducting an election within the territory of KwaZulu, 23 March 1994, Ulundi. B: The 1993 constitution, the election and democracy. An assessment by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha Freedom Party, Ulundi. March 23, 1994. C: Statement made to Judge J C Kriegler, Chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission by his Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu, King of the Zulu Nation, Ulundi, 23rd March 1994.

466 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Notice 409 of 1994. Final list of candidates duly corrected (National Assembly, National and Regional Lists) nominated by the respective registered parties, and who have accepted their nominations, listed in order of preference, giving names, identity numbers and place of residence. Issued by P.J. Colyn, Chief Director (Election Administration), Date: 27 April 1994.

467 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Lists parties (in order of appearance on ballot paper), their national agents, telephone and fax numbers.

468 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

469 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Sample forms. N. p.: IEC,[1994], various pagings.

A series of unpublished application forms for employment, declaration of secrecy, preparation for voting day, monitoring of the count, and others.

470 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Sample: valid ballots. [Johannesburg]: IEC, [1994], 7 leaves.

Examples of twenty four ballot papers, fifteen valid and nine rejected. Extract from “IEC Counting Officers and Enumerators”, p.18 - 25.

471 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Contents: Letter from Adv. E.D.Moseneke, Vice Chairperson, IEC to Transport Advisory Services, 22 April 1994, expressing deep appreciation of their resolve to render transport to and from the voting stations free of charge on the 27th and 28th April 1994 … offering a total of 2010 busses. Together with the telefax from TAS offering this and stating conditions.

472 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Commission approved 21/03/94. Procedure written
from the perspective of the voter “intended to be applicable in respect of all ordinary voting stations, where an anticipated total of approximately 3000 voters will vote over the two day period allocated for ordinary voting”.

473 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
What you need to know about the double ballot. [Johannesburg]: IEC, 1994, 4 p.

Poses and answers questions concerning the two levels of government, ballot papers and voting procedures in simple semi-cartoon style.

474 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

The locations indicated in the schedule have been provisionally identified for use as voting stations but are subject to alteration. The lists of candidates are compiled in order of preference by the registered parties in terms of the Electoral Act 1993, section 22.

475 INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION

This IFEE memorandum, dated April 1993, is not a draft act, and does not purport to cover all issues and eventualities, but it does reflect aspects of concern to IFEE member organizations. The recommendations are arranged under the headings: General principles; Who should vote; How should voters be identified; How should voting take place; Administration of voting stations, The Independent Electoral Commission; Political parties; Additional matters and Conclusion - that those drafting the Electoral Act should take care to remember for whom the struggle for democracy in South Africa has been waged - the citizen. Attached to this is a single leaf providing information concerning the IFEE itself, its objectives, membership, regional
fora, commissions, and IFEE contacts.

476 INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION

This document contains motivation and proposals for changes to the membership and structure of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) which all members of IFEE and all regional forums linked to the IFEE will receive. It serves as the basis upon which decisions made at the next meeting of the national forum will be made. It includes a history of previous discussions on the subject and a code of conduct for members. A covering letter from the Administrative Co-coordinator, Pumla Gqirana, dated 18 June 1993, is attached. Decisions made will effect the monitoring of elections.

477 INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION


478 INDEPENDENT MEDIA COMMISSION


479 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

"Looks at the Electoral Act of 1993 which sets out the legislative framework for the election campaign and the election process". Explains its provisions - administration by the Independent Electoral Commission and electoral regulations controlling franchise, preparations, process, security, mobile voting stations, procedure, counting, offences and general provisions. Accompanied by ten black & white illustrations.

480 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

This manual, designed and developed by Robyn Davidson and Claire Hock for IMSSA, explains the objectives of the Voter Trainers' Programme, outlines the stages in it and the skills required to present it including hints on managing a group in a training situation.

481 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Concise report by Dren Nupen, dated 11 July 1994, on the co-ordination and management of the monitoring of the counting of the 1994 election votes.

482 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Simple cartoon type instruction pamphlet covering the
election and the voting process, accompanied by ten clear illustrations.

483 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Simple illustrated guide to voting procedure. Emphasizes individual decision and the secrecy of the ballot.

484 INDEPENDENT MEDIATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Part of IMSSA's voter education workshop programme. Includes suggested problems and solutions to managing a group in a training situation.


Comments on accusations by the Inkatha Freedom Party that the Agreement for Reconciliation & Peace signed before the general elections in 1994, has not been met, and looks at terms of reference for international mediation. Warns of a groundswell of support from traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal for Inkatha and predicts that local elections cannot take peacefully in KwaZulu-Natal. (ISAP).

486 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY and KWAZULU


487 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

488 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Compendium of policies offering an immediate point of reference of the IFP vision to a broader public. "This publication is the tip of an iceberg, as it is the result of hundreds of workshops and seminars which each of the IFP study groups developed in conjunction with the affected interests and relevant role players to fine tune our policies and to achieve a clear understanding of all aspects of often intricate issues". Foreword signed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

489 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Submitted: 8 June 1993. Unseen.


Comments on indications that the ANC will renege on a pre-election agreement on international mediation to resolve constitutional difference with Inkatha Freedom Party and discusses the purpose of mediation. Warns that failure to implement the agreement will result in Inkatha's withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly and other political resistance measures. Warns that without Inkatha's input the new constitution will be unrepresentative of a community (ISAP).


Speculates on the chances of Inkatha's participation in the forthcoming election pending resolution of differences between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC, and singles out two fundamental points of disagreement. Notes Inkatha's intention to boycott
the election and applauds its choice of democratic ways of opposing current political developments. (ISAP).


Discusses the position of a weakened Freedom Alliance, the possibility of defections from Inkatha, its opposition to participation in the elections, the changed political position in Bophuthatswana, and variants interpretations of recent events both there, and in Natal. Quotes the views of Inkatha 'hardliner' Walter Felgate, amongst others.


Considers kernel issues to be addressed before Inkatha will consider participation in the April 27 election, notably regional autonomy and support for this concept by the constitution. Outlines other related issues and reports on a planned special Inkatha general party conference. (ISAP).

494 INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA


This training kit for voter education was produced by IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy. The Training Centre's mission is to use non-formal, continuing education strategies to empower citizens to play an ongoing role in building and maintaining democracy in South Africa. It consists of ten large posters and a training manual giving a detailed guide on how to run a voter education workshop. It was specially designed for rural communities' women, "and for those who struggle to read". Written by Marie - Louise Strom and Alison Curry.

495 INSTITUTE FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Comments on the first draft of the IEC Act of the Technical Committee on the IEC at the MPNP talks


496 INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

Judges that the South African elections must not be postponed, but should be held on 27 April, with the inclusion of homeland voters. The ICJ believes this feasible. The Commission outlines the essentials of a free and fair election, defines the role of the police, the need for a peacekeeping force, and discusses the challenges the South African elections pose for the international community.

497 INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

Subject indicated by title.

498 INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

The mission was effective in providing much-needed advice and oversight to the Independent Electoral Commission. This report presents an overview of IFES' activities throughout the elections. Each team member prepared an activity report at the end of his or her contract. Those reports included suggestions for future elections. The consultants' submissions are summarized in this document. The appendices include technical election information, election results, and each of the consultant's reports in its entirety.

499 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE
In this section of Democracy Forum "The Conduct of Elections" Norman du Plessis, of the former Independent Electoral Commission, gives a description of the preparations for the 1994 South African elections (p.10 - 12). He explains the constitutional parameters, the time frame and the administrative tasks facing the IEC. He briefly also refers to the local government elections in November 1995.


Focuses on evidence of escalating violence, which poses a serious threat to the election, and stresses the role of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in regulating political behaviour, as well as the influence of political leaders in encouraging supporters to vote in peace. Comments on problems posed by the Freedom Alliance parties' refusal to participate in the election and hostility of the Afrikaaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) towards black journalists. (ISAP).

501 JACOBS, A.

Subject indicated by title: an evaluation of the work of VEETU. (CRLS database).

502 JACOBS, Sean

The Western Cape is the one province that indicates 'Coloured' voting preferences most clearly and is used in this study of voter behaviour. The key questions for this paper are: Did any fundamental take place in voting preferences among Coloureds between South Africa's first and second democratic elections? What
happened to the NNP's Coloured support? What does the provincial result mean for the long-term predictions of 'Coloured' voting preferences? And, what specifically does it mean for the ANC - strategically and organizationally - in relation to the 'Coloured' vote?

503 JACQUES, Sally

"With elections around the corner, Agishanang decided to investigate who was training voter education and who they were reaching. Sally Jacques questioned a number of organizations about their voter education programmes. They were questioned on where they were conducting their programmes; who their audience was; how many people they had reached; was their training non-partisan; was the training effective; how much personnel was used for training; how this affected other programmes; and finally was funding easy to obtain." (Journal introduction).

504 JACQUES, Sally

Raises questions concerning the role of Non-Governmental Organizations during the election period, their support for democracy and voter education, their future position with and relationship to the incoming government. Describes the situation in which the Community Based Development Programme (CBDP) finds itself.

505 JAMES, Alf and HEARD, Janet

F.W. de Klerk's election road show through the Western Cape is drawing support for the 'new' National Party. This report describes his reception in Genadendal and in Greyton.

506 JEFFERY, Anthea J.
Destabilizing the opposition in 1994: the viewpoint of the Inkatha Freedom party. In. JEFFERY, A.J. The
This chapter traces the events which appear to support the perspective of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the actions of the ANC in its continued drive for political hegemony in Natal in 1994. In its momentum to destabilize its opponents the ANC alliance sought in particular to overthrow the administrations of the three homelands, Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and KwaZulu using the power of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). This chapter presents a detailed account of happenings in KwaZulu in 1994 during the election and post-election periods and gives reasons from an Inkatha Freedom Party perspective for the continued and continuing tension and intermittent violence.

Jeffery, Anthea J.
ISBN : 0-86982-453-8

Developments confirm the ANC's perspective that violence in Natal stems in large measure from the illegal activities of senior security officers opposed to the transition to democracy. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and its allies in the Freedom Alliance (FA) seek to prevent their opponents from canvassing support within areas under their control. This chapter traces in detail the events which appear to support this perspective of the ANC Alliance. The author develops her theme under the headings; Denying free political activity in KwaZulu and Natal in early 1994; Violence persists in the post-election period in 1994, and Explaining continued violence after the April election.

Jennings, Ross, and others
A CASE survey in SA suggests that voting in the 1994 election was indeed very high among youth, but the 1995 elections, however, showed a sharp drop-off in youth participation, with 43% not voting. It appears that the incidence of voting does not depend on the youth understanding how to vote, but rather why they should vote. (Africa Institute).

509 JENNINGS, Ross, and others

A report on youth voter turnout in the 1994 general election and the 1995 local elections drawing on the SABC’s National Survey evaluating the impact of their voter education programme. Focuses on the respondents aged eighteen to thirty five and analyses their reactions under the headings youth and voting, voting in 1994 and 1995, reasons for non-voting, knowledge of voting procedure and implications for the future.

510 JOHNSON, R.W.
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Presents an analysis by region of votes cast, turnout and party fortunes. Queries to what extent the results indicate this to have been an ethnic based election and how a more competitive party system can develop in the new South Africa.

511 JOHNSON, R.W.
Comments on the deep suspicion of international agencies, like the World Bank and the IMF, on the ambitious development plans and unrealistic economic policies of the ANC. (Sardius).

512 JOHNSON, R.W.

Reports on logistical failures and problems encountered by the IEC in administering the election in Natal -- problems compounded by the sudden last minute decision of the Inkatha Freedom Party to enter the election. Paints a picture of general confusion, theft, emergency measures, voting shambles and a suspect count all lending colour to the idea of a fraudulent election.

513 JOHNSON, R.W.

Discusses the IEC report on the 1994 elections in South Africa, and presents the IFP and ANC cases in KwaZulu-Natal where charges of electoral fraud were listed. Contends that, despite criticism against the IEC, it, in general, did manage to deliver an election which passed muster.

514 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, L.

Mirrors the results of two post election surveys held in September 1994 - the first by Decision Surveys
International, nationwide sample of 4,003 voters, the second by HSRC’s Mark Data of 2,200 voters, indicating post-election euphoria during 1994 waning in 1995. The findings are analyzed and discussed from various angles - key issues, job creation, culture of entitlement, criteria for good government, revenue-raising, government responsibilities, politicization, economic insecurities and prospects for the country.

515 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Assesses pre-election surveys and their validity as a basis of information. Examines the extent to which the electorate were radically polarized, or expressed sympathy for, or identification with, political parties, their reaction to the election itself and their intentions to vote. Discusses constraints on freedom of choice and other influences on voter behaviour. Concludes: "Our pre-election polls reinforce the broad conclusions of the IEC that, by and large, the will of the people prevailed".

516 JOHNSON, R.W.

This article analyses the findings of eight different MarkData surveys and their results to determine the levels of support for political parties in the 1994 and 1995 elections. It provides percentages for attitudes towards democracy, nation building and the government. Key issues include choice of a capital city, law and order, illegal immigration, privatization and the role of chieftaincy. A factor analysis reveals special categories within the African electorate as well as a mosaic of views among whites, Coloureds and Asians. The author postulates an actual or impending political fragmentation. Tables are included.

517 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence.
Political attitudes in South Africa’s economic heartland.

Presents the results of two surveys conducted among voters in Gauteng (formerly Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging PWV) during November - December 1993 and February and early March 1994, fieldwork undertaken by MarkData. The responses are analyzed under the headings motivation to vote, political party choice, support for alternative parties, voter literacy, political intolerance, constraints on freedom of conscience and choice and future expectations. Includes tables.

518 JOHNSON, R.W.

Considers the consequences for South Africa should the Proportional Representation system be chosen for use in the pending elections, using the Northern Transvaal as a hypothetical example. Concludes that, at a regional level, PR helps smaller parties to gain representation by enabling them to capitalize on areas of particular local strength, but that, at national level, it gives party leaders enormous power through control of lists. The author gives reasons why the First-past-the-post system fell out of favour, and argues for multi-member PR constituencies.

519 JOHNSON, R.W. and ZULU, Paulus

Presents an overview of the findings of two large scale surveys conducted by Data Research Africa, in conjunction with the Natal section of the HSRC, on racial and partisan polarization in KwaZulu-Natal -- the first in November-December 1993, the second in 1994.
Issues discussed include partisan choice, violence, intimidation and community pressure, power sharing and federalism, acceptance of results and quality of democratic choice. Tables.

520 JOHNSON, R.W.

Presents the research of the MarkData national survey of October 1996. Reports on opinions and attitudes of the electorate - constraints on freedom of choice, South Africa's dominant party system, party allegiance, fields of influence and attraction, regional loyalties and popular euphoria and dissatisfaction. Tables set out percentage support by party. Key issues affecting the African electorate include affirmative action and the presidential succession.

521 JOHNSON, R.W.

This article in the Helen Suzman foundation's analysis of events in the province contains comments of the acceptance of the 1994 election results as free and fair and on the implications of this acceptance for the local elections in KwaZulu-Natal. Analyses significant factors in the political subcultures of the ANC and the IFP that continue fuel political conflict and the 'lie factor' revealed. Touches on Indian support for the ANC and white support for the IFP. Argues that the 1994 election still provides a baseline from which to forecast developments in the 1996 local elections.

522 JOHNSON, R.W. and SCHLEMMER, Lawrence
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Sets the international context for the election on 27 April 1994, sketches political developments in the
decade prior to and within the transition period, and summarizes the tasks involved in this ‘founding election’ from which a new polity emerged.

523 JOHNSTON, Alexander

Gives reasons for the relative peace and absence of violence in KwaZulu/Natal once the Inkatha Freedom Party decided to participate in the April elections. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

524 JOHNSTON, Alexander

Analyses the dynamics of politics in KwaZulu-Natal, the salient factors in Inkatha’s success and its strategic concerns, the condition of the ANC in the province and the approach of both parties to the election. Maintains that "the most formidable obstacle to the transition process was based in KZN. This was the constellation of forces formed by Chief Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Zulu monarchy and the KwaZulu government".

525 JOHNSTON, Alexander

Unseen.

526 JOHNSTON, Alexander

Before South Africa's first non-racial election took place in April 1994, the African National Congress and the National Party had to agree on the nature and functions of the institutions for which votes would be
cast. The two major parties then had to ensure that the electoral process was as inclusive of disaffected minorities as possible. This all-important condition was achieved only at the eleventh hour. The distribution of support for the parties shows that there is a dominant but by no means monolithic ruling party and an opposition which is fragmented, regionally based and co-opted at the centre. The forces of ideology, class and ethnicity have all been heavily diluted at the level of national politics. (Summary).

527 JOHNSTON, Alexander

Offers an interpretation of the political culture which has emerged in South Africa since President's reforms of February 1990 together with a forecast assessment of the election's significance in South Africa's transition.

528 JOHNSTON, Alexander

"As the new government of KwaZulu-Natal, the Inkatha Freedom Party should abandon the incendiary politics of culture and identity and lock itself into the politics of democracy and distribution. But with a constituency that tends to be rural, poorly educated and conservative, it faces the daunting task of satisfying expectations - under immense political pressure - without modernizing itself out of existence". (Introduction). This article analyses the consequences of the Inkatha Freedom Party's regional victory in the elections, reflects on the realities of the political situation in the context of KwaZulu's administrative culture and on the complexity of the problems presented. Options for the future are explored. Retrospectively the author surveys the IFP's pre-election strategies, its response to a deteriorating situation, its relationship with the white right and resulting confrontations, the declaration of a state of emergency, its and consequent tangible rewards. Concludes: the essential issue in post election KwaZulu-Natal will be to create a unitary entity in
politics, government and administration out of quite disparate parts.

529 JONES, Bob

In both April 1994 and June 1999, South Africans in each of the nine provinces voted in two elections: the first for the National Assembly, the second, for their Provincial Legislature. Tables 1 - 6 contain information on the National Assembly election results, Tables 7 - 15 provide details on the Provincial Legislature results, and Tables 16 - 17 compare the performance of the major parties in the National Assembly and Provincial Legislature elections. (Introductory notes). Includes a select bibliography.

530 JUNG, Courtney and SHAPIRO, Ian

In the context of the 1994 election the authors chart South Africa's transformation to a multicultural democracy. They examine the transition period, political opposition and democratic politics, consociational models of democracy, democratic opposition in the new South Africa, the dynamics of transitional negotiations and focus on the transition period 1990 to 1993. Six comparable negotiated transitions are considered.

531 KAMBA, W.J.

Emphasizes the importance of the independence factor for electoral commissions, highlighting the success of the Independent Electoral Commission in the South African April 1994 elections, and discusses the extent
to which these particular elections were free and fair.

532 Empty record. Database error

533 KARIS, Thomas G.

Draft survey prepared following a research trip to South Africa in July 1994 which also reflects conversations and interactions with South Africans in September and October 1993. It examines the complex structure of multilateral negotiations leading to the elections, the constitutional and political consequences of the election results and pressures from the left and from the right. Presents an optimistic view of future developments.

534 KAUNDA, L. and VAN DER VELDEN, M.
'Just another little hitch'; Educating Rita (and Mike, and Temba, and ...); Natal journos become journalists again; The mother of all broadcasts; Monitoring the media for fair treatment; Secrecy still stalks the corridors of power: election focus. Rhodes University Journalism Review, no. 8, July 1994, p. 29 - 39.

A special feature on the 1994 general election which provides the following information: systems which were developed to relay election results to a national news agency; voter education programmes; KwaZulu/Natal election coverage; the South African Broadcasting Corporation's coverage of the election; the contribution of the Independent Media Commission to the Freedom of Information Act; access to government information. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

535 KEATON, C.

Reports South Africans throughout the country will go to the polls in April 1994 for the first time. Reports on a visit to rural communities in the Transkei to find out how the preparations are going. Also explains the
voting process in the April election. (ISAP).

536 KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY
Kiss party policy. Sandton: KISS, [1994], 2 leaves.

The party's policy is "to reduce the Central Government's power to tax to a 10% VAT". The leaflet describes the impact that this will have on the economy (jobs), land (housing) and defines its stances on violence, human rights and democracy. Name of leader is Claire Emary.

537 KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY

Cover: coloured portrait of party leader Claire Emary. Contents: The constitution of South Africa, limiting the powers of the government to four only, and "Manifesto", limiting the size of government, curbing the spending power of 'the politician/parliamentarian class', and forcing them to focus on the basic needs of the public.

538 KEUN, Ebenhaezer

Compiled by EQUIP, "In collaboration with Women for South Africa". Addendum to part III of "Voter education: a guide for Trainers".


Provides key questions drawn up by the Agenda Collective, with which to confront candidates on the following issues (all critical to women): unpaid labour; childcare; politics; violence against women; national maternity policy; education; human rights; literacy and popular education strategies; housing; pay equity; tax; health and reproductive rights; pensions; land.

540 KHUMALO, Bafana
Making the images that'll win the votes. Weekly Mail &
Criticizes the colourless advertising campaigns that the major political parties have been running, mainly in the print media.

541 KHUMALO, Bafana

Presents a sceptical report of the visit of the National Party’s Roelf Meyer to Soweto to be introduced to his ancestors.

542 KHUMALO, Bongi

Describes the dilemmas of Indians towards the election. Regarded as a minority group, the general feeling among Indians is that they are marginalized and without a stake in the elections. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

543 KHUMALO, Bongi

Outlines the land deal between the then State President de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelethini two days before the April elections. The Zulu king now controls 1,2 million hectares. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

544 KHUMALO, Bongi

Focuses on the reports on the status of women compiled by the Women’s National Coalition (WNC) recently handed over to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). This eleven-month research exercise, involving more than 23 focus groups determined as the main concerns women and law, women at work,
women and violence and political awareness among women. The data is to be used for the formulation of a Women's Charter. Political parties wanting the support of 54% of the South African voters should be alert to these issues.

545 KIBBE, Jennifer

Outlines developments towards the first non-racial election in South Africa. The stance of the PAC, the IFP and the Indian and 'Coloured' voters is probed. The author also focuses on access to the homelands during the election campaign, the problem of intolerance, the issue of violence and the role of the media. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

546 KILKER, Jery

The author, a former WHO official, serving with the United Nations Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) gives his personal impressions of the election process and of the reactions of voters in the district to which he was assigned - Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal.

547 KILOH, Margaret

This contribution to the struggle of nation-states to move in a democratic direction and to sustain and entrench democratic political systems focuses on the political process in South Africa. Describes this in two main stages - the breakdown of authoritarian rule and the transition to liberal democracy, outlining the negotiating phase, preliminary discussions, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and the agreement on an Interim Constitution and Bill of Rights on which the 1994 elections were based.
The Chief Mission, United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) argues that international observers can help to ensure free and fair elections in South Africa in 1994, but that their effectiveness depends on reducing political violence.

The Chief of Mission from the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa, in her paper presented to the Seminar on 26 January 1994, examines both the obstacles to, and promise of, free and fair elections in South Africa. UNOMSA's deployment plans are described, and its new expanded mandate, as adopted by the Security Council, outlined.

Gives details of the UN Observer Mission's establishment and part played in the conflict situation in South Africa. Assesses the possible role of the United Nations in the April 1994 elections. The author draws on the UN experience in Namibia and Angola, but regards each situation as unique. She advises South Africans to assist in the removal of obstacles to a free and fair election by supporting the peace structures under the National Peace Accord, promote voter education and avoid delays in the constitutional negotiations. (Annotation from SAILA Bibl. 29).

Presents an overview of the United Nations' perception of the South African elections and the logistical problems involved in them. Describes the background to violence and intimidation and the administrative tasks facing the IEC. Emphasizes the need for voter education. As chief of Missions she states that UNOMSA remains optimistic that the elections will be a major step forward on the path to national reconciliation. She concludes: "This election is critical ... South Africa needs a success. The world needs a success. And we are extremely positive we will have a success".

552 **KISS and make up** [KwaZulu/Natal]. Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 45 - 46.

Describes the tense post-election situation in the province, with ballot counting problems, unresolved political rivalries and the district possibility of a hung parliament. Notes the decline in political killings and discusses the pros and cons of an alliance between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

553 **KLEINSCHMIDT, Horst**
The role of NGOs in South Africa's first democratic elections. Agishanang, vol. 1, no. 9, February 1994, p. 4 - 5; 21.

Kagiso Trust spokesman urges active support for elections and calls for the resolution of a difficult balancing act between conflicting demands upon staff and resources. Sets the problems in the context of the past history and future success of NGOs in South Africa.

554 **KOMPE, Mamlydia**

Looks at how political pressure can be exerted on the incoming government to address the problems of rural women beyond April 27 1994 - and the elections that bring new hope for change.

555 **KOTSEDI, Lennox, Comp.**
IEC Report, Springs Sub-region. Analysis Rep-UP
"The aim of this report is to look back at work done by this department since it came to office in mid-March 1994. It covers the election campaign conducted by political organizations and parties towards the 26, 27 & 28 April democratic elections of S.A. To achieve this, the department relied primarily on reports submitted by the departments of monitoring, mediation, investigations, SPOC, and EAD to some extent. Included in this [report] are the national peace secretariat, local peace committees, the electronic and printed media, the police and international observers". (Author's introduction). The report includes material on Thokoza, Katlehong, Kwa-Thema & Duduza.

556 KOTZE, Dirk

The author, from the Department of Political Sciences, UNISA, analyses the election results in the context of the two-ballot system, the high level of expectations, black and white voting patterns, sectional self-determination and the ANC's defeat in the Western Cape. The results of the April 26 - 28 elections are tabulated on p.9 - 11. Typescript.

557 KOTZE, Hennie

Subject indicated by title.

558 KRENNERICH, Michael and DE VILLE, Jacques
ISBN : 87-7265-520-8

First describes the two basic principles of
representation - of majority representation and of proportional representation - their political aims, constituency elements, differences and effects. Then describes the main technical features of the South African electoral system, its defects, and issues surrounding electoral reform. This is followed by proposals by academics, political party submissions and the debate surrounding them. Includes notes, references and a table of the results of the SA election of 1994. Substantially the same as their paper presented at the Round Table "Electoral systems for emerging democracies: experiences and suggestions " held at Sorup Herregard, Denmark, 12 - 15 November 1996.

559 **KRIEGLER, Johann**

Mr. Justice Johann Kriegler, Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) gives an overview of the legal and organizational framework in which the April 1994 election will take place. Expands on the objectives and functions of the IEC. (ISAP).

560 **KROMBERG, Marlene and VAN WYK, Alta**

Discusses the opening of international doors to South Africa since the April 1994 elections. Includes a table. (Africa Institute). Organizations mentioned include the Arab League, Group of Seven, ILO, GATT, OAU, USAID and the European Union.

561 **KUBEKA, Sipho**

The general secretary of a COSATU affiliate union explains why it is correct for COSATU - the majority of whose members are ANC supporters - to take a partisan stand in the 1994 election. He deals with the topic in four areas - South African historical contradictions in socio-political arenas, the change process since February 1990, the role of NGOs,
the post-election period.

562 KUZWAYO, Ellen

Category: essays, autobiographical writing by literacy figures. (NELM).


Speculates on the consequences of a possible refusal by the Freedom Alliance (FA) to participate in the election and looks at implications of an election boycott. Reports on growing support for the ANC in Natal and contends that the ANC could assume authority over areas of boycott, although the support of King Goodwill Zwelithini for a boycott would damage the ANC's legitimacy. Looks at the influence of the king and the future of the kingdom. (ISAP).


Argues that the double ballot was crucial to the success of the election and will be central to the consolidation of democracy. Reflects on the results of the elections and the future of White voters. Argues that White-dominated parties have no future in South Africa, and that fundamental political realignment must take place.


Looks at the outcome of the election in KwaZulu/Natal and comments on future political developments, particularly cooperation between the ANC and Inkatha at provincial level, and a growing emphasis on federalism. (ISAP).

566 KWAZULU
Comments by Mr. Armstrong on the IEC Bill.


567  **KWAZULU**  

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

568  **LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA**  


569  **LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA**  

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

570  **LANDSBERG, Chris**  

A member of the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, gives his impression of the April 1994 election: the preparations, tasks facing the Independent Electoral Commission, hasty voter education, inconsistencies and logistical irregularities, and, finally, a monitored democratic election.

571  **LARDNER, Tunji**  
A concise review of the 1994 free and fair election in South Africa. Briefly discusses Mandela's role in the election as well as the emotions surrounding the election.


Describes the fourth summit meeting in Durban between Mandela and Buthelezi in search of a solution to the 'non-participation impasse'. Recounts talks held, and statements made, before the meeting, Mandela's conciliatory stance, and some bizarre constitutional proposals emerging thereafter. President F.W.de Klerk is, however, resigned to Inkatha boycotting the polls in the 1994 elections.

573 **LAUFER, Stephen**

Problems centre on the number of voting stations that can be secured, especially in KwaZulu-Natal. Some details are given of the conflicting viewpoints of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African Police. A compromise figure of 8,900 stations seems likely.

574 **LAUFER, Stephen and CHOTHIA, Farouk**

"The ANC election nominations, to be finalised this weekend could result in some major career moves". The authors report on those tipped to rise within the party.

575 **LAUFER, Stephen**

Reflects on the possible consequences of the collapse of the international mediation process, following
Inkatha's insistence that the election date should form part of the terms of reference. Quotes comments from Henry Kissinger.

576 LAUFER, Stephen
Wish you were there, mom and dad. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 10.

Impressionistic account of polling day in the white Johannesburg suburb of Risidale, queuing, voting and celebrating. Includes the author's recollections of times past.

ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

A comprehensive study, commissioned by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, its objective "to record and document the attitudes of voters, the level of support the various parties enjoyed before the election and the problems and opportunities that the election presented to the entire South African population". The Launching Democracy project established an observer network in the three most populous 'critical' regions - the Western Cape, the PWV and Natal and carried out two opinion surveys in them, as well as two national surveys. The information obtained by this non-partisan information service was made freely available to all political parties. It formed the basis for this work. Chapters have been individually indexed. A critique appears in: BUTLER, Anthony. Democracy and apartheid: political theory, comparative politics and the modern South African state. Basingstoke, etc.: Macmillan, 1998, p.140 - 149.

578 LAURENCE, Patrick

The author argues that, as the final countdown starts for South Africa's first non-racial election, two interrelated developments jeopardize the chances of holding a relatively peaceful poll. The first is the breakdown of concerted attempts by the De Klerk
administration and the African National Congress to coax the dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA) into participating in the election, and the second is the acknowledgment by the newly appointed commander of the National Peacekeeping Force that it is unlikely to be ready for deployment in the final weeks before the April election. The author analyzes the consequences and implications of these events and reviews other threats to the holding of a free and fair election. The danger of overt violence either from rightwing belligerents or from Zulu zealots is great. "The hour of maximum danger is at hand".

579 LAURENCE, Patrick

Assesses the successes and failures of the democratically elected South African government. The Government of National Unity has embraced the opposition of the ANC, launched the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and started the integration process of the new National Defence Force. On the negative side, there has been an increase of trade union militancy, killings of policemen and crimes, while the expectations of the majority have not been met yet. - In an insert, Colleen Lowe Morna describes South Africa’s relations with its neighbours, SADC and the Preferential Trade Area. (Sardius).

580 LAURENCE, Patrick

Reports on the election outcome and is confident about the future. However, some questions about some cabinet appointments are asked, and it remains to be seen whether fiscal discipline will be promoted. (Sardius).

581 LAURENCE, Patrick

Describes conditions in South Africa in the pre-election period, especially the demise of the homelands.
Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the split among Afrikaner nationalists and Chief Buthelezi's last-minute participation in the election. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).


"This report was predominantly written by Kathy Ricketts and Jolene Gabriels, with contributions from other staff. The report was compiled and edited by Stefan Raubenheimer. The report describes the programmes adopted by the Stellenbosch office in preparation for the elections in April 1994. These were: The community voter education program; The ID campaign; The program at prisons; The student volunteer farm worker voter education program; Monitoring and election Mediations". (Preface).

**583 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**


**584 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

This document, issued 5th February 1993 by Cecille van Riet, Director, Human Rights Education Project first explains why NGOs should be involved in voter and election education, describes the coordination of efforts that has already taken place, and emphasizes the need for meaningful explanations. It then outlines the LHR's infrastructure and resources and follows this with a summary of the specific problems and requirements for the rural areas of Umtata, Stellenbosch, Colesburg and Pietersburg. Gives reasons why special attention is necessary for rural
areas, and advocates the setting up of well equipped
and monitored mobile units to service them.

585 LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
The South African elections of April 1994: an

Detailed day by day notes of a Canadian observer with
Introductory points; 2. Activities prior to voting days; 3.
Some reflections on the context of the voting; 4.
Outline of activities during the voting and counting; 5.
Observation of voting: Tuesday, 26 April; 6.
Observation of voting: Wednesday 27 April and
Thursday, 28 April; 7. Observation of counting: Friday,
29 April; Saturday, 30 April; Sunday, 1 May.

586 LAWYERS’ COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
UNDER LAW
Briefing book for foreign NGO observer teams for the

Title indicates subject.

587 LAWYERS’ COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
UNDER LAW
Final report on the work of the South African Election

Subject indicated by title.

588 LAYTON, Roger
Procedure for verification for ballot counts.
Johannesburg: Independent Electoral Commission, 01

"Special procedures for the lead monitor in the
counting stations regarding ballot count verification"
from the IEC's IT manager, Election Administration

589 LAYTON, Roger
... Urgent information concerning transmission of vote
tallies, and for the separate counting of certain voting

An IEC internal memorandum from the IT manager, Election Administration Directorate, "Amendment to Counting Stations procedure covering the transmission of count forms from Counting Stations" to the Results Control Centre, 28 April, 1994.

590 LE ROUX, J. H.


591 LEAP (Legal Education Action Project)

This VEETU manual, aimed at activists and volunteers involved in voter education in communities that have not voted before, is arranged in five sections: Pt. 1 Democracy and elections; Pt. 2 Elections, rights and IDs; Pt. 3 Teaching people to vote; Pt. 4 Voter education workshops; Pt. 5 Answering typical questions about elections.

592 LEGISLATION on the holding of elections which relate to the conduct of the media. N. p.: n.
Contents: Electoral Act 202 1993, Sections 10, 24, 58, 72 and 73 (Question raised); Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No.153 of 1993 as amended, Sections 51, 57 - 67 and Schedule 1, Code of Conduct for Broadcasting Services; Guidelines for state publishers and state information services (compiled by the Independent Media Commission), and Letter to all civil servants, from Dirk Hartford, Chief Director IMC.

593 LEGUM, Colin

Discusses the possible outcome of the April election by assessing the strength of the political parties. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

594 LENOIR, G.

Subject indicated by title.

595 LESAGE, J.M.


596 LEVITZ, E.

Reports on a visit paid to the South African Embassy in The Hague, Netherlands, which was originally built for the Dutch East India Company. This building also housed celebrations for the inauguration of the first democracy in South Africa. Reports on this occasion and the excitement surrounding the South African elections (ISAP).

597 LEVY, Moira

An assessment of the SABC election coverage and high praise for its role in the democratization of South Africa. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

598 LEVY, Moira

A member of IDASA's Media Department considers the many problems facing women in exercising their right to vote and in becoming effective citizens, notably accessibility, lack of information, fear, harassment and intimidation. Emphasizes the need for voter education programmes.

599 LIEBENBERG, I.

Identifies several stumbling blocks which could contribute to the forthcoming election not being free and fair which could endanger the democratization process in South Africa. (ISAP).

600 LIEBENBERG, Johann S.

Relates the process of democratization in South Africa, from the unbanning of the ANC on 2 February 1990, to the ratification of the TEC, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission in October 1993. Liebenberg explains the role and functions of these bodies, the task of the National Peacekeeping Force, the Constitutional Court and the structure of local government. He touches on the election and the role of the President. He concludes that "democracy is at present determined more by limits; by what it is not, rather than by substantive content". (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

601 LIJPHART, Arend
Prospects for power sharing in the new South Africa.
Examines the provisions of the interim constitution, the idea of consociational democracy from 1971 onwards, and the spirit of reconciliation and accommodation. Sees the outcome of the 1994 election as a favourable factor for the next five years and beyond.

602 LIJPHART, Arend

In this section of Spotlight 4: South Africa's 1994 elections, the author focuses on their unusual features: firstly on the 'almost purely' proportional PR system - one that opted for maximum proportionality and finds that it came extremely close to perfect proportionality; secondly on the party list system, using closed lists, and thirdly on the election's moderate multi-partism. All these aspects are examined in the context of the 1994 election results. The Professor of Political Science at the University of California at San Diego then considers the prospects for reform and possible changes to the system, and concludes: "South Africa's highly proportional list PR may be moderated to some extent, but my prediction is that the electoral system used in the next parliamentary election, scheduled to be held in 1999, will still be a list system with a high degree of proportional purity".

603 LODGE, Tom

"This chapter will begin with a short narrative overview of the ANC's campaign before turning to more detailed analyses of its strategies, policy appeals and campaigning. A concluding section evaluates the
ANC's performance nationally and in certain regions.” (Author's introduction). It also analyzes the results, and concludes that: "the achievement represented by the ANC's campaign is quite formidable. In one year it constructed a sophisticated electoral machine, and in doing so ... made a successful transition from liberation movement to political party”.

604 LODGE, Tom


605 LODGE, Tom

The author considers the South African election and states that it combines the norms and values of modern liberal democracies with those of some poorer countries, where party cohesion is enhanced by rallies, and parties are based on territory, party support is often coerced, and campaigning may be extremely violent and intimidating. Both characteristics are evident in the preparation for the election in April 1994. (Sardius).

606 LODGE, Tom

Describes variant forms of electoral corruption and a range of suspect practices (some of them illegal, some not) occurring in the 1994 elections and still of possible concern in 1999.

607 LODGE, Tom
Intimidation and restriction on voter choice - lessons

The author comments critically on the findings of the Independent Electoral Commission's 'Report on the 1994 election' in this regard, analyses factors unfairly or improperly influencing electoral choice and enquires how these threats to free voter choice can be effectively addressed. Discusses what constitutes, or does not constitute, robust but fair campaigning.

608 LODGE, Tom

Explores three dimensions of South Africa's liberation election: the social identity of party support, the motivations underlying voter choice, and the implication of the results for the future course of South African politics.

609 LODGE, Tom

Critical evaluation of the new government one year on from victory in the April 1994 polls. Concludes that despite very little reconstruction and development, ANC supporters remain satisfied. (ISAP).

610 LOUW, Antoinette

"After weeks of horrifying pre-election violence levels of conflict in KwaZulu-Natal have subsided. The election illustrated that opposing political parties can participate in a fair contest and that supporters can partake in this contest peacefully”. Includes material on the IFP boycott of the election, and violence by anti-election elements within the Inkatha Freedom Party in March 1994. Notes the declaration of the state of emergency on 31 March 1994 and the effects of the election on conflict in the province.
611 **LOUW, Antoinette**  

'Initiatives by political leaders and the police have helped reduce violence since the elections. There is less war talk and trading of accusations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. But the nature of the violence has hardly changed'. (Introduction) Statistics are provided.

612 **LOUW, Chris**  

Reports that the National Party has nominated two infamous Crossroads 'strongmen' as provincial candidates for the April elections in the Western Cape, whose followers were involved in attacks on United Democratic Front members in the 1980's. They occupy the 15th and 21st position on the MP list making their election to the legislature a formality. The ANC do not regard them as popular figures even though one was later elected mayor of Khayelitsha, and claimed to have turned down overtures from them.

613 **LOUW, Chris**  

Discusses the prospects of the National Party in the 1994 elections and some of the rivalries for positions on the Party's election lists.

614 **LOUW, Chris**  

For the National Party the ANC's victory in the Northern Cape was one of the biggest disappointments of the elections, the results running counter to the predictions of the opinion polls and to their own hopes that the Afrikaans-speaking Coloured vote would be theirs. This article analyses the post-election socio-economic situation in the province and the many problems facing
the new Premier.

615 **LOUW, Chris**  

The international printing company De La Rue, of Basingstoke, England has won the tender for printing the 80 million ballot papers required for the 1994 election. An estimated thirty five days will be needed to produce them. The IEC Communications Director gives security, capacity, price, and time as the key factors in the award of the tender.

616 **LOUW, Chris**  
DP looks to 'when the honeymoon is over'. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May, 1994, p. 4.

Brief political analysis of the position the Democratic Party finds itself in, following its disappointing election results. The party will not transform itself into a human rights movement, but will remain a force in politics, expecting a resurgence of liberalism as disillusionment sets in with the ANC's rule. The article notes that the party's provincial support was almost double that of its national support.

617 **LOUW, Chris**  

The report of the joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the KwaZulu and South African governments, dated 5 April 1994, and signed by all eleven members, including those representing KwaZulu, states that an election can still take place despite the state of emergency. Sets out the requirements to be met for this to happen.

618 **LOUW, Chris**  

Simple guide to the 1994 election and its rules. Aims to
help voters keep up with the “bewildering changes to election rules”.

619  **LOUW, Chris**  

Includes some results of the HSRC poll conducted in November - December 1993, giving percentages, and providing many references to the PWV area.

620  **LOUW, Chris**  

Reports on plans to employ as many as 180,000 people to assist in the April 1994 elections. Includes a brief account of the Independent Electoral Commission, its composition and the tasks facing it.

621  **LOUW, Chris**  

Describes the political circumstances surrounding the four-way summit between IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini, President F.W.de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Notes pressure being brought to bear on Buthelezi to allow free and fair elections in his homeland and the handing over of investigations into hit squad activities to an international investigating team. Reports on the attitude of IEC task groups, and on their determination not to postpone elections. Notes the reluctance of international mediators to become involved as facilitators in Natal talks.

622  **LOUW, Chris and LAUFER, Stephen**  

Criticisms and controversy surrounding the Democracy Education Broadcasting Initiative, its voter education programme, its debts and its financing are described. The accusations of bias are denied by DEBI and refuted by the ANC.
623  **LOUW, Chris**  

Wages and salaries paid to staff by the Independent Electoral Commission were generous to say the least according to this survey of remuneration based on documents tabled at the Transitional Executive Council. The total IEC budget is calculated at R697 million, or R33 per voter. Officials of the Independent Media Commission (IMC) have also been well paid. National Peacekeeping Force salaries are noted and compared with those of the SADF.

624  **LOUW, Chris**  

Concise account of the sudden launch in Pretoria of the National Police Inspectorate (NPI) with the specific task of monitoring policing agencies including the South African Police during the election period. It is also expected to evaluate unrest regulations and to play a constructive role in overseeing the elections. Joint Operational Centres (JOCs) are shortly to be established.

625  **LOUW, Chris and MAKHANYA, Mondi waka**  

Outlines the problems facing the ANC and the NP in the political situation of forced coalition, and the battles over cabinet positions. This political analysis provides insights into existing tensions and pressures, and mentions personalities involved in the power play.

626  **LUBINSKY, David**  
Southern Africa and the technology and information revolution: does Southern Africa's late entry perpetuate its under-development and dependence. In: ELECTORAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Conference on SADC Electoral Commissions Forum,
The problems encountered by the IEC in the use of IT during the 1994 elections are described. They present "A good case-study of what can go wrong".

627 **LUCAS, G.H.G.**
ISBN : 0-947459-52-9

Focuses on economic forecasting and social prediction. (SANB).

628 **LUSO - SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY**

LUSAP, formed on the 2nd March 1994, has as its main objective "obtaining direct representation for the Luso-South African community in the South African parliament both at national and regional (PWV) levels". The manifesto sets out its policy under eight headings - Economic policy; Language and Culture; Bilateral agreement with Portugal; Strategies to curtail political and criminal violence, Emigration and Immigration; Participation in the elections; Voter education; Role of Luso-South African Community (after elections), President Manuel Moutinho, Vice President Antonio de Gouveia.

629 **MABUDAFHASI, R. and THABETHE, E.**

COSATU's women candidates for the ANC Regional Election List for the National Assembly explain how they will remain accountable to women and trade unions. (ISAP).

630 **MADLALA, Nozizwe**
Building a women's movement. Work in Progress, Supplement, April/May 1944, p. 6 - 8.
Comments on the formation of the Women’s National Coalition (WNC), the production of the Women’s Charter, the significance of this as part of the transformation process and the need for voting into power in the April elections a government sympathetic to the needs of the majority of women.

631 MADONSELA, T.

Critical evaluation of the new government one year on from victory in the April 1994 polls. Concludes that despite very little reconstruction and development, ANC supporters remain satisfied. (ISAP).

632 MADUNA, Penuell

Discussion paper focusing on three issues: the appropriate authority to conduct the elections; the electoral system to be followed and technical questions -- voter eligibility, voter registration, voter identification, registration of parties, logistics and personnel.

633 MAHOMED, Yunus

The Deputy Director of the Election Administration Directorate of the IEC, in response to the "Free-ish and Fairish" editorial, (q.v. under FREE-ISH) speaks out, attempts to analyse what went wrong and to examine objectively the strategies adopted by the IEC and their implementation. The Commission was expected to run, and attempted to run a first world election in conditions where first and third world duality existed side by side. It operated in constraints imposed by the Multiparty Negotiation Process, and the legislation emerging from it. It suffered from last minute changes, e.g. to a double ballot, and the inclusion of KwaZulu Natal which created logistical nightmares. Too many issues, too few personnel.
634 MAIL & GUARDIAN


635 MAIL & GUARDIAN

Provides background concerning their history, leadership and objectives. Includes sections on negotiating forums (p.11) and "Armies of the Right" (p.12). Part ii of a five-part series written by the Weekly Mail & Guardian editorial team.

636 MAIL & GUARDIAN

Part v, and last, of a five-part series written by the Weekly Mail and Guardian editorial team presents profiles of the people now in government as a consequence of the 1994 election results.

637 MAJOR, John
Address by the ... Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 22 September 1994. Backgrounder (Bellville), no. 13, 1994, p. 22 - 41.

Against the background of South Africa’s first democratic elections, the British Prime Minister considers future economic, political and cultural relations as well as foreign aid. (ASC Leiden abstract).

638 MAKGETLA, N.S.
Women and economy: slow pace of change. Agenda,
Explores changes in the economic position of women since the 1994 elections. Reviews women's income and status, using a segmented labour market analysis. Concludes that a more fundamental restructuring of the economy and society is called for. (ISAP).

639 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka

Reports that the Democratic Party is to lodge a complaint against the Pan African Congress’ leader Patricia de Lille for urging supporters to drive DP and National Party election workers out of the townships in the Western Cape. Charges will be laid in terms both of the Electoral Act and of the Electoral Code of Conduct. The National Party is also considering taking action against de Lille.

640 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka
How the West (Cape) was won. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 14, 8 - 14 April 1994, p. 19.

Compares the campaigns of the ANC and in the NP in the Western Cape and their wooing of the 'Coloured' vote. Notes the tactics of the DP, the PAC and other fringe parties. Considers the possible effects of a low voter turn-out. Forecasts a win for the National Party.

641 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka

Concise reports on complaints by the Democratic Party against the University of the Western Cape's S.R.C. which has effectively barred it from operating on campus, and on disruptions at Khayelitsha's Good Hope College during which Independent Electoral Commission monitors were overwhelmed by protesting students.

642 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka
In the coloured Cape Flats, Mandela's just a 'kaffir'.

Examines the way the fears of the Coloured community concerning ANC rule have been exaggerated, the sources of support for F.W. de Klerk, and his status in the area.

643 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka

A journalist recounts his own emotional reactions to casting his vote for Nelson Mandela in Guguletu in South Africa's first democratic election. He appeals to the African National Congress not to forget the hopes and fears of the black people once they are in power.

644 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka

This brief report on the violent disruption at the University of the Western Cape during Democratic Party leader Tony Leon's address to hostile students suggests that the publicity surrounding the incident played into the hands of the DP by providing maximum media exposure for its stand against authoritarian rule.

645 MAKHANYA, Mondi waka

Brief description of voting in Cape Town and in its surrounding townships, and of the enthusiasm of voters who braved the rain to cast their votes. Some individual reactions are recorded.

646 MAKING democracy work, written by Jeya Wilson, with Andy Mason, and others. Durban: Community Law Centre, 1994, 94 p.

Text in English and Xhosa. Translated into Xhosa by Pinkie Vutela. "Has an accompanying video". Focuses on democracy, elections, human rights, voting.

Examines the 1994 election in South Africa through the works of political scientists and their attitude to it and analyses of it. Makes specific critical reference to "Launching democracy in South Africa", edited by R.W. Johnson and L. Schlemmer, (q.v.) and questions its political bias.

648 MALAN, Jannie C.
Substantially free and fair elections?, Durban: ACCORD, 1994, 67 p.(Accord special report series, no. 1)
ISBN : 0-947445-22-6

ACCORD = African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes. Comprises a summary of the discussions at the election violence seminar hosted by ACCORD in June 1993, a copy of ACCORD’s findings on election violence in Southern Africa and a survey of recent legislation governing the 1994 South African elections. This special report is part of ACCORD’s contribution towards running free and fair elections.

649 MANBY, Bronwen

Research carried out in Natal/KwaZulu (February 1994) and Bophuthatswana (January-February 1994) revealed evidence of continuing human rights abuses in both homelands in the run-up to South Africa's first all-race elections scheduled for 26 - 28 April. In KwaZulu/Natal the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is using its control of the homeland government to provoke violence with the purpose of preventing the election from going ahead. The present report includes numerous case studies of violence, at Esihawini, KwaMashu, Nqutu, Sundumbili and Port Shepstone, and refers to the involvement of
the KwaZulu Police (KZP), the role of the South African Police (SAP) and the recent deployment of South African Defence Force (SADF) troops. In the case of Bophuthatswana, the president, Lucas Mangope, was finally forced to abandon his boycott of the forthcoming elections on 11 March 1994. Although the right to vote has now been assured, Human Rights Watch/Africa continues to have serious concerns about the situation in the homeland. These include the failure to take any steps to bring to justice right-wing whites responsible for the deaths of unarmed black civilians; the fact that senior members of the Mangope regime responsible for serious abuses remain in power; and reports of continuing harassment of opposition parties by the Bophuthatswana security forces. (ASC Leiden abstract). Editors: Abdullah An-Na'im and Cynthia Brown.


Discusses four concessions made by ANC President Nelson Mandela in an effort to persuade the Freedom Alliance to participate in the April 1994 elections. These include relenting on the double ballot, granting autonomous taxing powers to provincial governments, the inclusion of self-determination under constitutional principles and the recognition that powers of provincial governments under the interim constitution cannot be diminished by the constitutional assembly. (Sardius).

651 MANDELA, Nelson

Reprint of President Mandela’s inaugural address, delivered on 10 May 1994, in which he celebrates the victory for justice, peace and human dignity and commits the Government of National Unity to nation building and peace.

652 MANDELA, Nelson
Mandela on the record. [Interview with Alan Greenblo and Jenny Cargill]. Finance Week, vol. 61, no. 1, 31
In the interview on the eve of a Finance Week sponsored Conference "Getting SA Working: the ANC and Business Plan for the Future" Mandela responds to questions concerning the ANC’s policies and more specifically what the business community can expect of and from the ANC. Selected issues include job creation, the tax base, socio-economic needs and RDP objectives, the restructuring of state and state-related institutions, and the role of the Reserve Bank.

653 MANDELA, Nelson
My fellow South Africans: the people of South Africa. N. p.: ANC, 1994, 1 leaf folded.

Dated 2 May 1994. Rejoices in the overwhelming support for the ANC shown in the provisional results of the election, thanks the people and their leaders, looks to a better life for all, holds out the hand of friendship to all parties, and invites all South Africans to celebrate the birth of democracy.

654 MANDELA, Nelson

Pays tribute to other South African recipients of the peace prize and to all who have struggled for democracy and peace. Looks forward to the successful conclusion of negotiations, so that the first democratic elections can take place on the 27th of April 1994, as scheduled.

655 MANDELA, Nelson
Year of liberation if … "we work harder". Mayibue, February 1994, February 1994, p. 8 - 11.

An interview with Nelson Mandela, in which issues concerning the election, NP strategy, the role of Peoples' Forums, the rightwing threat and the ongoing violence are discussed. (Sardius).

656 MANY cultures, one nation. Pretoria: SACS
A commemorative album of words and images reflecting the emergence of a post-apartheid society. Includes information on the election and presidential inauguration, the President and Deputy Presidents, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, historical buildings and the new national symbols. (Sardius).

657 MAPHAI, Vincent

"Multi-party talks are the first steps in South Africa's transition to democracy. But how democratic is the reform process? How crucial is the 'Buthelezi factor'? Vincent Maphai gives a clear account of the negotiation process so far, and draws our attention in particular to those major variables of South African society - lack of a democratic culture, violence, the economy - which could be the stumbling blocks to a democratic future". (Journal introduction). He also examines future possibilities - a one party system, a coalition (ANC - NP) government and new forms of alliance, and concludes "... although there are real obstacles to genuine democracy in South Africa, they are not insurmountable". This article is also published in: Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly, vol. 7, no. 7, April 1994, p. 40 - 41.

658 MAPHETO, Andrew and CARGILL, Jenny

Surveys the political prospects for the following few months, including the possibility of free and fair elections. Considers the state of play with and within the Inkatha Freedom Party and the right wing Freedom Alliance, their strategies and the potential for future post-election discord. Sees no likelihood of civil war.

659 MAPHETO, Andrew
A close call: ... but KwaZulu is not out of the woods yet. Finance Week, vol. 61, no. 4, 21 April 1994, p. 14 - 16.
Comments on the announcement that Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will participate in both the national and regional elections but warns that problems in the region are not over. Discusses various developments in the region, expects protracted animosities and highlights weaknesses within the ANC’s regions. Warns that the IFP may pursue a guerilla war within KwaZulu/Natal, should the IFP be defeated at the polls, and speculates on the outcome of an ANC defeat at the polls. (ISAP).

660 MAPHETO, Andrew and CARGILL, Jenny

Comments on the probable 'packed' activity in the run-up to the elections in the light of the results of surveys by the HSRC, for the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD). Notes unrealistic expectations and reactions to the issues of violence, political intolerance and free political activity. Other factors and facets of the political fabric to be considered include the role of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), regional matters, internal party dynamics and voter education. The article includes two 'boxes': "Where there's a will" (p.13) comments on the political will to deal with violence and the formation of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPF). "Natal : more than what it seems" (p.14) reflects the HSRC survey findings in the area on violence and on political choices and attitudes.

661 MARAIS, Hein

Focuses on the April 1994 election, the prevailing conditions, the appointment of the new cabinet and possible economic and labour policies of the new government. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29). Also listed as being published in Work in Progress, no. 97, July 1994, p. 3 - 9.

662 MARAIS, Hein and VICK, Chris
Assesses the strength of the ANC and outlines its campaign strategy. Notes the effects of violence on the party, especially in the townships, and the problems experienced in campaigning in rural areas. Finance and organization are troublesome, there is a reliance on Mandela’s persona, but the authors maintain that "victory, conclusive or not, lies tantalizingly close".

663 MARAIS, Hein

Comments critically on the NP election strategy, its attempts to enroll black support, on the reactions of white voters, and on the NP's confused campaign.

664 MARAIS, Hein

Argues that the violence level in the country is being used as an excuse for postponing the April election. The author identifies reasons for the violence, and states why it is necessary to curb both intimidation and violence and to proceed with the elections. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

665 MARAIS, Hein
Pinning the tail on the donkey. Work in Progress, April/May 1993, p. 16 - 19.

Examines the role and reliability of opinion polls in South African elections.

666 MARAIS, Hein

"In the elections on June 2 1999, South Africa's ruling party, the African National Congress, was returned to power with an increased majority. Hein Marais analyses the ANC's enduring appeal - despite the difficulties and shortcomings of the political transition -
and how it has consolidated its support in the last five years”. (Introduction). Contains a section, p.9 - 10, The 'myth' of non-delivery, indicating areas in which the ANC claim to have made good about sixty per cent of their election promises.

667 **MARAI\S, Hein**

Focuses on the possible effects of the right-wing political parties on the outcome of the April election. Also looks at the threat posed by the right wing to the new democracy in South Africa. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

668 **MARAI\S, Hein**

Considers the factors influencing voters in the forthcoming elections, the figures involved, the rural vote, and problems facing the ANC.

669 **MARCHING to Euphoria.** Style, July 1994, p. 40 - 42.

Some notes on the greatest party of South Africa. Reckons the election meant parties to many people including all those international journalists that were covering the elections and the inauguration ceremony. (ISAP).

670 **MARE, Gerhard and HAMILTON, Georgina**
Avoiding democracy at all costs. Work in Progress, No. 96, April/May 1994, p. 18 - 20.

Examines Inkatha's role in destabilizing the election process and explains the reasons for the party's opposition to democratically elected structures. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

671 **MATLA TRUST**
The Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) represents twenty seven non-partisan organizations working together on voter education to ensure that all citizens can take part in a free and fair election. Through the interaction of seven characters this production explains in simple terms the steps involved in the election process and the importance of making an informed choice.

672 MATLALA, P.

States the curtain will come down on apartheid at the end of April 1994 when voters go to polls in South Africa's first democratic election. Half of those voting will be from the rural areas and will be voting in localities with a long established political culture entrenched in patriarchy, patronage and intolerance. Reports on the voter education programmes contending with this legacy. (ISAP).

673 MATTES, Bob

Takes a look at some of the most important trends during the campaign for South Africa's first non-racial election which began shortly after 2 February 1990. (ISAP).

674 MATTES, Bob
Can the ANC top the 'Coleman Line'? Work in Progress, no. 95, February 1994, p. 8 - 10.

There are almost as many opinion polls as there are election promises, most of them predicting landslide victories for the ANC. Offers some guidance on how to make sense of all the numbers. (ISAP).

675 MATTES, Bob
Seeing ain't believing. Work in Progress, no. 95, February 1994, p. 9.

Provides quick hints on how to make sense of the crop of polls vying for your trust as April 27 approaches. Suggests that when reading or reporting poll results,
tough questions should be asked. (ISAP).

676 MATTES, Bob
The Western Cape hangover. Work in Progress, no. 96, April 1994, p. 8 - 9.

Reports on survey results which indicate that the National Party might control a strong regional government in the Western Cape Province after the election. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

677 MATTES, Robert

Presented to the symposium organized by the International Political Science Association, Research Committee on Politics and Ethnicity, in Johannesburg, South Africa, 11 to 13 July 1995. Title indicates subject.

678 MATTES, Robert, and others
ISBN : 0-300-06391-1

Begins with a survey of the unique 'political world' of the Western Cape that confronted political parties as they began their campaigns, next examines the campaign itself concentrating on the behaviour and strategic decisions of the political parties (ANC, NP, DP, FF and PAC) as well as on the extent to which that campaign was free and fair. The final section scrutinizes voters' reactions to the campaign. It is followed by copious notes and references (p.160 - 167). This (Chapter 5) is the result of a larger research project, and is co-authored by Hermann Giliomee and Wilmot James.
**679 MATTES, Robert, and others**


Analyses a series of post-1994 public opinion surveys to illustrate the electorate's changing views on the ANC's performance in government and how this impacts on their voting intentions. (Africa Institute).

**680 MATTES, Robert, and others**


Based largely on surveys carried out by Markinor, Opinion '99 and the Electoral Institute of South Africa, the authors evaluate government performance in five broad areas - economic growth, economic redistribution and equality, development and welfare, nation building and good government. They note the levels of popular approval overall, as well as on key issues. They discuss party identification, allegiances, voter support, the ANC's electoral strength (in 1994 and 1999) and the prospects for a consolidated democracy. The article includes eighteen graphs and diagrams.

**681 MATTES, Robert**


"IDASA's Public Information Centre is an information-gathering and policy-evaluation service that aims to enhance transparency, accountability and effectivity in government." This book, produced by one of its projects, the Public Opinion Service, is intended to provide ordinary citizens, civil society and political parties with basic information about the dynamics of partisan support in South Africa. It focuses on the
voting process and influences on the voters, long-term, medium-term, short-term and on future developments including the apparent role of race and ethnicity. Copiously supported by statistical tables and graphs. Data is based on a survey conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys (Cape Town) in 1994. Tables.

682 MATTES, Robert

Unpublished report to the HSRC 'Investigation into research methodology project'.

683 MATTES, Robert

Surveys the instrumental roles that opinion polls can and cannot play in influencing public opinion and the democratic process and reflects on problems surrounding them, specifically the extent of their neutrality. Notes their possible effects on both voters and political leaders. Concludes with a warning: "The uncritical acceptance of polling in South Africa by politicians and the media may merely introduce into the political process a new set of unelected, unaccountable figures claiming to speak for the public: those who design, execute, interpret and disseminate polls and polling data".

684 MATTES, Robert and GOUWS, Amanda

"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.

The authors themselves say: "We contend that while 'census' image may provide a useful description of elections in divided societies, as an explanation of individual voting behaviour in such cases, census theory suffers from a range of methodological and theoretical problems. This chapter examines this explanation in the case of South Africa's historic election of 1994." It points out drawbacks and conceptual flaws and argues that a fuller understanding of voting in South Africa requires individual-level data, contrasts the approaches of Black and White voters and their links with political parties and analyses the election. Thereafter follow sections on ascribed identity and the vote; ethnic and racial voters?; identity related motivations and partisan support; reason and judgment; and conclusions. The authors conclude that: "Voters' values and performance evaluations played key roles in voters' judgment, and were not set aside out of deference to group attachments to political parties", but admit that some subgroups e.g. IFP, FF and PAC contradict this. Tables are included.

685 MATTES, Robert and GOUWS, Amanda

Subject indicated by title.

686 MATTES, Robert

ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Mattes maintains that "how the elections were conducted and contested cannot be understood without reference to the negotiations that led to those
elections. In turn the first elections profoundly shaped those constitutional negotiations by casting a long retrospective shadow over the entire transition process”. He further maintains that the political parties’ positions were linked to their expected support from 1990 onwards. He analyses the key features of the campaigns and the election itself, the timing of it, the ground rules, the Constituent Assembly, interim government, power-sharing reactions of Inkatha, and NP concessions.

687 MATTES, Robert

The author, from the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, examines the roles played by race and ethnicity in voter behaviour and submits that these are very different from the assumption usually made of the congruency of race and vote. Topics discussed include voting in ‘divided societies’, voters judgments about political parties and their leaders and the role of liberation experience. The essay is designed to serve as a theoretical and conceptual start of a research project into motivational forces in the election. Note: on title-page “This is very much a working draft and not for attribution”.

688 MATTES, Robert

The manager of IDASA’s Public Opinion Service argues that a number of different developments in recent public opinion surveys show increasingly greater degrees of voter fluidity, and the potential for important shifts that could leave South Africa with a very different electoral landscape. Yet there are very real reasons to doubt the abilities of most opposition parties to take advantage of these developments. The article begins with a note on reading election polls, then discusses the concept of ‘partisan identification’, considers the ANC government’s performance and the multiple
opportunities presented to the opposition parties - NP, DP, UDM, IFP and PAC. He concludes: "Thus, the battle is waiting to be joined. While the ANC is sure to win, there are a relatively large share of voters out there who supported the ANC in 1994 but are less than enthusiastic about what has happened since then, and open to an alternative. If the results of the 1999 election come out as a repeat of 1994, or an even stronger ANC victory, the opposition parties have no one to blame but themselves". Includes tables for voting intentions 1994 - 1998, party identification 1994 - 1997, and party representation 1994.

689 MATTES, Robert

"This article looks at the political impact of the potential for violence in the Western Cape through the eyes of the Information Analysis Department of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for whom I worked during the April election". (Author's introduction). The fears of the IEC focused on the increase of gang activity, resurgence in taxi violence and gun-running, their possible links with political parties and possible effects on the election of April 1994. These concerns continue, and emerge as important post-election issues.

690 MBULI, Mzwakhe

Autobiographical poem. (NELM - Creative poems).

691 McDONALD, Andrew

Notes the role of overseas consultants in the campaign strategies of the ANC and the Conservative Party and comments upon tensions within the ANC itself.

692 McDONALD, David
How the West was won: the Coloured vote in the Western Cape. Southern Africa Report [Toronto], July 1994, p. 10 - 13.

Gives reasons for the National Party's resounding victory in the Western Cape. Fears by Coloured voters that they would lose their privileges are regarded as the main reason for the election outcome. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

693 McGREAL, Chris

A brief first hand account of Nelson Mandela voting at Ohlange High School, Inanda, and of the reactions of officials and spectators.

694 McMAHON, Edward R.

Looks at three sets of countries: elections under transitional governments, authoritarian governments managing democratization process, and countries where elections have not been held. Issues that played a role were voter registration, election administration, access to media, lack of nonpartisan domestic observers, restrictions on international observers. Also looks at election monitoring per se. (Annotated by Africa Institute).


Examines Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's position in the government in the light of Inkatha Freedom Party's objections to the manner in which the constitution is being written and the fact that the mediation issue is being ignored. Warns that Buthelezi received a firm undertaking regarding mediation from President Mandela and former President de Klerk before the 1994 general election.
Highlights specific criticisms. (ISAP).

696 MEREDITH, Martin

ISBN: 0-7493-1910-0

The author "analyzes the potent mix of high expectations and formidable problems faced by the new regime, examines the election campaign, portrays the leading political figures and their policies, assesses the voters' verdict, describes the new government's agenda and weighs up the prospects for peace and prosperity". (Publisher's introduction). The work is reviewed by D. Williams, in Financial Mail, vol. 132, no. 12, 17 June 1994, on p. 53. In this 'View of the Bridge' Williams applauds the author's use of sources, narrative style and perspicuous analysis of political events during South Africa's transition to democracy. He also highlights minor problems of emphasis.

697 MERLOE, Patrick


Excerpts taken from this work written by Patrick Merloe, Senior Associate for Election Processes, National Democratic Institute, include: Chapter 3. Election campaign access to the broadcast media, and Chapter 8. Guidelines for broadcast coverage of election campaigns in transitional democracies.

698 MERTEN, Marianne


The former prime minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, is to lead the Commonwealth observer team due to arrive in South Africa for the April elections. (Sardius).

699 MINNAAR, Anthony de Villiers


Subject indicated by title..

700 MINTY, Abdul S.

Unseen.

701 MIRACLE in Natal: revolution by ballot-box.

"This pamphlet is not an attempt to analyse the election in Natal or whether Inkatha should really have won, and it is not a catalogue of the errors of the IEC in the province. It is merely an attempt to inscribe something of that moment when for so many of us the world changed in a way that we could really feel and participate in. It was a moment that was filled with wonder and grace, a time of dreams and wishes and miracles". It illustrates the two senses in which the election in Natal was a miracle - in the sense that the province was preparing for war, and this was averted, and in the sense that the IEC did manage to produce an acceptable result. It is divided into two parts: Part 1: Voters, in which eleven voters’ experiences have been translated and transcribed by University of Durban-Westville anthropology students, and Part 2: Counters, in which three anthropologists describe their experiences and reactions. This "two-sided collection" seeks to preserve a small fraction of what was a common experience by giving expression to the voices of some of the participants. And in this it succeeds. Reviewed by D. Hemson in Alternation, vol. 2, no. 2, 1995, p. 217 - 219.

ISBN : 1-86806-105-1

Unseen, but topics are said to include the political situation and developments, political parties,
leadership, reporters and reporting, pre-election violence, right wing activities, negotiations, and the elections.

703 MKHONDO, Rich
ISBN : 0-85255-364-1

Outlines CODESA's first plenary session and the hopes and disappointments linked to this first move towards democratization. The author examines the leadership of both De Klerk and Mandela. Thereafter he focuses on the violence, possible security force participation and right-wing opposition. The ANC's efforts to transform itself from a liberation movement to a political party, Inkathagate, and the effects of the referendum are discussed. Finally, the countdown to an interim government and the first non-racial election are reviewed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

ISBN : 0-620-1906-1

Title from caption. "Collector's item" on cover. Extracts taken from Sunday Times ed. of 24th April, 1994, on colophon.

705 MOFFETT, H.

Reflects on the way women are presented in the South African media during the pre-election period. Alleges that the media collaborates with sexism. Urges women to use the April 1994 election to create a space for women in government. Includes a box: "How to lobby".

706 MOLEFE, Popo

Explains the ANC's election campaign and assesses
the party's chances in a general election. Topics discussed include funding, fund-raising, and the party's hopes for a two-thirds majority.

707 MOLEFE, T. and GQUBULE, D.
How the wheels will turn; R40 boost for economy; What each party stands for; All set for one big party; The long walk to Presidency, Elections. Enterprise, no. 75, April 1994, p. 68,71,74-75,77....

Provides information on the April 1994 elections and also outlines the policies of the various political parties. Illustrates with photographs. (ISAP).

708 MOLEFE, T. and NYATSUMBA, K.


709 MOLLER, Valerie and HANF, Theodor

The authors assess the impact of voter education on voting behaviour before, during and after the elections. The results were derived from a survey conducted in June and July 1994 among 2219 South Africans. According to the survey, voter education was successful, as it 'reacted' most voters before the elections, thanks to a wide range of voter educators. The education was perceived to be non-partisan in most instances.

710 MOLLER, Valerie

Examines public perceptions of material well-being through service delivery during the past post-election year. Looks at general levels of life satisfaction among South Africans. (ISAP).
For the first time, black and white South Africans have registered equal levels of happiness and satisfaction. The challenge is to sustain these good feelings by delivering better material conditions for all. (Journal summary). The article includes a description of election euphoria, and tables of 'quality of life' trends.

Subject indicated by title.

Examines public perceptions of material well-being and life satisfaction eighteen months after the first democratic elections. Concludes that the euphoric mood recorded immediately after the elections has disappeared. (ISAP).

Describes the low-key role played by the PAC and its dismal election results. Its leadership and lack of a political programme are some of the reasons for its failure. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

An anecdotal account by the chief programme officer of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa
on conditions encountered in the East Rand township of Katlehong during election days 27 and 28 April 1994, of problems and their resolution, of frustrations and positive response.

716 MORRIS, M.

Examines challenges facing the media following the 1994 general election including the need to maintain pressure to ensure the refinement of the Bill of Rights, to campaign for a Freedom of Information Act, to ensure that the administration remains transparent and to protect the freedom of expression and the freedom of the press. (ISAP).

717 MORRIS, Mike and HINDSON, Doug

If a new government in KwaZulu/Natal is unable to portray the election that renders it the victor as legitimate, it will be hamstrung in dealing with violence. (Journal abstract). Against the background of the turn to negotiation the author outlines twelve new forms of violence, discusses its prospects in the build-up to elections, analyses its roots and describes its probable future role in the administrative situation in KwaZulu/Natal.

718 MOSES, William F.

Presents information on the transitional Independent Electoral Commission, the possible election turnout, monitoring activities of both the Commission and foreign observers. The issue of violence is seen as a stumbling block in holding free and fair elections. The participation of the Freedom Alliance and the role played by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are aspects examined. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl, 29).

719 MOTOR industry: lost opportunity. Financial Mail,
Looks at increased demand for motor vehicles by the United Nations and the Independent Electoral Commissions (IEC) prior to the election, looks at difficulties encountered by motor manufacturers in supplying orders and notes the demand for instant delivery and conditions of sale. Comments on the effect of strikes on production. (ISAP).

720 **MSENGANA-NDLELA, Lindiwe** and **KILPERT, Richard**


721 **MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS.**

Comprises the Technical Committee’s reports: - 1st interim report 13 May 1993; 2nd report on the Independent Electoral Commission Act 21 May 1993; 3rd report 3 June 1993, as a result of written submissions (to the Committee); 4th report 11 June 1993, also as a result of written submissions.

722 **MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS**

Unseen.

723 **MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS.**
1993, 4 p.+ 29 p.

Includes the Fifth draft. Independent Electoral Commission Act, 30 August 1993. The Ad Hoc Committee, working in conjunction with the Task Force were asked to make recommendations to resolve differences and to simplify the Bill. The 5th Draft presents a substantial revision. The memorandum lists twenty three changes made.

724 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS.
Negotiating Council. Technical Committee on an Independent Electoral Commission

Various versions, October - November 1993. 2nd, 15 October; 3rd, 3 November 1993 (clauses 2 - 42); 4th, 8 November (clauses 1 - 41); 5th, 11 November; 6th, 15 November; 7th, 16 November; 8th, 26 November; 9th and final version, 29 November - "To regulate the elections for the National Assembly and all provincial legislatures to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith".

725 MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS.
Negotiating Council. Technical Committee on an Independent Electoral Commission

Title varies. Sometimes, Independent Electoral Commission Bill: draft. 1st draft, 21 May 1993 - "To provide for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission to assume responsibility for the conduct, supervision, monitoring and evaluation of national elections. 2nd draft 14 July 1993; 3rd draft 17 August 1993; 4th draft 25 August 1993; 5th draft 30 August 1993; 6th and final draft 31 August 1993 reads - "Bill to make provision for the conduct of free and fair elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature contemplated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa ..."
MULTINATIONAL PANEL APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE CURBING OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE FORTHCOMING SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION
ISBN : 0-7969-1539-3

This book is the testimony of the Panel, submitted to the Commission at a public hearing in Cape Town on 11 August 1993. It reflects the full range of the Panel's discussion, including both issues that relate more broadly to the overall structure of the election and those that have direct bearing on the problems of violence. The issues that are discussed include the role and composition of the Independent Electoral Commission, voter education, the scheduling of the election, the voting process, and the counting of ballots, as well as more obviously pertinent questions relating to the role of the police, the role of the international monitors and observers, and the management of campaign demonstrations. The Panel made more than fifty recommendations. Some of the more important recommendations are that the election should be held on one day only, that the Independent Electoral Commission should consist of only South African members, that a Peacekeeping Service should be established, and that rigorous voter education should get under way as soon as possible. (Publishers introduction). Appendix I: Members of the Multinational Advisory Panel; Appendix II: Media Release; Appendix III: List of submissions; Appendix IV: Summary of recommendations; Appendix V: Glossary of acronyms; Panel appointed by the Goldstone Commission in 1992.
Mr. Charles F.C. Ruff, Chairman. The panel created on March 8 1993 to enquire into ways and means of curbing violence and intimidation during the election, convened in Johannesburg from 23 - 26 June, received submissions and held discussions concerning the minimization of violence before, during and after the election, and again in Cape Town at the beginning of August. The report reflects their discussions. Its analysis and recommendations cover the election process (the IEC, party registration, voter identification, voter education, campaign regulation, balloting, tabulating, certifying and the post-election period); monitors and observers; policing and law enforcement and the role of the Commission of Inquiry. Appendix I: Members of the Multinational Advisory Panel; Appendix II: Media Release; Appendix III: List of submissions.


Comments on evidence of fraudulent completion of voter registration forms in ANC metropolitan strongholds in the Western Cape and looks at problems in this region during the general election campaign in 1994. (ISAP).

MURIUKI, G.

Book review of a political history by R.H. du Pre. Traces the political history of the Coloured community from the 17th Century to present. Discusses the legislation that culminated in their forced separation from other communities during the Apartheid era and the devastating effect that this had on their social structure. Explains the 1994 voting into power of their oppressors, the National Party, rather than the ANC. Reviewer critical of a lack of factual support for certain statements and absence of an exploration of racism among Coloureds. (ISAP).

MURPHY, John, and others


731 MURPHY, John

This chapter examines the role played by electoral commissions in the management of free and fair elections. Its main purpose is to outline the legal framework within which electoral commissions operate. It studies the structures and functions of commissions, their appointment and composition, staffing, powers, legislative functions, jurisdiction and suitability as models for South Africa. Concludes that a pro-active electoral commission offers the means of inculcating faith in the electoral process.

732 MURPHY, Mike

"This article reflects firstly on the ANC-COSATU relationship during the Alliance stage. It then considers their relationship in the next, the Reconstruction and Development (RDP) stage. Economic and political challenges will confront old Alliance partners in a new South Africa which is subject to the geo-economics of the post Cold War period". (Introduction). The guest
editor of the South African Labour Bulletin argues that although the ANC and COSATU could drift apart in the post-election period, the arguments for constructing a consensus conducive to social peace will be very compelling.

733 **MURRAY, Martin J.**

The objective of this book is to explain the nature and character of the current political transition in South Africa and to establish the inner connections between the rise of post-apartheid parliamentary democracy and the 'dead weight' of embedded structural continuities left over from the past. As such, the analysis is guided by three logically distinct but overlapping antinomies: continuity and change; organization and spontaneity; and surface appearances and structural underpinnings.

Contents: introduction - shifting political alignments in the twilight of apartheid rule - the fateful bounty of apartheid - on the edge of extinction: black South Africa in town and country - destabilizing and counter-revolutionary warfare - the roots of political violence - the political spectrum - the trade unions and the working class - civic associations and popular democracy - the brokered eclipse of white minority rule. Postscript: entering the political kingdom. (ASC Leiden abstract). This work is a sequel to: South Africa: time of agony, time of destiny.

734 **MUTHIEN, Yvonne**

Chapter 2 examines the extent of democratic consolidation on the eve of the election, through the prism of public perceptions. The chapter examines a number of key indicators of democratic consolidation including public support for democracy, public optimism about the future, deracialisation, gender equality and the strength of civil society. (Introduction). The author
concludes "that the new state contains both the seeds of repression and the seeds democratic maturity. The key pillars of a formal democracy, embedded in the twin imperatives of transformation and development are in place, but the sustainability of democratic behaviour is not guaranteed. South Africa has made a good start... Given the scale of operations, the tight time frames and lack of experience, the first democratic election was an extraordinary feat of human resolve, dedication and bold spirit, borne out of passion to deliver freedom, justice and democracy to the entire nation". The article includes figures and diagrams.

735 MUTHIEN, Yvonne and KHOSA, Meshack

Reports on South Africa's final provincial boundaries which were drawn by experts but political parties tinkered with them behind closed doors. Includes maps. (Africa Institute).

736 MVOKO, Vuyo
The ballot's been the bullet for the PAC. Weekly Mail & Guardian, vol. 10, no. 18, 6 - 12 May 1994, p. 4.

The Pan Africanist Congress' poor showing has taken the party's leaders by surprise. Deputy President Johnson Mlambo suggests reasons for this - the lack of money to run an election, the failure of the IEC to act on irregularities, and the desire of foreign observers to have the election declared 'free and fair' at all costs. He dismisses the idea that members of the PAC might have boycotted the election because of the suspension of the armed struggle. A change in strategy is needed.

737 MVOKO, Vuko

'COSATU will start a two-week strike if its demand for the deployment of the Defence Force and National Peacekeeping Force in Natal is not met.' Its "Defend Peace and Democracy" campaign is to last from 11 - 24 April. Other resolutions taken at a recent COSATU
conference are included in this brief article.

738 **MYAKAYAKA - MANZINI, Mavivi**

Examines the effects of the election of women members to the National Assembly (109) and to the Senate (8), as a consequence of the April 1994 elections, and of government policy on women’s issues.

739 **NASH, Andrew**

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".


Comments on implications of the election of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma as candidate for the Natal regional premiership in terms of Natal's part in mainstream politics and anticipates Zuma's role in facilitating reconciliation in Natal. (ISAP).


Considers the position of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the anti-election alliance has crumbled and comments on various political statements by the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini. States that the Zulu king has not made a declaration of independence or secession and contends that
Buthelezi will settle for a delayed election in KwaZulu/Natal. Looks at implications of this decision in terms of the Electoral Act. (ISAP).

**742 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

This paper examines essential principles and issues used to evaluate elections. Part One provides a generalized synthesis of election standards. It identifies the important issues and factors to consider in the process of evaluating an election. Part Two lists provisions contained in major international human rights instruments. Part Three presents selected case studies from the growing body of election assessments out of which an unofficial "common law" of election standards is being developed. Directly and indirectly, each of these case studies illustrates some aspect of the methodology, issues and/or reasoning employed in evaluating the component parts of an election process. Evaluation case studies include relevant excerpts from NDI election reports on Cameroon, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Zambia. Paper written by Michael D. Stoddand, NDI's Assistant Counsel for Election Processes, with comments and editing by Patrick Merbe.

**743 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Includes guidelines for analysis of electoral process, voter registration and election administration, political parties, election campaign, election day, and video presentation.

**744 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**
Uneven paths: advancing democracy in Southern
"This publication presents the proceedings of an historic colloquium sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) at Mount Etjo, Namibia, in January 1992. NDI convened representatives of all major political parties from the nine countries in the Southern African region engaged in transition towards multiparty democratic systems. The 60 delegates conferred with political party and labor leaders, lawyers, judges, academics, journalists and elections technicians from Europe, the Western Hemisphere and other regions of Africa. They examined key constitutional and institutional aspects of the electoral process including the role of election commissions, political parties, the media and international observers. (Extracted from 'Acknowledgements'). Also contains sections on the rule of law, the pros and cons of voter registration, a Code of Conduct, the role of the non-governmental organizations, and women in politics. Compiled by Padraig O'Malley, with editorial assistance from Carol Lynn Martin.

745 NATIONAL PARTY

Supplement to the Sunday Times, "compiled and edited in its entirety by the National Party", celebrating the achievements of the National Party at the Multi-party Negotiating Process. Includes information on the transitional government, on provincial powers, on South Africa's transitional constitution and on the party's policies for the 1994 election.

746 NATIONAL PARTY

Coloured illustrated news-sheet, compiled by Daryl Swanepoel and Juli Coetzer; contributions multilingual, but mainly in English. Encourages voters to oppose the ANC and the Freedom Front, and to support a changed National Party.
Based on the Party's Programme of Principles, the manifesto sets out its vision for a 'New South Africa' and explains its aims - peace, security, non-racial democracy, federalism, justice, freedom, protection of rights, job creation, decent, affordable and efficient education, health care and social services, a thriving economy with equal opportunities for all and freedom of religion. Also published in Afrikaans as: "Nasionale Party manifes".

"Sets out the policies and goals as well as values for which the National Party stands. It reflects the essence and basic philosophies of the party". NP policy is set out fully in seven sections: I. Constitutional, II. Economic activities, III. Social, IV. Security, V. Cultural, VI. Foreign affairs, VII. The civil service. It presents a programme for renewal shedding all forms of discrimination and racism, based on a set of principles adopted at its four Provincial Congresses in 1992. Annexure I: Manifesto for the New South Africa. Annexure II: Programme of principles. Also published in Afrikaans as: "Nasionale Party. Nasionale Party Beleid".

Election leaflets issued by the NP includes: For your place in the sun; The future is at your feet; Korrupsie is soos 'n dief in die nag …; Letter from Roelf Meyer, Negotiations you've won! ; Now is the time to make the change; Now is the time to make your choice; "Please stop the violence"; Pleased to meet you…, I'm the new National Party; South Africa is changing: we've made the change; Where can you vote?
750 NATIONAL PEACE CONVENTION

Text of the Accord, signed on the 14th of September 1991 at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, creating a network of peace structures and dispute resolution committees across the country, under supervision, with the task of monitoring political activities and resolving crises quickly. Its stated aim: "To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal". Set out in ten Chapters: Principles; Code of Conduct for political parties and organizations; Security Forces: general provisions; Security Forces: police Code of Conduct; Measures to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development; Commission of Enquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation; National Peace Secretariat, Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committee; National Peace Committee; Enforcing the Peace Agreement between parties; Special criminal courts.


Discusses the collapse of the NPKF at De Brug training camp despite advice given by various authorities about the viability of such a force and whether it will play an effective peacekeeping role during the 27 April 1994 elections. (Sardius).


Focuses on the National Peacekeeping Force. Initially, an interpretative history of the NPKF is presented. Thereafter, the authors analyse violence on the East Rand from 1990 to April 1994, when the NPKF was deployed in Katorus. A representative sample of
Katorus residents were interviewed and expressed their perceptions of the Force. These results are published. In conclusion, the report explains why the NPKF failed where the SADF succeeded. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

753 **NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY**

Submitted: 8 June 1993.

754 **NCHOLO, Paseka**

Discourses on the nature of this right, its history in South Africa and the legal factors involved in the conferring of it - eligibility, citizenship, marriage, naturalization, residency, age and disqualifications. Queries the necessity for voter registration. Concludes that all South African citizens should be entitled to vote.

755 **NDEBELE, Njabulo S.**

Category: essays, autobiographical writing by literary figures. (NELM).

756 **NEFOLOVHODWE, Pandelani**

The Deputy President expresses AZAPO's views on the election process, emphasizing the need for international supervision, a peace keeping force and measures against corruption. He also comments on various constitutional matters.
757 **NELAN, Bruce W.**

Focuses on the State of Emergency which was declared in Natal after widespread violence and a threat of civil war. The Inkatha Freedom Party's unwillingness to participate in elections is also discussed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

758 **NELAN, Bruce W.**

Based on reports from Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, Nelan correlates journalists' views on the "astonishingly peaceful" election, Black expectations, the ANC's five-year plan, the cost of this, accountability, problems facing the incoming government, and the threat of violence. Includes a box on 'The ugly fight for White rights'.

759 **NEW era:** Mandela takes charge after thirty years of White rule. *Weekly Review*, 13 May 1994, p. 34 - 44.

Several articles focus on the election process, the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela, speeches at the inauguration, the new cabinet and the interim constitution. (Sardius).

760 **A NEW last outpost?** *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 1, 1 April 1999, p. 50.

This forecast of the results of the election in the Western Cape, based on the survey conducted there in February 1994 by Market and Opinion Surveys for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD), includes comments on and interpretations of the results of the survey by various political analysts. It provides percentages and predicts a win for the National Party (NP).

761 **The NEW South Africa.** *Black Scholar*, vol. 24, no. 2, Summer 1994, p. 2 - 47.

Covers the "First all race elections in 1994, the
Reconstruction and Development Program, and roles of the African National Congress and the conservative Afrikaners; nine articles". (PAIS). Includes tables.

762 **NICE** while it lasted. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 6, 6 May 1994, p. 47.

Documents the "virtual annihilation" of minor parties and speculates on the number of seats a few of them may win.


Lists the political parties that have registered for the election, but focuses especially on the stance of the Freedom Alliance. The parties of the Alliance have not registered, but might still do so. Considers their prospects in the election should they decide to take part in it.

764 **NJANANA, Rhoda**


Against the background of continuing violence and Chief Buthelezi's refusal to participate in the elections, the writer predicts harmonious post-election conditions. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

765 **NOLLER, J.F.**


Unseen.

766 **NUPEN, Charles**


"This paper explores the role of election authorities in the context of the measures needed to enable them to function in an impartial manner and earn the requisite
degree of legitimacy to deliver free and fair elections*. The author draws on his experience as a member of South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission to illustrate his arguments with descriptions of the situation in South Africa in 1994 regarding electoral law and the role, functions and responsibilities of the Independent Electoral Commission.

767 **NZIMANDE, Blade**

States that much of Inkatha's success in the April elections in Natal can be attributed to fraud. However, the aim of the paper is to contribute towards strategic discussions concerning the post-election political situation in the province. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. No.29).

768 **NZIMANDE, Blade**

Buthelezi's struggle for the recognition of the Zulu Kingdom is in fact an attempt by him to retain political power in a democratic South Africa without going through a democratic election. This is the real agenda behind the protection of the Zulu Kingdom from the IFP's (Inkatha Freedom Party's) point of view. The author argues that this question is not being adequately dealt with by the national liberation movement. It is necessary to understand the IFP in class terms, and to focus on the role of the chieftaincy and the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie in the Bantustans. ANC's strategy and tactics must be sharp enough to cut through Inkatha's Zulu nationalism by grasping the fact that what is essentially at stake is the defence of the class interests of a bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie fearing the impending democratic transformation of the country. (ASC Leiden abstract).

769 **O'MALLEY, Padraig**
"Reflections on the miracle". In: The PEOPLE's voices: views on attitudes on democracy. An analysis of public opinion surveys conducted throughout Southern Africa,
"This essay examines the findings of a number of public opinion surveys reports carried out between September 1992 and October 1998 with a view to ascertaining the dynamics behind the transition in South Africa and to probing the nature of transitions in emerging democracies to see whether there are conclusions we can draw and lessons we can learn that can be applied to other countries undergoing similar transformations". The author pinpoints and discusses the socio-political issues raised by the responses to the following surveys: the September 1992 Focus Groups; the August 1993 HSRC survey; the November/December 1994 Focus Groups; the June/July 1996 HSRC OMNIBUS survey; the November/December 1996 FGR; the October 1998 FGR; Opinion'99; the October 1998 Suzman Foundation poll. His analyses are followed by his afterthoughts on the political situation and the support for democracy as reflected in the pre-1999 election findings.

770 O'MALLEY, Padraig


This publication, issued ahead of the elections by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, is intended to serve as a context for those who are observing, studying and evaluating the electoral process. Contents cover: The negotiation process, The Interim Constitution, The Transitional Executive Council, Constitutional principles, The electoral framework, Violence, The economy, and Political actors. Appendices include the Harare Declaration, Regional map, Voting and seats per province, Voting population by racial groups, Voting population by province and racial groups, National sample ballot paper.

771 O'MALLEY, Padraig

"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.


Two election observers from a delegation mounted by OXFAM-Canada give their impressions of the atmosphere, problems and euphoria experienced during the South African elections in Natal. Contents: 'An Empangeni journal', by Linda Slavin, reports on the actual voting in Empangeni and the counting of the ballots, and 'The Natal exception', by Marlea Clarke, notes that it was in Natal that the election process experienced the greatest difficulties, by far - "Prior to the IFP's entry into the race, its position was to actively oppose the election through various forms of intimidation, violence and prohibition".


Editorial reflecting a Canadian view of relations between the ANC and Canada and the possible consolidation of ties between them. Considers the ANC's future prospects and reports on view expressed
by Albie Sachs in Toronto regarding Canadian “critical support” and the future role of activists.

774 OMOND, Roger
Socrates would have done it better. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May 1994, p. 10.

Colourful description of the situation at the Greek polling station in Marousi (a suburb of Athens) where overseas South Africans battled to vote, and overwhelmed officials struggled with a lengthy queue and dedicated enthusiasm. An estimated 1,500 had cast their votes by 3 pm, nevertheless voting hours had to be extended to midnight.


Quotes figures and percentage from the second regional opinion survey conducted by Data Research Africa, for the Launching Democracy Project, sponsored by the MPD (Institute for Multi-Party Democracy) and the HSRC. Findings of this ‘demographically representative poll’ indicate a fairly even division between pro- and anti-ANC support in KwaZulu/Natal with the ANC having the edge. Speculates on the consequences of the boycott and claims that Inkatha have lost nearly 25% of its mainstay black support. Notes a surprising amount of enthusiasm for President F.W. de Klerk.


‘Buthelezi and the election’. Investigates the possibilities of Inkatha participating in the 27 April general election. Reports on talks being held regarding international mediation on constitutional matters, and on the present violence. Notes logistical problems facing the Independent Electoral Commission and examines the options facing Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Includes comments by Robert Schrire and Ian Philips.

777 OZINSKY, Max and RASOOL, Ebrahim
Developing a strategic perspective for the Coloured areas in the Western Cape. *African Communist*, no.
A discussion document covering demographic issues including socio-economic features of the Coloured community, religion, culture and group identity. Describes the partial success only of the Communist Party in organizing the community, and its relations with the African National Congress in the pre-election period.


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

779 **PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**


1994 election material includes poster: "The land first, all shall follow," and badge: Clarence Makwethu, the Africans' hope. The manifesto claims to identify the key problems facing our people, which they promise to address as a matter of urgency when given the mandate to do so. Contents: Violence; The Land-Izwe Lethu; A Caring economy; Affirmative action; Workers' rights; Housing; Education; Health; Last word - a brief history of the PAC. Includes a list of offices of the PAC.

780 **PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**


781 **PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**


This policy document focuses on land redistribution as a fundamental constitutional issue. The land question is examined under the following heads: the land question and the national liberation in Azania; the present structure of an agrarian sector; land reform strategy; redistribution; mechanisms for selection of beneficiaries; systems of tenure; state intervention and agrarian transformation; other productive land and activities; urban transformation; institutional framework for land reform; conservation; conclusion. The election campaign of the PAC was largely fought on this issue.

Outlines their "rationale for regionalism" and their policy for regionalization and federalization of the state.

Outlines the policy of the PAC on violence, the land questions, housing, economy and jobs, affirmative action, workers, education and health. Major emphasis is laid on the return of the land.

Document 1/91 represents "a broad indication of ideas and direction of PAC's transport policy".

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 demographies 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".


Discusses parliamentary proceedings in which MPs were sworn in and comments on the election of Nelson Mandela as President and Frene Ginwala as Speaker. Quotes from Mandela's address on Cape Town's Grand Parade, in which he stressed reconciliation. (ISAP).


Provides percentages and figures for the number of seats held in the National Assembly and the Senate, by the different political parties, as at 15 August 1995. Table. No text. Source: http://www.universal.ul/users/derksen/election/home-afr.htm


Reflects the public's closeness to and alienation (distance) from various political parties. (ISAP).


Reflects South Africa's choice of leader and feelings of sympathy towards and alienation from the various political parties. (ISAP).

Latest data showing the public's support of, or alienation from, the major political parties. (ISAP).

792 PATERSON, Lynette

Brief report on the Black Sash's voter-education workshops, including a teaching play by Glenn Hollands.


Summarizes the visions and expectations of the six major political parties concerning post-1994 election developments in South Africa.

794 PEARCE, Justin

Provides a personal account of conditions at a mobile polling station in the sparsely populated Northern Cape and reactions of 'Coloured' farm workers to the electoral process. Opinions expressed by political parties seeking the support of Coloured voters at the municipal voting station in Sutherland are quoted.


Several articles, focusing on South Africa's first democratic elections, when more than 21 million people were eligible to vote. Articles by Hein Marais and Andrew McDonald are separately indexed.


Comments on the non-delivery on election promises
and the RDP of the ANC government and highlights various other examples of misgovernance and skewed priorities. Criticizes the attendance on demands by trade unions, stresses that South Africa should play a leadership role in Africa and notes the benefits of economic growth to the population. (ISAP).

797 PEREIRA, Paul

Lists and gives brief details of twenty-four incidents of violence and coercion between October 1993 and January 1994. Promises future regular updates of possible events that could impede free and fair elections.

798 PEREIRA, Paul

Speculates on reasons why voters supported the Democratic Party, analyzes the party's situation in 1994 - 'in philosophical disarray' - and the reasons for its poor showing at that time, and argues that its internal disputes, focusing on the nature and role of liberalism, refined its policies and contributed to its subsequent growth and success.

799 PFISTER, Roger

Thesis. The killing of at least 13,000 South Africans (99% of them being black) during the four years preceding the April 1994 democratic elections constitutes a form of conflict perceived as black-on-black violence. In this thesis the author examines "why which of the numerous perceptions were advocated by whom, with what background and with what political intention, and also in what way these perceptions are connected with the democratization process". He argues that it was some of these perceptions that significantly influenced the course of the political
progress. He outlines the political events, focusing on the negotiation process, the extent of the violence and the four dominant perceptions concerning the causes of the violence. Finally he concludes: "It is hardly exaggerated to say that it was first the 'black-on-black violence' and then the 'Third Force' perception which decisively influenced the negotiations process".


Presents an overview of the 'lesser parties', listing eighteen of them, and summarizing their policies and agendas.

801 PIENAAR, P.A.

Unpublished ms.

802 PIPER, Lawrence and PIPER, Steven

This is a first draft of the paper presented to the South African Political Studies Association Conference: Not to be quoted without permission. "The victory of the IFP in the 1994 election in KwaZulu-Natal appears to redeem its claim to an ethnically-justified federal state. But just how important was Zulu ethnicity in the election? Not only do events leading up and during the election cast doubt on the outcome, but the general pattern they reflect does not redeem the IFP's claims concerning Zulu ness and politics. Simply put, ethnicity was not a good predictor of party preference with Zulu-speaking people divided roughly 60:40 between the IFP and ANC. A better predictor appeared to be the rural-urban divide, with some evidence that ethnicity was a useful indicator within rural areas. However, not only are there exceptions to these general trends, but they do not explain political party affiliation in and of themselves."
For this we must turn to the history of political competition between the IFP and ANC, tracing how conflict in the province spiralled into a process political cleansing where authority was asserted in spatial terms through control of local areas. Only insofar as it contributes to the ‘regime of power’ of the IFP, its political style and its institutional and discursive dimensions, does ethnicity contribute to an understanding of political allegiance. In brief then, it is argued that, despite the ethnic rhetorical flourishes by both IFP and ANC prior to the election, the basic pattern of political allegiance was already established, and the political styles of the two parties remained largely unaffected”. (Abstract).


The Financial Mail Board of Economists reply to questions posed by Raymond Parsons reflecting the importance of the general election to economic policy. Replies, by Aubrey Dickman (Wits Business School), Ronnie Bethlehem (JCI), and Charles Simpkins (Professor of Political Economy at Wits) cover a wide spectrum: topics include the ANC’s economic approach, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) - its benefits to the economy and specific significant aspects - the possible influence of other political parties, restructuring government spending, reduction of the tax burden, exchange control, the National Economic Forum, violence and investment.

804 **POGRUND, Benjamin**


ISBN : 0-864-6-276-8

Gives a chronological description of the election from 26 April 1994 to 29 April 1994. Relates anecdotes and specific incidents from across South Africa.

805 The **POLICIES**, perceptions, positions, postures, powers, preferences, principles, programmes,
promises, prophecies, proposals and prospects of political parties. *Barometer on Negotiation*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1994, p. 6 - 9; 18.

Major political parties reply to questions concerning post-election expectations and problems.


Reports on negotiations which took place in South Africa during the period mid-December 1993 to mid-February 1994. The successes achieved at the multi-party negotiations process were totally overshadowed by the continued negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and NP during this period of review. Outlines the 15 chapters and 7 schedules of the Interim Constitution. Also briefly outlines the chapters of the Electoral Act. (ISAP).

**807** POLL watchers hail from near and far. *Democracy in Action*, vol. 8, no. 2, 15 April 1994, p. 11.

Sketches the roles of election observers and monitors in general terms and then, more specifically, their functions in a South African context.


This 'Election Brief' argues that the provision of a double ballot, with separate papers for the National Assembly and the nine Provincial Legislatures, will boost the chances of smaller parties with strong regional backing. Explains the amended situation, in terms of the constitution, the calculation of seats, the advantages of proportional representation and the implications for voters.

**809** POSSIBLE criteria for determining whether the election was substantially free and fair. N. p: n. pub, 1994?, 7 leaves.

Lists thirty eight relevant questions to be answered, grouped in three categories: 1. Did all parties have the equal chance to canvass all potential voters? 2. Did all
potential voters have the opportunity to vote and to vote for whom they wanted? 3. Was the conduct of the voting, counting, and application of the tallies conducted properly in accordance with law? Attached: Scenario One, Two and Three.


Cover title: The 1994 election and prison violence: prison managers views. Project leader: Willem Schurink, Focus Area for Crime and Related Studies in collaboration with: Division for Socio-Political Monitoring and Analysis of the HSRC. This is the final report to the Department of Correctional Sciences who commissioned the research.


Gives advice on how to deal with problems (affecting industrial relations) arising as a result of the general election. (ISAP).


Comments on the current popularity of the ANC, in spite of division within the party, addresses immediate pressing problems of government which the ANC must face and notes the importance of Nelson Mandela's personal prestige. Focuses on the other political parties and their aims, stresses the importance of a new government's centrist character and speculates on a split within the ANC. Outlines issues at stake during the election of 1994. (ISAP).

813 POTTIE, David
The first five years of provincial government. In: ELECTION '99: South Africa from Mandela to Mbeki, edited by Andrew Reynolds. Cape Town: David Philip,
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.

POTTIE, David

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.

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.


Encourages women to vote for a South Africa free from gender discrimination. Emphasizes that their votes are their own, and the ballot secret. Describes the role of the Independent Electoral Commission and explains the procedure for reporting threats or intimidation.

817 **POWERS, Cathy**


A personal account of the frustrations experienced by electoral officers and voters in Alberton in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, and other places on the East Rand, over the failure of supplies to polling stations, and the disruptions causes by these delays.

818 **POWERS, Cathy**


The author sought out a dozen known names and questioned them concerning their political allegiance and attitude to voting. Eight responses are quoted, most from the world of entertainment.

819 **PREDICABLE** vote from the press. *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, vol. 10, no. 17, 29 April - 5 May, p. 17.

Brief report on the stances taken by South African newspapers in endorsing political parties. "The bulk of the English press backed the Democratic Party, the Afrikaans press voted against the ANC and those
papers that identified with the liberation struggle backed "liberation" parties".

820 PREECE, Howard
ANC's inheritance. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 4, 21 - 27 April 1994, p. 10; 12.

Presents a "non-partisan audit" on the South African economy at the time of the 1994 election, and considers its prospects under an ANC government - "pluses and minuses of the SA economy as it moves towards fundamental change of political control".

821 PREECE, Howard

Appraises the ANC's draft Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and its significance for business, treating it as a major policy statement, on economic and social issues, of the next government. Selects major points and discusses the possible consequences of their implementation. Concludes "business should read ANC programme with utmost care".

822 PREECE, Howard

Discusses best money management options in the period before the end of the April elections, in the context of the economic and financial policies likely to be pursued by the ANC in government, as these are revealed in its draft Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).


Reports on Sach's visit to Toronto as a member of the African National Congress's Constitutional Committee and on his presentation of the ANC's preparations for the elections themselves and on the organization of its campaigns. Discusses South Africa's transition to
democracy, the ANC’s conversion from a liberation movement to a political party, its drafting of a code of conduct, socio-economic policy making and current constitutional negotiations.


As the possibility for fair and free elections emerge, the urgent need for a prepared electorate is stressed.


Looks at the demands by various groups for voting rights in the 1994 elections for all prisoners, at the prison riots following the Transitional Executive Council’s decision that certain categories (defined in the Electoral Act) will not be allowed to vote, and at the issues surrounding the possible reversal of the TEC’s ruling.

826 PROFILE. Manuel Moutinho, President of LUSAP. N. p: [LUSAP], [1994 ?], 1 leaf.

Lists the personal details, career history, community involvement, and other achievements of the President of the Luso-South African Party that contested the 1994 election.

827 PROJECT VOTE

Focuses on voter education and the electoral process in South Africa. Coloured illustrations. (SANB).


Subject indicated by title.

829 PSOULIS, Christine

A researcher at the Sociology of Work Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand reports on a 1998 survey undertaken to assess the political attitudes of the labour movement, and of COSATU members in particular, towards the forthcoming 1999 elections. Covers the method and the sample, the people surveyed, union democracy and political democracy. Draws comparisons with a similar 1994 survey where a similar technique was used. Concludes: "The research has shown once again that there is a consistency and persistence of a commitment to participatory democracy in the workplace and an expectation that this will take place in the parliamentary arena as well". Tables and graphs.

830 **QWELANE, J.**

Discussion of the agreement reached between the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress before the 1994 general elections, to deal with outstanding constitutional matters through international mediation. (ISAP).

831 **QWELANE, J.**

Overview of the political, social and economic situation in South Africa since the 1994 elections. (ISAP).

832 **RAGHAVAN, S.**
Liberation for whom? Indians wonder where they fit. *Newsweek*, vol. 125, no. 6, 6 February 1995, p. 29.

Reports Indians think twice about their longstanding ties to the African National Congress (ANC) and even their future in South Africa. Relates that a poll for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy found that 71 percent of Indians voted for the National Party during South Africa’s first democratic elections. (ISAP).

Several articles on the South African democratic elections, the inauguration of the President and Muslim participation in the country's political life. (Sardius).

834 **RAKE, Alan**


Discusses the possibility of a civil war in South Africa where the chaos in Bophuthatswana was a grim warning. Tribal and racial confrontations abound, arms are freely available. (Sardius).

835 **RAKE, Alan**


Relates features and highlights of the April 1994 elections. As predicted, the ANC has a landslide victory, but now the real social challenges have to be addressed. (Sardius).

836 **RAMAPHOSA, Cyril**

Features interview with the ANC Secretary-General, by Jendayi Frazer. *Africa Today*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1994, p. 7 - 10.

Outlines the agenda and scope of problems which should be addressed by the post-election South Africa. (Sardius).

837 **RANDALL, E.**

Fighting fire with water. *Work in Progress*, no. 95, February 1994, p. 11.

Looks at what the prospects for peace are if Natal manages to have a free and fair election. Forecasts that Jacob Zuma will soon become Premier of Natal. Speaks to Jacob Zuma. Illustrates with a photograph. (ISAP)

838 **RANTETE, Johannes M.**
ISBN : 0-627-02329-0

Subject indicated by title.

839 REBEHN, Michael

ISBN : 3-928597-28-0

Written originally as a doctoral thesis at the Institute of Media Pedagogy for the Hochschule der Kuenste, Berlin, “this book shows how African, Coloured and Indian voters learned the fundamental concepts of democracy and the role of the state in the new South Africa, as well as the purely technical procedures of voting. But the interpretation also elucidates another successful learning process that was as important to make that miracle happen - their learning to trust democracy”. Chapters: 1. Introduction and theoretical considerations (Democratic change in South Africa, the need for trust in the democratic system, learning processes during the transition to a democracy, voter education in South Africa); 2. Democratic change as a communication challenge (The interim constitution, the institutions that implemented the transformation, the electoral law, voter education suppliers); 3. Educating first-time voters (Demographic profile, electoral profile, defining the target group, communications strategies for voter education); 4. Voter education in the mass media (Use of and trust in the media, television programmes, radio programmes, newspapers and magazines); 5. Voter education in direct contact (Training the trainers, workshops in practice, teaching materials, give-aways); 6 The outcome of the First General Elections (The run of the elections, preparation of first-time voters, voter education on two channels, election day); 7. Consolidating the democratic system (The establishment of a democratic conflict culture, the transition to an open society, communications towards citizenship, conclusions:


A photo-article on South Africa's preparations of the general election - views, interviews and description of voters' expectations. (Sardius).

841 REED, Daniel


842 REYNOLDS, Andrew

This article argues that a clear pattern is emerging which suggests that those countries which have institutional mechanisms which create an atmosphere of 'inclusion' are doing considerably better than the states which opted for structures with an exclusionary bent. When looked at under the microscope there is strong evidence to suggest that parliamentarism, proportional representation, and power-sharing structures provide the foundational level of inclusion needed by precarious divided societies to pull themselves out of the maelstrom of ethnic conflict and democratic instability. South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, and Sierra Leone contain elements of the inclusive typology and they have all significantly reduced the specter of political violence and represent the best hopes for democratic consolidation in Africa. (Author's abstract).

843 REYNOLDS, Andrew
This work deals with the region of the Southern Africa in relation to democratic consolidation, dynamic modes of representation, and the mitigation of ethnic (and regional) conflict. It starts with the premise that all three objectives are desirable (although not necessarily mutually dependent or exhaustive of all goals one might wish for a new democracy), and poses the question: "Which institutional arrangements will best facilitate effective representation, political stability and inter-ethnic accommodation in the emerging democracies of Southern Africa?" I seek to answer this question through a comparative analysis of the effect of institutional structures in five case study countries: Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. (Author's introduction). Chapter 6: PR case study election results ... examines the 1994 South African elections (p.182 - 190) under the headings transition to democracy, electoral system choice, free and fair elections?, and the 1994 election results. Chapter 7: Discusses and reruns the SA election under alternative electoral systems (p. 222 - 226). Reviewed by Shaheen Mozaffar in Representation, vol. 37, no. 1, Summer 2000, p. 77 - 78.

844 REYNOLDS, Andrew


845 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Subject indicated by title

846 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Unpublished manuscript. (Unseen).

847 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Subject indicated by title.

848 REYNOLDS, Andrew
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Explains that the ANC was relieved that they did not end up with a 66% vote. Presents election results, turnout and estimated electorate, spoilt ballot papers, ethnic breakdown, white electorate, regions in detail, provincial results and other figures in tables, and looks at what alternative systems could have achieved. 'This chapter is the product of a larger collaborative research project (with Bernard Grofman of the University of California, Irvine, and Arend Lijphart of the University of California, San Diego) on Electoral Laws, Electoral Lists, and Campaigning in the First Non-racial South African Elections, supported by the National Science Foundation of the United States, Award No. SBR-9321864'.
REYNOLDS, Andrew

This article concentrates on the constitutional issue of whether to constitute parliament by a plurality, majoritarian, or proportional representation type electoral system - so critically important to the prospects for democratic consolidation in a divided society. The author states: "By re-running the national parliamentary elections in South Africa we can assess how the use of alternative electoral system formulae would have changed the composition of government and parliament. The resulting empirical evidence can then be used to assess how stable the system would have been likely to be considering the pre-existing divisions within each society. For purposes of this exercise I have re-run the election under: (1) single member district (SMD) plurality; (2) a majoritarian system (the Alternative Vote, or AV) in the same member districts; (3) regionally based constituency list proportional representation (PR). To these main electoral systems I have added: (4) the Alternative Vote in multi-member districts (MMD)… Reynolds explains his methodology and assumptions, overviews the current South African system, re-runs the election with plurality, describes its effects (one party domination, total exclusion of smaller minority parties, incentives for violence, regional fragmentation, re-runs it under the Alternative Vote(AV) and under Alternative Vote in Multi-Member Districts (MMD AV) and explains their impact and results. Finally he re-runs the election on a Provincial List PR basis noting four important respects in which it would have been detrimental. A table sets out the results of the various methods for the seven major parties by % of vote and seats. The author concludes: "The evidence from this case study is not definitive but the results do highlight clear trends which have become apparent during the 'third wave' of democratization, i.e., that plurality or majoritarian systems are detrimental to democratic consolidation in ethnically divided fledgling democracies and that
proportional representational type systems are necessary to provide the inclusive ground rules to enable party compromise and ethnic accommodation to flourish”.

850 REYNOLDS, Andrew

Sponsored by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy to help focus debate on devising the most suitable electoral system for South Africa. Examines needs and choices, and puts forward proposals. Concludes that: "by using the party list system in small multi-member constituencies, proportionality in Parliament is ensured and a geographical link is maintained between the electors and the elected". Maps, tables and lists of constituencies. Reviewed by F. Basson in Politikon, vol. 21, no. 1, June 1994, p. 86 - 87.

851 RICHARDS, Robin

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.


Considers problems in the ranks of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and predicts participation in the election by General Constand Viljoen and the Freedom Front. Speculates on future support for the Conservative Party (CP) and efforts to establish a
'volkstaat', and comments on talks between Inkatha and the ANC. (ISAP).


Voting trends point to a massive shortfall in the votes Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front believed would compel the new government to accept rightwing demands for a 'Volkstaat' (homeland). Fewer than 400,000 votes (2% of the poll) have so far been cast for them, and support is scattered over a wide geographical area. The right-wing terror campaign also appears to be crumbling.


Reports on the declining support for the CP since the elections. As rightwing fears of widespread violence are waning, co-operation with provincial governments, who are extending a hand of friendship, is growing. (Sardius).


Describes moves by the Freedom Alliance to forego registration for the election. Implications and reaction are discussed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

856 ROBERTSON, Claire C.


Reviews the way South Africa ran its own election under the eye of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the relative success it met with. (Africa Institute).
857 **ROBINS, Steven and PRINSLOO, Mastin**


Paper presented at the Fourth International Conference on Oral Tradition: oral tradition and its transmission: the many forms of message... The authors, from the Department of Adult Education University of Cape Town question how an apparently common citizenship was constructed, overnight, and how such a unanimity of purpose was achieved Their interests are in the elections as a literacy event, and as oral history, and in the elements of ritual characterizing the event. This study of communicative practices focuses on the role of literacy, on voter education and the differences and resemblances in reactions (with many specific references to the Western Cape) and on the role of the media.

858 **ROBINS, Steven**


This case study seeks to understand the reasons for Namaqualand's Coloured voters support for the ANC in both the 1994 and 1995 elections by investigating land and identity issues in the Reserves during the 1980s and 1990s.

859 **ROBINS, Steven**


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.

Gives an overview of pre-election events in South Africa: the strenuous efforts to include both the conservative right and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the position of the former self-governing and 'independent' states and the ongoing violence. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29)


Folder with loose contents:- Preface, signed by Dren Nupen, Director of the Electoral Institute of South Africa, which states: "The objective of the Roundtable on Hate Speech and the Conduct of Elections was to stimulate debate on the implications of the proscription on freedom of expression. The Roundtable provided the forum for political parties, representatives from the Electoral Commission and members of civil society organizations to discuss the occurrence of 'hate speech' in electoral campaigns and other electoral activities. As a prelude to the election on 2 June 1999, the roundtable afforded the audience the unique chance to assess what constitutes 'hate speech', the extent to which it may cause harm, and how it may exclude people from participating in elections"; Copy of Project proposal - Hate speech and electoral conduct, with covering letter from Gideon Pimstone to Dren Nupen, 10/02/97, developing points of intersection between freedom of expression, hate speech and the conduct of elections, 9 p.; Pimstone, Gideon. Hate speech, the constitution and the conduct of elections, 62p. The author, Chief Researcher, HSRC Group Democracy and Governance, states "This article attempts to make sense of what is colloquially known as the hate speech provision of the Constitution. As a significant sub-theme, this provision will be examined in the context of electoral policy and conduct". Also included, an Executive Summary, and a twenty-one page précis, under his main headings; Copy of article by Carolyn Massey, "Race-hate speech: to be, or not to be, that is the question", which contains sections on 'The South African debate: to be or not to be, free with speech' and 'Will SA explode on 27 April 1994 - was
asked in 1993'. The reference for this article is given as University of the Witwatersrand Student Law Review, (1995) 7, 63 - 80.


Sample ballot paper listing the nineteen participating parties, including IFP (added). Laminated, coloured.

863 RUDMAN, T.D

The Executive Director of the Transitional Executive Council in a letter to Dr Renosi Mokate, Chief Executive Director, Independent Electoral Commission, states that the TEC "has approved the Estimate of Expenditure of the Independent Electoral Commission: 20 December 1993 to 31 May 1994". With covering fax dated 23 March 1994.

864 RULE, Stephen
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.

RUMNEY, Reg
Business lends a hand for elections. Weekly Mail &
Article providing several specific examples of businesses giving aid and equipment to the Witwatersrand/Vaal Peace Secretariat, especially to the Joint Operations Communication Centres (JOCCS) being set up in the area.


Research for this pilot study was undertaken by senior students in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Grahamstown; co-coordinated by the Media Research and Training Unit, Project Co-coordinator Don Pinnock, editing by Margit Polacsek and Don Pinnock. The study considers the political process, lessons from previous elections in other countries, problems of language and illiteracy, the use of visual media and its pitfalls, the role of radio, and concludes with some proposals and suggestions.

867 RWELAMIRA, Medard and AILOLA, David

In discussing this, the authors “have attempted to project the view that international monitoring must be seen as part of a broader strategy to enforce and implement various human rights already recognized by the international community”. Topics addressed include: objectives; international law justification; impact of the United Nations Charter and human rights instruments; involvement of the international community in South Africa. Concludes that ‘in so far as the international community is able to facilitate a smooth transition to a democratic era, its involvement is a necessity’.

868 RYAN, C.
Discusses the vital role business has to play in guaranteeing the legitimacy and fairness of the April election. (ISAP).

869 SACHS, Albie

Sub-title: Albie Sachs in Toronto. The article relays opinions expressed by Sachs, emphasizing the importance of the forthcoming elections and electoral processes for the ANC, and outlining the problems involved in the transition to democracy and the transformation of the ANC into a political party functioning in a parliamentary context. Notes some reactions of his interlocutors to his socio-economic viewpoints.


Quotes figures from the Sunday Times and Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD)'s opinion polls indicating a close finish between the National Party and the ANC in the Western Cape, and describes some of their campaign strategies. Notes the personal popularity of President F.W.de Klerk.


Describes the assistance given by the South African National Defence Force to the Independent Electoral Commission to facilitate a free and fair election. (Sardius).

872 SARKIN, Jeremy

"This chapter will focus on the media during the period
of transition. It will investigate the shape of the media at present and examine the possibilities that exist of ensuring that the media perform a positive role during the elections in informing the electorate. Both the state-owned media and the privately owned media will be discussed. The two themes that are of particular interest are, firstly, the extent to which the media are free to play this positive role in spite of the many restrictions which limit them and secondly, how to ensure that the media will play a fair role and not favour one party over others". (Chapter introduction). It also includes material on the role of an Independent Media Commission, and on specific laws in need of review.

873 SATGAR, Vishwas and JARDIN, Conrad

Draws on surveys conducted among COSATU members in 1994 and again in 1998, aimed to assess attitudes and aspirations towards South Africa's democratic elections. This paper interprets the survey's main findings on the Tripartite Alliance. It focuses on worker's motivations, commitments and on their expectations that they will be able to exert worker control over parliamentarians and over alliance partners.

874 SAUL, John S.

Recounts his experiences as a Canadian observer of the 1994 elections and questions the results in the Western Cape and in KwaZulu-Natal. Notes that, despite the ANC's development programme for the future, the real economics of South Africa's liberation remain to be defined.

875 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence, and others
This article examines the validity of opinion surveys. The April election results are used as a test case to see how well polls reflect political support patterns in South Africa, a country where survey research is much more complex than in developed societies. The support levels for particular parties, discrepancies and factors which might have influenced the results are looked at. The authors conclude that socio-political surveys - and especially longitudinal surveys - remain extremely valuable tools for policymakers in developing countries and that these should form an integral part of the process of democratization in South Africa over the next decade or more. (Journal abstract).

876 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence, and others

Considers various pre-election surveys which gauge support for the ANC and for the National Party. The author gives reasons for the increased popularity of the ANC and the waning support of whites for the National Party.

877 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence

Examines the multitude of expectations which exist among the South African electorate. Concludes that most expectations are for basic reforms which should have been addressed a long time ago. (ISAP).

878 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence

"South Africa's first democratic elections took place under a multi-party commitment to accountable, non-racial and interest-based democracy. Schlemmer looks at voter choices and what they mean for parties and democracy". (Journal introduction). He examines the management of the election campaign, incidents of violence and intimidation and some findings of two pre-election surveys focusing on the relevance of party
politics, reasons for political allegiance and attitudes to power sharing. He argues that the pattern of results comes uncomfortably close to being a census of mobilizes racial-cum-ethnic categories, and concludes: "The outcome of South Africa's first democratic election shows clearly that voter sentiments do not match the high ideals within which the election was negotiated and planned. As in most poor and deeply divided societies, our new democracy has yet to survive a number of complex challenges. Democratic consolidation may take a long time".

879 SCHLEMMER, Lawrence
ISBN : I-86812-556-4

Considers the prospects which may flow forth from the 1994 election in South Africa by reviewing the country's history, the process out of which the election emerged, and the economic and other policy challenges the new government will face. Compares the support of the different racial groups (African, Coloureds, Indians and Whites) for the different political parties, and concludes that economic growth is the only way to overcome contradictions still existent in South African society. Includes tables.

880 SCHNEIDMAN, Witney W.
Post-apartheid South Africa: steps taken, the path ahead. CSIS Africa Notes, no. 156, January 1994, (entire issue: 11p.).

Examines the steps taken by South Africa towards democratization: talks about talks, CODESA I and II, the Multiparty Negotiating Forum, the TEC, the planned elections, and the proposed Government of National Unity. Attention is also given to the rightwing challenge, the violence factor, military restructuring and the economy, including the nationalization issue. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

881 SCHOEMAN, Elna, compiler

Presents a bibliographical overview of the elections in South Africa in 1994.

882 SCHREINER, Jenny  
Woman can vote you off that list. *Mayibuye*, October 1993, p. 31 - 32.

Considers the potential role of women voters in elections, and explains how women should act in order to ensure that women's issues receive their due attention.

883 SCHRIRE, Robert T. and SILKE, David  

"During the election, the press, radio and even the mass marketing and advertising campaigns of the participating political parties all contributed to an ideological liberalization of the society. However, past loyalties did remain, and this chapter deals with the beginnings of a drift away from patronage to a more independent approach across the media spectrum". (Introduction). Topics discussed include the historical picture, the influence of personalities, the alternative press, the electronic media, party political press advertising campaigns and the future role of the mass media.

884 SCHRIRE, Robert  

The South African election has been dominated by the debate between participants and non-participants, between those who accept the rules of the new electoral game and those who do not. Schrire analyzes electoral issues and campaigns focusing on those of the ANC and the National Party and describing the dangers posed by potential political violence from right
wing groups, dissident IFP supporters, and Zulu nationalists.

**885 SCHURINK, Willem, and others**

Report commissioned by the Department of Correctional Services, 20 December 1993. The HSRC to conduct in-depth research into the increased potential for prison turmoil that the April 1994 election presents, and the direct implications of this for prison management. Appendix A: Methodological strategy employed in the research; Appendix B: Theoretical framework for the study; Appendix C: SAPOHR question posed to delegates. Chairperson: G.M.Bhudu. References. Cover note from Paul Bell. Final Report later issued by the HSRC c.1994. Other contributors, Evanthe Schurink and Charl Schutte, Chris De Kock and Nic Roodie from the Division for Sociopolitical Monitoring and Analysis.

**886 SCHUTTE, P.**

Focuses on the verbal strategies and tactics used in the Mandela/De Klerk debate as a step towards understanding and evaluating the processes involved in debating. (ISAP).

**887 SCOTT, Christina**

Tells the story of the peace monitors, who do far more than observe. They suffer between combatants and are sometimes killed. During the election they played a vital role. (Sardius).

**888 SEEKINGS, Jeremy**

Argues that the transition to democracy requires a shift from protest to participants, from boycotts to voting on the part of activists who face the challenge of adapting to a strategy of involvement in elections. Describes the transformation of civic movements and extra-parliamentary opposition into new identities with new problems and new roles. Focuses on SANCO (the South African National Civic Organisation) and the ANC and their preparations for post-election politics.

889 **SEEKINGS, Jeremy**


Edited by Wilmot James, Daria Caliguire and Kerry Cullinan. First addresses the importance of the Coloured vote in the Western Cape, then discusses the national Party's success in the region, political party partisanship, voter identification and how this concept relates to the situation among Coloured voters. Notes their relative independence from competing parties, and surveys their voting intention as shown in opinion polls in mid-1993, contrasted with estimates in April 1994. Examines election issues of importance in mid-1993, and in the post-election period and discusses them in the context of the community's perceptions of the ANC and the NP. Questions whether the current voting pattern represents a period of lasting realignment. Seeking's discussion draws primarily on two opinion polls: the first conducted eight months before the elections in July/August 1993, organized by Research Initiatives, the second conducted in August/September 1994, commissioned by IDASA. He maintains: "The NP campaign constantly flirted with racism as it contrasted the new NP and its leader, F. W. de Klerk, with an ANC committed to Africanisation and responsible for disorder. The NP succeeded in defining the way in which the issues were understood -
to its advantage and the ANC's disadvantage”.

890 SEEKINGS, Jeremy


891 SEILER, John

Examines the role of the South African Police during the election and discusses a general plan devised for police behaviour. (Sardius).

**892 SELFE, James**  

Encapsulates the DP's views on various aspects of the election process - proportional representation, the IEC, monitors, reduction of violence, merger of armed forces, possible strategic alliances, the interim constitution and CODESA.

**893 SHAW, Mark**  

Reports on negotiations on violence 1990 - 1994, focusing on the setting up of the Technical Committee on Violence, reasons for its existence, submissions to it and reports from it. In discussing violence and the elections the author notes the sharp drop in violence on polling days and immediately thereafter but suggests that especially in Kwan-Zulu/Natal violence retains its own dynamic and new conflicts may emerge and flare up. “The evidence since the election days suggests that the real negotiations on violence were those which sought to create a compromise … on a new state which all citizens could respect and security agencies with enough popular support to secure the public peace”.

**894 SHAW, Mark**  
"Conventional South African political wisdom holds that violence will increase as the elections set for 27 April 1994 draw near. This perception may not be a bad thing. It may force political parties, private institutions, overseas interests and the security apparatus to overreact in an attempt to ensure peace. At the moment, however, South Africa is woefully unprepared for large-scale electoral violence. Indeed, the adversarial nature of election politics suggests that conflict will increase as the day draws nearer." The author discusses the possible scale of conflict, its control, the National Peace Accord, its success and failure, the concept of a National Peacekeeping Force called for by the Goldstone Commission and debated at the Negotiating Council, and the problems inherent in its establishment.

895 SHAW, Mark

The changing nature of violence during the election period and its subsequent decline is significant. It indicates how central the political impasse, police illegitimacy and the political power play were to sustaining conflict. Violence is bound to continue in some areas, but essentially political conflict may have been a transitional phenomenon. (Introduction). The article provides details of the peaceful poll.

896 SHEPHERD, Anne

Against the background of escalating violence, which could jeopardize the April 1994 elections, the TEC plans the establishment of a National Peace-Keeping Force, drawn from different armed groups in the country. The training is to be undertaken by the SADF, with assistance from foreign advisers. However, a number of problems will have to be overcome.

897 SHEPHERD, Anne
Against the background of an escalating number of politically related deaths and widespread violence, the author analyses the political situation, focusing on factors that heighten tension and geographical areas of extreme political intolerance. Questions of major concern include the availability of weaponry, security arrangements and the conduct of security forces. Notes plans in hand to hold the peace, and organizations involved in this. The author concludes: “Their bigger prayer will be that South Africa’s election is peaceful enough to render a new government the legitimacy it needs to take charge of a country bordering on anarchy, and nullify any excuse by those likely to question the result to go back to war”.

898 SHILOWA, Sam

COSATU general secretary, Sam Shilowa, reflects on where the election of SA’s first democratic multicultural Government of National Unity leaves COSATU and collective bargaining.

899 SINDANE, Jabu

Topics discussed include differing aspects of multiparty democracy, the constitution, an electoral system, political tolerance and nation building.

900 SINDANE, Jabu and DICABA, W.

Provides compelling evidence for ongoing voter literacy programmes in a democratic South Africa. (ISAP).

901 SINGH, Roshene
Designing and implementing electoral education in South Africa: reflections on an action research project conducted by VEETU. [Johannesburg]: [University of the Witwatersrand], 1996, 67 leaves.

Thesis M.Ed. University of the Witwatersrand. “This
study gives an account of a mass election training programme for the ANC conducted by the Voter Education and Election Training Unit (VEETU) in the context of South Africa's first democratic election in April 1994. The overall aim of this study is to reflect on the mass electoral education experience of the VEETU programme and to draw lessons which could inform future electoral education programme for political parties." (Introduction). This research report submitted to the Faculty of Education covers the VEETU Action Research Project in every aspect - design, delivery, impact management, scale, training courses, manuals, workshops, and results. Special emphasis is placed on action research. Typescript. Appendices include VEETU's 'Voter education manual'.

902 SISK, Timothy D.

"Designing an electoral system is a crucial - if often overlooked - challenge facing a new democracy. Theory and history alike prove that different ways of tabulating votes produce different winners. In South Africa the racial distribution of the population is important given the enduring legacy of apartheid, but so is the country's ethnic composition."

903 SISK, Timothy D.

"This chapter explores the substantive talks on a new political order during the period from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), held in late 1991, to the democratization pact of late 1993. By tracking convergence in these negotiations, I demonstrate how the major parties' institutional choice preferences for the transition (which were an integral element of their overall institutional choices for a post apartheid polity) were reconciled. The convergence on a democratization pact illustrates that the core centrist
parties committed themselves to jointly writing the rules of the new political game." (Author's introduction to Chapter 6). Sisk focuses on negotiated change, CODESA I and CODESA II, the Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992 and the reactions of the international community to it, the march on Ciskei's capital Bisho, internal differences within the ANC, the Multiparty Negotiating Process (MPNP), interim institutions, the final package of related agreements, the final package of related agreements, and the challenges posed by a first non-racial election. This chapter includes: Figure 6.1: The transition process, September 1993. Figure 6.2: Violence and negotiation, from October 1991 to July 1993. Table 6.1: Interim institutions: the Multiparty Negotiating Process, 1993. Table 6.2: Highlights of the Interim Constitution and Electoral Act 1993 (As approved by the Negotiating Council, 18 November 1993).

904  **SISK, Timothy D.**

Subject indicated by title.

905  **SISK, Timothy D.**

Brief assessment of the 1994 election - pre-election crises and negotiations, prospects for a peaceful process, the election itself, the results, and remaining conflicts of interest. Includes a table of official results by party giving votes and percentage, and National Assembly seats and Cabinet seats.

906  **SISK, Timothy D.**
Appendix. Title indicates content.

907 SISK, Timothy D.

Discusses "Effectiveness in providing alternatives to political violence; ways of strengthening the 1991 Accord". (PAIS).

908 SISK, Timothy D.

Provides a US perspective of the election, reviewing coverage of the campaign and voting in major US newspapers, and the reactions of public and policy-makers to its outcome.

909 SISULU, Elinor

User personal anecdotes to illustrate the joy experienced by voters participating in the country's first democratic elections, the patience of the people and the underlying sadness for some who had suffered under apartheid. Compiled from reports from The Star, Sowetan and New Nation.

910 The SKUKUZA summit: an exercise in futility?

Assesses the implications of the failed Skukuza Summit which was characterized by confrontation between President F.W.de Klerk, Zulu King Zwelithini, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC President Nelson Mandela, and reports that constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house has been referred to a joint working group. Focuses on the immediate outlook for the KwaZulu/Natal region and the country, notes that the election will be held there and speculates on the polls. Discusses the future of Inkatha and the implications of a postponed election.
SLAVIN, Linda

A Canadian observer and peace monitor describes her experiences in the 1994 elections in Northern Natal - roles undertaken, security problems encountered, irregularities noted and procedures investigated.


Compilation of twelve chapters concentrating on the negotiation process leading up to the 1994 election. Topics covered include CODESA, the Multiparty Negotiating Forum, the Transitional Executive Council, the constitution, the Bill of Rights, regional government, violence, intelligence structures, foreign influences and the 1994 election. Selected chapters are separately indexed in this bibliography.

913 SMITH, Charlene
A Mandla! Siyaya!, Issue 1, Autumn 1998, p. 54 - 56.

Recounts the views of the Chief Electoral Officer of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Mandla Mchunu, on the handling of the forthcoming elections, based in part on his experiences in the 1994 elections in KwaZulu-Natal. Gives an account of his background and career development. Includes a coloured portrait of Mr. Mchunu.

914 SMITH, David L.

Personal account of voting day in Montreal, Canada, and of the scene at the polling station where about 200 people turned up to cast their votes.
SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Auditor General
R.P.77/1995
ISBN : 0-621-16739-8


SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Bill: To amend the Electoral Act, 1993, so as to delete, insert or amend certain definitions; to repeal obsolete provisions with regard to the erstwhile Transitional Executive Council and temporary voters' cards; to make a new arrangement as regards the entitlement of persons to vote; to make provision for one national common voters' roll at elections for the National Assembly and the legislatures of the provinces; to re-regulate the registration of political parties, the proclamation of elections and the submission of lists of candidates; to amend the provisions regarding voting stations and counting stations and repeal those regarding foreign voting stations; to re-determine the provisions regarding places of voting, the manner of voting and special voting; in section 44 to dispense with the provisions requiring elections for the National Assembly and those for the legislatures of the provinces to be held and dealt with together; to repeal the provisions relating to the determination of the result of an election for the legislature of a province and to the number of seats therein to which registered political parties are entitled following the conclusion of an election in which they participated; to repeal the provisions relating to (1) the designation of the
representatives of registered political parties in the respective legislatures following the conclusion of an election (2) the supplementation of lists of candidates (3) the review of lists of candidates by those registered parties and (4) the filling of vacancies in a legislature; to make new provision for the destruction of election material after the conclusion of an election and for the institution of proceedings on account of the contravention of the Electoral Code of Conduct; to repeal section 74 (relating to the State Electoral Fund) and section 75A (containing obsolete special provisions in relation to the Inkatha Freedom Party); to restrict or abolish the power of the responsible Minister to make regulations regarding certain topics; and to make provision for matters connected therewith.

917 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills
Bill: To regulate the registration of voters and the election of members of the Constitutional Assembly (Houses of Parliament) and to provide for incidental matters. Fax dated MAR.05 '93 to ANC Election Commission (incomplete).

918 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills
Submitted: 10 June 1993.

919 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills
Dated 24 August 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council. Bill: to make provision for the conduct of free and fair elections for the National Assembly and any other legislation contemplated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; to make provision for free and fair referenda; and to provide for matters in connection therewith. Accompanied by an explanatory memorandum
prepared by the Negotiating Council Technical Committee drawing attention to salient changes.

920 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Submitted: 13 May 1993.

921 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Lists old clause, new clause and present status. Attached to Schedule 2. System for the election of the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures.

922 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills


923 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Dated 28 September 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on 29 September 1993. p.1 - 6 Contain comments on this Bill, drafted to cover electoral arrangements for the first election, "that is for the election of the Constitutional Assembly and other legislatures". Explanation of various clauses. p.1 - 28 The Bill: to regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the
Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.

924 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Dated 8 November 1993. Embargoed until tabling in the Negotiating Council on Wednesday 8 November 1993. Bill: To regulate elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith.

925 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

Bill to regulate the elections for the National Assembly and all provincial legislatures to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith. Together with:- Schedule1: Sample voting paper. Schedule 2: [Sections 69 and 70] Electoral Code of Conduct. Schedule 3: Laws repealed or amended (section74).

926 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills

927 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Bills


928 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Board on Tariffs and Trade

Synopsis in English and Afrikaans. Text in English. (SANB).

929 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Government

"This is an agreement that facilitated the participation of Inkatha Freedom Party in the all race elections in South Africa". (SARDC annotation). Following an inconclusive meeting between the three leaders at Jakkalsbessie in the Kruger National Park on 8 April the three met again in the Union buildings in Pretoria on 19 April 1994. There, with the intervention of Kenyan Professor Washington Okumu, an agreement was reached. The necessary amendments to the constitution regarding the Zulu Kingdom were agreed to by Parliament on Monday 25 April, only two days before the election.

930 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.


931 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

Government Gazette, vol. 343, no. 15436, 14 January 1994. Act: "To regulate the election for the National Assembly and all provincial legislatures to be elected in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993; and to provide for matters in connection therewith".

932 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.

"To amend the Electoral Act, 1993, so as to make provision for the late registration or amendment of the registration of participating parties in the elections for the National Assembly and provincial legislatures; to further regulate the qualifications of a candidate; to make provision for two separate ballot papers in respect of the said elections; to further regulate the payment of grants to participating parties in the elections; to effect consequential amendments; and to emend the text; to make provision for the application of the said Act as amended by this Act to the said elections; to empower the State President to amend certain Acts by proclamation in the Gazette; and to make provision for matters in connection therewith." Assented to 2 March 1994. Includes Electoral Act No. 202 of 1993 as amended by Electoral Amendment Act, No.1 of 1994. Assented to 12 January, 1994.

933 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc.
The Independent Electoral Commission Act ... submitted for the consideration of the Negotiating

Second draft, 14 July 1993. "To provide for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission to assume responsibility for the conduct, supervision, monitoring and adjudication of elections …"


Government Gazette, vol. 340, no. 15183, 27 October 1993. Act: "To make provision for the conduct of free and fair elections for the National Assembly and any other legislature to be elected contemplated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1993; to make provision for the conduct of certain referendums by the Independent Electoral Commission; and to provide for matters in connection therewith". The act covers the establishment, constitution, powers, duties and functions of the IEC and of its directories and tribunals.


Table setting out the 1994 election results analyzing the number of National and Regional (Provincial) representatives by party.

939 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic). President's Council. Committee for Constitutional Affairs Report... on the desirability and, if necessary, the scope of an ethical code of conduct or statutory framework for the functioning of South African political
Chairman: Mr. J. H. Heyns. The most important aspects include the following: The status of political parties in the process of democratization; the requirements that political interest groups have to meet in order to function as political parties; the nature of the interaction between political parties and interest groups; the desirability of statutory control over party financing; the role and function of political parties and the South African government in national elections; the drafting of an ethical code of conduct and party act for South Africa. Chapter 5 'National election campaigns' covers: General points of departure and principles; the financial contribution of political parties to elections; state funding of elections; statutory control; election periods; political socializing; the registration of candidates/parties; the control over and regulation of elections; violence, intimidation and electoral malpractices; co-operation agreements, alliances and coalitions; foreign involvement and observation, (p.40 - 54). Chapter 7 Includes findings and recommendations on these points (p.76 - 82). 


Submitted: May 1993.


Tabulates the results for the National Assembly and nine Provincial Parliaments by party giving percentages, votes and seats. Includes for each, total votes, spoilt ballots and percentage poll.

943 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)

Submitted: 30 June 1993.

944 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)

Submitted 27 May 1993.

945 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)


946 SOUTH AFRICA (Republic)


A concise but detailed account of the last phase of the
elimination of apartheid, from the United Nations point of view which describes the transition to democracy, the Multi-party Negotiating Process in 1994, the work of the Transitional Executive Council, the elections, the announcement of the results on 6 May 1994 and the termination of the mandatory arms embargo and all other measures against South Africa. It includes a review of political violence in the months of March and April 1994 and ends with the hopes of the Security Council for the successful completion of the electoral process. This is followed directly by an account of the "UN Observer Mission in South Africa", q.v. under that title.


"This publication contains the text of two papers on the international investment and international political climate in South Africa, delivered in Edinburgh in November 1994 to an audience which specifically included members of the Scottish business and commercial community. Martin L. Kingston, from Morgan Grenfell, gives a merchant banker's perspective on developments in South Africa and the region. Professor Jack Spence, Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, looks at the results of the 1994 elections, President Mandela's commitment to government by 'consensus and compromise' and the politics of coalition, sources of opposition, the country's economic prospects, the prospects for democratic consolidation, and South Africa's foreign policy aspirations." (ASC Leiden abstract). Contents: Politics and finance, by Martin L. Kingston. "Everybody has won, all must have prizes": reflections on South African elections, by Jack Spence.


Two election observers describe their experiences during South Africa's first democratic elections -- Kaye
Whiteman (European Union) in Northern Natal, and Tunji Lardner (United Nations) in Bophuthatswana.


An editorial, discussing the forthcoming elections, the role of the Zulus and prospects for a new, democratic South Africa. (Sardius).

**951 SOUTH AFRICA FREE ELECTIONS FUND**

Fax Transmission from Loren M. Braithwaite to Judge Johann Kriegler, date: February 14, 1994, re: Meeting 2 pm today - SAFE/Ecumenical Assistance Trust enclosing the following information:- (I) List of EAT Trustees to attend the meeting; (ii) SAFE Fact Sheet; (iii) List of programs funded by SAFE/EAT; (iv) EAT criteria for funding. The SAFE fact sheet notes that SAFE has already awarded grants of R7,000,000 and has raised $4.5 million towards its goal of $10 million. ‘Projects recommended for funding by the EAT’ describes twenty seven separate projects, their focus, specialties and special needs relating to voter education.


Comprises two articles: - The moment of truth, in which the political scene leading to elections in April 1994, is examined, and - Business and investment, by Guy Arnold, in which the author discusses the economic problems which will face the new government. (Sardius).

**953 SOUTH Africa rejoins the world community: Nelson Mandela elected President.** *UN Chronicle*, vol. 31, no. 3, September 1994, p. 4 - 14.

Focuses on the UN Observer Mission's account of the South African democratic elections and its restored membership of several international organizations.
Surveys political developments in the pre-election period and the United Nation's involvement in South Africa from 1946 to 1994. Summarizes the activities if the UN's Special Committee against Apartheid, the General Assembly's conventions and declarations and the actions of the Security Council.


Examines the Government of National Unity's task to govern the country and mentions critical areas which have to be addressed. Also lists the names of the new cabinet with commentary on background and stance. (Sardius).


Outlines the positive and peaceful trend of the South African elections, which have strengthened the culture of negotiation and reconciliation. (Sardius).


Collection of articles from various journals prepared for Project Shelf. (Don Africana).


Reports on the South African democratic elections. Examines the role of the international observers and analyzes the challenges facing the new democracy. Thereafter an overview of Norwegian assistance during the election is provided and guidelines for future Norwegian support to the new South Africa proposed. Chapter 5. 'United Nations in South Africa' contains excerpts from official documents concerning UNOMSA official mandate and final reports. Appendix I lists Norwegian peace monitors and election observers in South Africa.

Reports on the Commonwealth Observer Group to the South African election, who "watched ordinary South Africans of all races overcome obstacles of the past and administrative confusion to participate in the country's first non-racial elections". Describes the composition of the observer groups and monitors, their tasks and accomplishments with specific reference to Kagiso, the electoral process in the Orange Free State, voter education, campaigns and ballot counting. Notes incidents of violence and elements of uncertainty as well as IEC successes. Includes 'Interim statement by international observer missions' (p. 229) as well as 'Departure statement' by Michael Manley, Chairman, Commonwealth Observer Group.


Reflects on the South African democratic elections and the daunting tasks that the new government will have to address. (Sardius). Predicts a victory for the African National Congress, led by Nelson Mandela.


"Nelson Mandela's cabinet and plans for redressing economic inequities, position of the Coloreds against the African National Congress, role of foreign experts in the electoral process, and women's rights; seven articles". (PAIS).


Gives an overview of the ANC election campaign, speculates on the possible outcome of the election, and mentions possible candidates for cabinet posts. In an insert entitled: 'Viljoen and the Volk', protest action by the rightwing movements are discussed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).
This official survey describes the activities of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council in support of peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa. It provides details of UNOMSA's expanded mandate, (including the increase of the number of observers from 100 to nearly 3,000) and of the role and tasks envisaged for the Mission by the Secretary-General and of its revised structure. It reports on UNOMSA's past activities, notes its concern with public violence and 'war talk' and confirms its encouragement of a peace process leading to free and fair elections.

Gives an overview of AWEPA's activities in South Africa for the period April 1993 - April 1994. These comprised a number of observer missions and cooperation with the Independent Forum for Electoral Education and others. The issue of fundamental transition was apparent throughout this period. AWEPA records its commitment to make the transition both successful and sustainable. Includes addresses by Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on 9 May 1998, and in Pretoria on May 10 at his inauguration as President. Lists AWEPA participants in these activities.

Examines factors which compel President de Klerk to proceed with the April 1994 elections. A multi-option strategy will try to overcome the NP's divisions over support for Buthelezi. The involvement of foreign governments is noted. An inset: 'Viljoen unites the Volk' details a plan for multi-racial alliance to challenge the ANC. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).
965 **SOUTH Africa: elections under threat.** *Africa Confidential*, vol. 34, no. 17, 27 August 1993, p. 3 - 4.

Considers the possibility of a postponement of the election date in April 1994, due to the high levels of violence and the growing opposition of the right-wing parties, such as the IFP and the Afrikaner Volksfront. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).


Comprises several articles on the ANC and elections, constraints of the National Party, Women's Charter and the future of the SACP. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

967 **SOUTH Africa: rewriting party politics.** *Africa Confidential*, 16 July 1993, p. 3 - 5.

Assesses possible developments in the election period - the position of the various parties and their strategies. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

968 **SOUTH Africa: the National Party buries its past.** *Africa Confidential*, 17 December 1993, p. 3 - 4.

Assesses the National Party's prospects in the April 1994 elections. The standing of President de Klerk and its possible support by 'Coloured' voters in the Cape are regarded as advantageous to the Party's role in the new government. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).


Identifies the anti-election militants in the South African election process as Zulu nationalist (Inkatha Freedom Party) and Afrikaner nationalist (AWB and Conservative Party) and explains why KwaZulu would be a much more difficult area in which to intervene than Bophuthatswana. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29)

970 **SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

Includes material on Chris Hani, on the reason why the South African Communist Party supports the ANC in the April elections and a double page spread: "The three lies they tell about the SACP".

971  SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONER'S ORGANISATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
Join SAPOHR!!! Voice of apartheid's prisoners....  

Leaflet includes SAPOHR's founding statement, calls to action against human rights abuses, calls to release all political prisoners and calls to amend the Electoral Act so as to allow all prisoners to vote in the April 27 election.

972  SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONERS ORGANISATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
Press release ... Thursday, 21st April 1994.  

"SAPOHR Chief Executive Officer Golden Miles Bhudu and co-workers will not leave the Braamfontein offices of the National Party until State President de Klerk signs the proclamation allowing prisoners to vote". Mass action in prisons is threatened. At issue is the amendment of Section 16 of the Electoral Act which currently prevents inmates from voting.

973  SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTY  

Includes its purpose, aims objectives and its policies - to correct gender imbalances, develop an anti-sexist culture, to unite women and empower them to independently take charge of their future through political action. Its priority, to address the status of women in politics. The document describes the party's stance on economics, land reform, violence, the workplace, housing, health, education, animals and the environment. Ecology, community, and human rights for women are the foundations of its policy. SAWP is to
contest the elections in the Western Cape only.


Concise review of major political events during the year 1994. Notes political reforms and constitutional developments, including the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission, all designed to ensure a free and fair election. Surveys the violence in the run-up to the election, the election itself and the ANC victory in it, the post-election government of national unity and South Africa's international acceptance.

975 SOUTHALL, Roger and SZEFTEL, Morris


ISBN : 1-85521-996-4

The authors argue that the ANC's convincing victory was a triumphant realization of its historic fight for democracy, successfully legitimated the democratic transition, a miracle achieved through compromise, leaving however some fundamental questions of social justice and political power unresolved. They cover their topic under the headings: Violent negotiations and the end of apartheid (fundamental difficulties confronting negotiations, negotiations and violence, the threat to elections, the breakthrough); The general elections (the outcome, the ones that got away); The Government of National Unity (provincialism and the making of a new constitution, the structure of the local elections, the outcome of the local government elections). The authors conclude:...For all the problems they encountered, there was little doubt that the overwhelming majority of South Africans voted for liberation and democracy. History may even judge that the irregularities of the elections, by forcing the parties to negotiate an outcome, bound their leaders together in a commitment to this political transition. Certainly, for...
all that the crisis in KwaZulu-Natal continued, the developments which took place after the election indicated a remarkable degree of settling down to 'normal politics' ... Yet it cannot be stated that with any certainty that democracy inaugurated can be consolidated easily. A daunting agenda remains ... As Mandela put it after the elections: "The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free". The article includes four tables: National and regional representation under the South African interim constitution; 1994 South African election results - National Assembly; 1994 South African election results - regional assemblies (seats won/percentages of votes); Racial composition of ANC and NP vote 1994.

976 SOUTHALL, Roger and WOOD, Geoffrey

This chapter examines political party funding in South Africa's new democracy, with some comparative reference to funding practice in some countries elsewhere in the Southern African region. Pages 210 - 223 focus on funding for the 1994 elections, first describing provisions in general, then considering the particular situation of the specific parties (the ANC, NP, DP, IFP, FFF, PAC, ACDP), and other political actors, and the financial resources available to them. The authors pay special attention to the pros and cons of external funding and the dilemmas that it poses.

977 SOUTHALL, Roger

Questions whether the South African election of 1994 can be labelled a 'liberation election'. Rather, it is proposed that South Africa has "crafted a transition to democracy, which is buttressed by political realities and firm constitutional guarantees". These ambiguities are discussed in the article. The author argues that African experiences are a useful backdrop against
which to assess South Africa's prospects. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29). The author describes the background of negotiations, the conduct and results of the elections, and claims that voting was overwhelmingly along racial lines.

978 SOUTHAL, Roger

Focuses upon "an aspect which has not been extensively commented upon: just as the National Party (NP) monopolized and manipulated political institutions following its electoral victory in 1948, so the 1994 elections provided a base for the reconstruction of South Africa as a dominant party state. This it will be argued poses awkward dilemmas for the making and sustaining of South Africa's new democracy". The author follows this theme through the negotiation of the political transition, the framework, prediction and outcome of the election itself (with special attention to Kwan-Zulu/Natal), to the transformation of the ANC from a liberation movement into the predominant party in power, whose dominance at both national and provincial levels poses the danger of a new authoritarianism. Includes tables.


Coloured supplement to the journal. Contents: One woman, one vote!!; Party promises; What parties say on gender issues; Issues they don't speak about; You can vote twice for the same party; Choose for yourself. Includes a poster.


Comprises the following articles: Negotiations for a democratic South Africa, by A.H. Marais; Negotiating a democratic South Africa: bilateral and multiparty negotiations, June 1992 to December 1993, by J.A. du Pisani; Violence and intimidation during the election

981 SPEED, Steyn

A discussion with Mac Maharaj, joint Executive Secretary of the TEC on the Council's composition, role, achievements and constraints. In an insert, information on the Independent Electoral Commission is supplied. (Annotation from SAI/A Bibl. 29).

982 SPENCE, J. E.
Everybody has won, so all must have prizes: reflections on the South African general election. *Government and Opposition*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1994, p. 431 - 444.

Spence, Professor and Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, first considers the results of the 1994 election in terms of seats won and votes cast, then discusses the extent to which the outcome was contrived. He continues with a political analysis of the composition of the new coalition cabinet, of problems facing the government of national unity, and of sources of political opposition. Economic prospects and foreign policy aspirations are examined, and the likelihood of democratic consolidation assessed. He concludes: "Thus the hope remains that, by a combination of debate, constitutional revision and learning from experience, a peculiarly South African version of democratic government may well emerge. It will certainly be difficult, it will not necessarily reflect in detail the theory and practice of democracy elsewhere, but it will, with luck and judgment, be homegrown - that
Spence relates his personal observations and feelings on the first democratic elections in South Africa. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

984 SPENCE, J.E.
South Africa: countdown to election. *Round Table*, vol. 49, no. 8 - 9, August - September 1993, p.148 - 149.

Traces steps taken towards general elections in South Africa and lists constraints such as the ongoing violence, the far right movements, divisions in the NP cabinet, preparing the country for elections and the Inkatha issue. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

985 STACK, Louise

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

986  STACK, Louise  

"The election has substantially changed the composition of South Africa's national and provincial legislatures. Louise Stack records the changes, and traces the likely impact on national and regional politics". (Journal introduction). Notes that there seems to be both a consolidation of black support for the ANC, and a diversification of black support for a wider range of opposition parties. Table 1: Seats in the national parliament, by party, 1994, 1999 and change. Table 2: Party seats in the provincial legislatures, with changes since 1994.

987  STACK, Louise  
Ringing the changes - how the ANC's top 50 has shifted. *Synopsis*, vol. 3, no. 1, March 1999, p. 11 - 13; 15.

"The release of the ANC's list of candidates for the 1999 election allows a number of interesting comparisons to be made. First, it allows one to determine how many ANC MPs have fallen by the wayside during the past five years - and how many are up for re-election. Secondly, it allows one to establish how its top 50 candidates have changed over the past five years, and also to compare this with the results of its national executive committee elections in 1994 and 1997". (Journal introduction). Tables include: 'Changes among ANC Provincial representatives to the National Assembly' and 'The ANC's top 50, 1994-9: ANC election lists, 1999; 1994 and ANC NEC elections 1997; 1994'.

988  STACK, Louise and MACKAY, Shaun  

The NNP has lost about three quarters of its electoral support. Where, and among which populations groups, has it lost most ground, and what are the implications
for the party's future? Louise Stack and Shaun Mackay make the calculations. The authors contrast the June 1999 election results with those of 1994 and analyses them in terms of race. Focus is on the Western Cape. Tables for White voters for parties other than the NNP are included.

989 **STADLER, Alf**

The author, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, explains the motivations behind the refusal of the Freedom Alliance to participate in the 1994 general election. He explores the vexed questions of its legitimacy, the consequences of a possible rejection of the results, the minorities’ search for constitutional privileges and weaknesses in the previous negotiation process.

990 **STENGEL, Richard**

Portrait of Nelson Mandela as a leader of strength and subtlety, his transformation from the principle figure in the liberation struggle to the head of government and the influences that have helped to mould him.

991 **STEWART, John**

Communicates comment and information given to the Finance Week Breakfast Club by Lawrence Schlemmer concerning reactions to the election results in the 'period of pre-democracy'. Quotes figures and percentages from HSRC voter surveys focusing on key findings on political party partisanship, pressures on voters and levels of intolerance.

992 **STEWART, John**

Warns that the South African government cannot
muster sufficient security forces to pacify KwaZulu/Natal and ensure peaceful elections. Gives figures relating to the standing force, the conventional reserves or the Citizen Force (CF) and territorial reserves, notes reasons why the South Africa Police (SAP) cannot function as an upholder of law and order in the run-up to elections and outlines problems relating to the various SADF units. Comments on the role of the National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF). (ISAP).

993 STEYTLER, Nico

"This chapter will discuss the detailed rules for free and fair polling which have developed over the years in a number of countries, highlighting the basic principles underlying the specific rules." The author emphasizes the importance of the following criteria - accessibility (place, time and special categories of voters); 'one person one vote' (safeguards and protection); free and independent choice (and secrecy); tabulation (accuracy, verification and certification); enforcement, and acceptance.

994 STOBER, Paul and POWERS, Cathy

An estimated 5,000 international observers are arriving in South Africa to witness the elections. Observer status has been granted by the Independent Electoral Commission to seventy seven international organizations, as well as to twenty six local ones. This report outlines their role in the context of the activities of South Africa's own National Electoral Observer Network (NEON). Touches on some of NEON's problems with domestic observers and their expectation of payment.

995 STOBER, Paul
Reports that the ANC will defy a probable banning of its election campaign meetings in Bophuthatswana. Questions how the people of the territory will be able to take part in the election and what role the Transitional Executive Council can play in resolving the issue and ensuring free political activity there.

996 STOBER, Paul

The failure of ballot papers to arrive at the polling stations is attributed simply to miscalculation and maladministration on the part of the Independent Electoral Commission. Distribution problems added to the delays and shortages are evident, especially in the Eastern Cape where the volume of equipment and resources required were underestimated. The IEC Chairman Justice Johann Kriegler sees no evidence indicating a crime, but the South African Police will investigate any possible interference with the IEC’s distribution system.

997 STOBER, Paul

Impressionistic account of the atmosphere in the voters queue in the Coloured township of Eldorado Park.

998 STOBER, Paul

Voter education sessions have been remarkably successful and, despite vote registration problems, Lebowa residents are eager to go to the polls.

999 STOBER, Paul

Looks at seven of the smaller opposition parties
registered to take part in the 1994 election - the Realists, the Keep it Straight and Simple Party (KISS), the Northwest Democrats, the Workers List Party (WLP), the Workers International for the Fourth, International (SA)(WI), the Islamic Party, the South African Women's Party (SAWP) and the Woman's Rights for Peace Party (WRPP). Presents a concise account of their foundation, beliefs and policies.

1000 STOBER, Paul

Provides some details of the complicated structure envisaged to secure the at least 9,000 voting stations across South Africa. This involves a National Security Management Centre (NSMC), falling under the Independent Electoral Commission, and a network of Joint Operational Centres. Notes points of confusion over lines of command, but takes comfort from the fact that the IEC is flooding the country with monitors who will watch every step of the election process.

1001 STOBER, Paul

"Despite the barrage of criticism during the election, Judge Johann Kriegler's reputation as an outstanding legal mind remains intact". Includes tributes paid to him as a fair and liberal lawyer and judge, whose qualities made him ideally suitable for the Independent Electoral Commission.

1002 STOBER, Paul

The South African Police, in confidential strategy documents, have admitted they do not have the manpower or ability to maintain law and during the April election, but nevertheless confirm it is the duty of the SAP to do so, and to clamp down on intimidation. The Police express reservations about the composition and capacity of the NPKF (the National Peacekeeping Force) and put forward their own recommendations.
and plans.

1003 STOBER, Paul and LOUW, Chris

Notes that the Independent Electoral Commission has submitted a R700-million budget and has outlined the expected cost of the election in its document 'Estimated expenditure December 20 1993 - May 31 1994'. The article gives details of predicted expenditure on monitoring, voter education, communications, election adjudication, salaries, equipment and transport. Touches on the role of the Transitional Executive Council in meeting election expenses and on the financial contribution international missions will make.

1004 STOBER, Paul

Describes the pressures, and explains how the decision will be made.

1005 STOBER, Paul

Outlines the ANC's post-election policies for its regional government in the PWV (Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging region). Focuses on its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RPD) and mentions costs and personalities involved.

1006 STOBER, Paul

Details the daunting list of tasks facing the Independent Electoral Commission with only nineteen days left before the election. These include training 193,000 electoral officers and over 10,000 electoral monitors as well as locating some 3,000 of the 8,500 voting stations. Despite logistical and communication difficulties the IEC remains optimistic.
1007 STRAUSS, A.C.P.

The author examines reactions to the possibility of an election, to the mandate in the 1992 referendum to proceed towards an election 26 - 28 April 1994. The counting of the votes and the announcement of the results is followed by reaction to the results with major emphasis on the reactions of political parties, the ANC, the National Party, the IFP, the minor parties and the extra-parliamentary opposition. Local and international reactions are also described.

1008 STREEK, Barry

Forecasts some of the campaign strategies lying ahead in the 1994 elections emphasizing the importance of credibility, the images of the political parties and the effectiveness, or otherwise, of their grassroots structures.

1009 STREET LAW
ISBN : 0-7021-3099-0

A manual aimed at youth and adults. It explains democracy, looks at government, elections and participation. Chapter 5. Elections (p. 84 - 100) explains, with illustrations and exercises, why voting and elections are important, who can vote, the role of political parties, who should stand in an election, the importance of free and fair and frequent elections, voting procedures, political tolerance, and the acceptance of election results. Illustrated by Andy Mason, and others.

1010 STROM, Marie - Louise
Clearing a path through voter confusion. *Democracy in*
Reports on a research workshop, hosted by IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy, held to clarify what rural people, especially illiterate and women voters, knew, thought and feared about elections. Notes the lack of training material, the urgent need for this, and the prospect of a training package to be developed by the Centre.

1011 STROM, Marie - Louise

IDASA ‘s tutor comments on the establishment of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE), its focus areas and on the role IDASA’s Training Centre for Democracy plays within its working groups. An increasing demand for voter education is foreseen, and problems and anxieties already encountered are noted.

1012 SZEFTEL, Morris

The process of reconstituting the South African State on a democratic basis achieved a definitive step with the general elections of April 1994. Despite numerous irregularities and organizational problems, the elections were relatively peaceful and their result was decisive. The ANC’s landslide victory was a culmination of its long struggle for democracy and gave it a conclusive mandate to govern. For the future, however, a daunting agenda remains to be confronted. This article discusses the negotiations and violence that preceded the elections in South Africa, the role of the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, the threat to the elections posed by right-wing opposition groups, the election procedure, and the outcome of the elections. (ASC Leiden abstract).

This leading article assesses the political situation one month before the election, gives reasons to believe that the Independent Electoral Commission will declare the election free and fair, reviews the election campaign, and speculates on the outcome. Quotes the views of the head of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Vincent Maphai.


A report on a nationwide survey, conducted in April 1994, into worker expectations of democracy. The survey indicates that a gap is apparent between worker expectations developed during the liberation struggle and the form of parliamentary democracy expressed in the Government of National Unity. Respondents subscribed to direct participatory democracy in the workplace - accountability, report and recall. The authors conclude that COSATU is likely to develop as a left wing pressure group in its alliance with the ANC. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl.29).

1015 TALJAARD, Jan

Preparations made by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) for a 'session' by certain towns in the Western Transvaal are described. This could be followed by declarations of independence by areas in the Eastern Transvaal, and by Pretoria, in the week before the elections. Threats of blockades are also featured. All activity is aimed at making elections impossible in these areas.

1016 TALJAARD, Jan

Surveys the chances of the Freedom Front in the forthcoming election in the context of possible defection by traditional National party supporters.
Argues that the FF could become the third biggest party in the final run-up to the election depending on the stance and activities of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and on Constand Viljoen's military power.

1017 TALJAARD, Jan

A short review of the differences of opinion evident in the statements of the leaders of rightwing parties in the post-election period, showing the obvious divisions between them. These follow the decisions of the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) to boycott the elections.

1018 TALJAARD, Jan

Describes the stances of the right wing parties on the eve of the election, the role the concept of a 'volkstaat' plays in these and the chances that the hardliners in the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) might still vote. Notes the depressing effects on the right wing of the IFP's decision to end its boycott and to participate in the election.

1019 TALJAARD, Jan

The leader of the Freedom Front, General Constand Viljoen, explains in some detail how he intends to convince the ANC-dominated government that his party can work both for peace and for the creation of a 'volkstaat'. The strategies he intends to employ in the post-election period in the pursuit of these aims are clearly and openly stated.

1020 TALJAARD, Jan

Reports on Constand Viljoen's reasons for leaving the
Volksfront, his opposition to the AWB and on his continued commitment to the idea of a 'volkstaat'. Notes a growing fragmentation of the rightwing constituency.

1021 TALJAARD, Jan

Reports that despite his registration of the Vryheidsfront, the AVF leader, Constand Viljoen claims he is withdrawing from politics and will concentrate on maintaining the armed potential of the Afrikaner Volksfront.


1023 TAMBO, Oliver

Oliver Tambo, National Chairperson of the ANC, opened the ANC's election workshop with a call to ANC organizers to make the Constituent Assembly election a gateway to the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

1024 TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION


1025 TEETH will still be shown. *Financial Times*, vol. 131,
Reflects on the role and powers of the Independent Electoral Commission in curbing intimidation and violence in the election campaign, and the attitudes of their Commissioners towards this. Cites as examples hostility between the ANC and the National Party in Kimberley, and the stoning of President F.W. de Klerk there. Also noted is the ejection of black journalists from meetings of the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging).


Discusses investments by Telkom in telecommunications equipment for the running of the April general election and gives details of equipment needed at polling stations. Focuses on special problems posed by rural telecommunication and problem spots and looks at facilities for foreign media and election observers. (ISAP).


Looks at recent cases of White terrorism, which are aimed at delaying the election. (ISAP).

1028 THORNHILL, Christopher


ISBN : 0-7914-4068-0

This historical review traces the pre-election development of political parties and structures in South Africa along racial lines, white, coloured, Indian and black. It is followed by a discussion of the results of the 1994 elections and their aftermath, by assessments of party political allegiance and of new developments within the major parties.

1029 THORNTON, Lisa

Composite item including separate summaries, all by Lisa Thornton, on the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the structural transition to democracy in government in South Africa, the Independent Electoral Commission, and on The Transitional Executive Council.


Focuses on the April 1994 election and reflects on new directions for the post-election South Africa. Four short articles explain the ANC programmes to reduce violence, the Natal vote results are critically assessed and business prospects are reviewed. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

1031 TJONNELAND, Elling Njal

Assesses the role of international observer missions in the election process.

1032 TJONNELAND, Elling Njal

Looks at the processes and negotiations that paved the way for the 1994 elections in South Africa, legislation, institutional framework and events leading up to and including the elections, and an assessment of the results and outcome. (Africa Institute).

1033 TORRES, Liv
Trade unions and the elections. In: SOUTH Africa's

Focuses on the role of COSATU in the 1994 elections and in the building of a new democracy.


Outlines the reasons why the South African Communist party (SACP) supports the ANC. Comments on the SACP's mass based election campaign. (ISAP).


Subject indicated by title


Tables of analysis by gender and race, summary, and summary of quality breakdowns. No text.

1037 TRENCH, Andrew

The authors claim that hundreds of thousands of potential voters in the Transkei are still without any form of identity document enabling them to vote. The Independent Electoral Commission is issuing a daily average of 150,000 temporary voters' cards, has located an extra 1,000 voting stations, and trained some 2,500 monitors.

1038 TRENGROVE, John

Mr. Justice John Trengrove, former Chairperson of the IMC, elaborates on the IMC's role and functions. Explains the guidelines which broadcasting services, state-financed publications and state information services should adhere to. (ISAP).


Comprises four articles on the South African elections: The true meaning of Ubuntu, by Tunji Lardner. Author explains what the new democracy means for South Africans; Observing apartheid's funeral, by Adekeye Adebajo, in which he gives his impressions of life with the UN Observer Mission on the East Rand; Witness to creation, by Chris Landsberg. He relates the sense of empowerment that voting has brought; To Pretoria and back, by Ibrahim A. Gambari, who applauds South Africa's peaceful transition. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

1040 TUTU, Desmond
ISBN : 0385475462

This is the story of Desmond Tutu's decades-long struggle as the dedicated spokesman for South Africa's anti-apartheid movement, as told by the archbishop's media secretary. Woven into the tapestry of narrative are Tutu's speeches, letters, and sermons. The collection sketches the story of South Africa from 1976, when the oppression of apartheid was at its peak, to the birth of democracy in the 1994 elections. The first three sections cover the period to 1989, during which the country experienced steadily growing resistance to apartheid while the government futilely attempted to come to grips with this challenge and intensified repression under states of emergency. It covers the escalating confrontation between the State and the Church and the campaign of nonviolent direct action against apartheid. The fourth section deals with the culmination of a campaign of civil disobedience in 1989.
and the euphoria following the release of Mandela in 1990, and the fifth section charts the confusion and violence of the ensuing transition to democracy. The last section deals with Tutu's ideas about a 'spirituality of transformation'. (ASC Leiden abstract). This work is edited by John Allen.


This leaflet defines the concept of Ubuntu, and outlines its importance in reinforcing the company's objectives and its voter education programme entitled "Your Right to Vote". It describes the programme itself, and presents a brief biography of Teresa Oakley-Smith, who developed the process.


The United Nations Security Council has adopted the proposal of the Secretary-General to send about 1800 civilian observers to monitor South Africa's first multiracial election. (Sardius).


This detailed yet concise account of the expansion and development of UNOMSA in South Africa in 1994 covers its activities, tasks and role in the preparation and execution of the electoral process. Included are the sections from the reports of the UN Secretary-General January 1994, April 1994, and from his Final Report June 1994, that concern the Observer Mission. The relevant resolutions of the Security Council, 894 (1994) adopted 14 January, and 930 (1994) adopted 27 June 1994 are printed in full together with the General Assembly resolution 48/233, 21 January 1994. These commend the positive contribution made by UNOMSA to the transitional process, its support for peaceful democratic change, for non-racial elections, welcome proposals for the coordination of the activities of international observers and the financing of
additional observers, and finally decide that, with the successful completion of its mandate, UNOMA is terminated, forthwith. Details of UNOMSA financing are reflected in the General Assembly’s resolution 48/230B of 14 February 1994 and resolution 49/219 section I adopted 23 December 1994 approving appropriations to cover the expansion of UNOMSA’s mandate and consequent activities.


Discusses implications to the status and reputation of President Mandela from his involvement in the Shell House shootings, assesses the current political realities in South Africa and examines aspects of the Bill of Rights while warning that the constitution may not be workable. Looks at political tensions, comments on Acts passed, focuses on changes to the Promotion of National Unity & Reconciliation Bill and discusses the outcome of the past election. Identifies a thread of compromise in public life. (ISAP).


Also issued as: Southern Africa News Features, 10/94, 30 May 1994, entire issue 53p. Election Special, Update no.8. “This eighth update of the half-yearly report ‘Unfinished business’, designed to assist the international community in monitoring change in South Africa, is an election special. It deals with the period leading up to and after South Africa’s historic first all-race election, campaign issues (land, employment, housing, education, health, minority rights), voter education, political parties, the elections, the new government, and the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela on 10 May 1994. The update covers the period 30 September 1993 to May 1994. It also pays attention to future prospects for peace and security, and for the economy, investment and labour and trade unions”. (ASC Leiden abstract).

1046 **UNITED** Nations in South Africa: extract from official

Presents excerpts from the UN Secretary-General's report and the report of the Norwegian Observer Group in UNOMSA on the 1994 elections in South Africa. (Africa Institute).

1047 UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

Submission: 19 May 1993.


UN diplomatic sources divulged that a total of between 2000 and 3900 UN observers are expected to monitor South Africa's first multiracial election. (Sardius).

1049 UYS, Stanley
South Africa's elections. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Briefing paper, no. 9, May 1994, p. 3.

Unseen.

1050 UYS, Stanley

Considers conditions in South Africa in the pre-election period and projects future scenarios. Focuses particularly on concessions by both the National Party and the ANC in order to prevent anarchy and revolution. Economic challenges are regarded as crucial. (Sardius).

1051 VALE, Peter
Presents a brief assessment of the position in Natal following the declaration of a state of emergency there, and preceding the election. Emphasizes the need for conciliation. Considers the situation in South Africa the quintessential 21st century predicament, and looks to the people of South Africa and its new democracy to show the way.

1052 VAN BLEK, A.E.

Topics include military rule, one-party systems changes of government, transitional governments and multi-party democracy in Southern Africa.

1053 VAN HEERDEN, C.H.

Analyses a collection of newspaper cartoons usually found on the centre pages of Sunday and daily newspaper in the context of the general election of 1994. (ISAP).

1054 VAN KESSEL, Ineke and OOMEN, Barbara

Surveys the changing perspectives on chieftaincy within the ANC and its allied movements in SA. Describes the position of traditional authorities during the transition period (1994 - 1999) and presents a case study of chieftaincy issues in the Northern Province. (Africa Institute). Concludes with a section on the aftermath of the elections.

1055 VAN ROOYEN, Johann
ISBN : 1850438188

This book deals with the role of South Africa’s White
extremists in the period of transition to democracy. To explain why they are regarded as a threat to the prospects for peace in the country, although they represent less than five percent of the population, all aspects of the White Right's multifaceted nature need to be considered. A review of the historic roots of Afrikaner nationalism is followed by a description of the numerous organizations and categories of the White right wing, with reference to the political orientation, leadership, strengths, policies and strategies of the various parties and organizations. Next, the electoral competition between the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), the Conservative Party (CP), and the National Party (NP) up to the suspension of Whites-only elections in 1992 is dealt with. The last chapter focuses on the right wing under the De Klerk administration between 1989 and 1993. (ASC Leiden abstract).

1056 VAN ROOYEN, Johann

"This chapter analyses the role of the White Right during the final months of 342 years of White domination and 46 years of Afrikaner hegemony, and in particular its efforts to cling to these past 'glories' through its demand for Afrikaner self-determination in a volksstaat (people's state). Although two distinct approaches were followed by the Right to achieve this objective, namely participation in the democratic process and extra-institutional pressure and resistance, this chapter focuses primarily on the FF's participation in the election". It begins with an historical overview, leading to the founding of the Freedom Front, the party's election campaign and support, then on to an analysis of the election results and their significance.

1057 VAN WYK, A.

Highlights the necessary requirements of the election process and the organization thereof. (ISAP).
1058 VAN ZYL SLABBERT, Frederik

An interview (in Afrikaans) in which van Zyl Slabbert expresses his views on political trends within Parliament. He discusses the dilemma of the National Party, President Mandela's predicaments, the rent and the service boycott and the expectations of the electorate. (Sardius).

1059 VAN ZYL, J. and KANTOR, L.

Describes how after the elections the Media Monitoring Project has had to change its role from vertical to horizontal monitoring to ensure that channels are available to all citizens. (ISAP).

1060 VENDA


Describes the steps envisaged towards democracy - from the multiparty talks towards the April 1994 elections, the election, the interim constitution, the adoption of a new constitution and the elections in 1999. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

1062 VILJOEN, Braam

The brother of Constand Viljoen, and facilitator in the negotiation process, argues that the right wing has to be understood and accommodated in the period of
change from the isolation of the laager to the fast lane of contemporary politics. Shifts in policies, and differences within the leadership of the various sections are delineated, attitudes and grievances explained and explored and the importance of the concept of self-determination emphasized.

1063 VLOK, Etienne

Traces the history and nature of COSATU's support for the ANC before and during the 1994 elections, including the deployment of members and officials to stand for election on an ANC ticket. Examines the 1997 September Commission and its recommendations subsequently made and resolutions adopted at COSATU's 1997 Congress. Explains COSATU's 1999 election programme, its regional co-ordination and its three phases - registration, mobilization and 'delivering the vote'. Lists the names of the eleven COSATU leaders to be on the ANC election list. Discusses the maintenance of links between members of parliament and of provincial legislatures and COSATU, the nature of this relationship and its effects on COSATU members.

1064 VON HOLDT, Karl

"In the coming election, COSATU is likely to lend its formidable force to its old ally, the ANC. But not for free...". Summarizes the support given by COSATU to the ANC in the 1994 elections, questions the likelihood of a similar scenario in 1999, outlines the findings and recommendations of COSATU's September Commission, discusses the continuation of the Tripartite Alliance, detects flaws in GEAR and predicts some election policies COSATU will pressure the ANC to adopt.

1065 VOORHES, Meg
Identifies fundamental disagreements over the powers and organization of transitional structures. These include the election day dispute, the multiparty Transitional Executive Council and the interim constitution. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).


 Raises issues concerning the forthcoming general election. (ISAP).


 Ten black and white illustrations and seven coloured scenes portraying the sequence of voter education, voting and the results. No text.


 Discusses the launching by the Business Election Fund of a communication programme aimed at promoting the principles of democracy among all South Africans and outlines aims and implementation of the programme. (ISAP).

1069 VOTER education: paying for DEBI. *Financial Mail*, vol. 132, no. 3. 15 April 1994, p. 44; 46.

 Describes the financial troubles surrounding the funding of the Democratic Education Broadcasting Initiative (DEBI) and its voter education campaign. Allegations of bias by political parties are refuted by its chairman Ruth Tomaselli.


 A leader article on the future election and the destructive influence of violence. It is suggested that peacekeeping monitors should be sent well before April 1994, and that the ANC will have to lower black expectations and reassure foreign and South African
investors. (Annotation from SAIIA Bibl. 29).

1071 WALKER, Cherryl

This article discusses the tension between the ANC's commitment to gender equality and its engagement within the new government of South Africa with 'the politics of traditionalism'. These politics have been most evident in the struggle to out-maneouvre the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), while convincing it to participate in the elections, a struggle in which the Zulu king has been the pre-eminent (but not the only) representative of the resurgent traditionalism that the ANC has been attempting to defuse and co-opt. The 'tradition' being negotiated is fundamentally patriarchal, and the author argues that the two goals - gender equality and accommodating 'tradition' - are ultimately incompatible. Further, given the limitations on the way in which gender equality is perceived within the ANC, as well as the absence of a politically powerful mass women's movement on the ground, it is likely that, in seeking to manage this incompatibility, the ANC-led government will compromise or delay its commitment to gender equality. This outcome is particularly likely in respect of the land reform programme. (ASC Leiden abstract).

1072 WAUGH, Esther
The UN envoy lauds South Africa as he leaves. Star, 4 June 1994, - p.

On the eve of his departure, after heading the UN Observer Mission, the UN special representative labelled South Africa's transition as a great success story. (Sardius).

1073 WE the people: election '94. Star, 10 October 1993,

Joint publication with the Sowetan. First in a series of pre-election special editions. A 'digest' on negotiations, political parties, transitional arrangements, the constitution, and voter education.
1074 WELCH, John

The author describes his own political development in England from 1971 onwards, his historical research requiring visits to South Africa in 1983, 1987 and 1993 and then his selection to join the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA). There he is deployed to the magisterial of Vredendal (Cape Province) to accompany the mobile polling station and to visit nine fixed ones. He describes his operational area and the electoral procedures, problems and successes, and other personalities encountered. Pays tribute to pre-preparation in the area by the UN field officer Bob Jones, later of EISA.

1075 WELSH, David
ISBN : 0-86486-276-8

Presents a brief history of the Democratic Party, the problems the DP faced in the elections, its strategies, leadership and future options.

1076 WELSH, David

This contribution by the Emeritus Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town reviews the political situation in South Africa in the five years following the ANC's electoral victory in April 1994. It examines the extent to which democracy has been consolidated, the state of political parties, liberation movement politics and ANC governance.

1077 WENTZEL, M.
Advances several reasons for the countrywide prison riots which occurred before the April elections over the issue of voting rights and the amnesty of prisoners. (ISAP).

**1078 WESSELS, D. P.**


Examines "what the electoral system as a package in the modern liberal democratic state implies, i.e. the essence of elections, democracy and democratic electoral systems". Pays particular attention to the provisions of the Electoral Act No. 202 of 1993, and to the electoral system designed for the election of 27 April 1994. Includes graphs and charts.

**1079 WESTCOTT, Shauna**


Describes the tasks of the Independent Electoral Commission in administarting and monitoring the election.

**1080 WHAT are we voting for?** *Election Update 99*, no. 9, 26 March 1999, p. 24 - 28.

Explains the procedure in the Independent Electoral Commission's determination of the number of members for the National Assembly, and for each Provincial Legislature, and lists the allocation of regional seats. Includes tables of the results for the 1994 elections, giving, for each province, the percentage vote, votes cast and seats for the relevant political parties, together with the voter turnout and spoilt ballots.

**1081 The WHITE Right: a limited campaign.** *Financial Mail*, vol. 131, no. 5, 4 February 1994, p. 28.

Reviews the demands and position of the White Right and contends that violence by the Right would be limited, although a danger exists of its causing violence in some communities. Contends that the demands of the AVF for a 'volkstaat' are untenable and notes that
compromise has been rejected by right-wingers. States that the White Right does not pose a real threat to the election, and anticipates internal dissension, while warning that the situation with Inkatha is more complex. (ISAP).

1082 WHITEFORD, Andrew

Latest update on the Consumer Confidence Index. (ISAP).


"Throughout the country voter education is underway. In some areas materials are already being circulated, elsewhere electoral education campaigns are still being planned. Overarching most efforts is the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) to which a range of organizations are affiliated. Here follows a list of some of those organizations, arranged in nine geographical areas, giving telephone and/or fax numbers and contact names only."

1084 WIGSTON, D.


1085 WILSON, Jeya, and others
ISBN : 0-9583207-2-1

Third impression. Issued in English and Zulu: translated into Zulu by Tutu Cele. This book reflects the fieldwork of the Centre in the rural communities of
KwaZulu/Natal and Transkei. Divided into two parts: the first, presented in question and answer cartoon format, explains the principles of democracy and practical steps in the election process leading to the vote itself; the second "Making democracy work", text and illustrations, is aimed at developing skills in rural South Africa in this regard.

1086 WIXLEY, Sue

This article outlines the problems facing voter education in rural areas, specifically vis-à-vis encouraging illiterate black women, in a male dominated society, to register their votes. Touches on the ANC's campaign, and notes the activities of the Rural Women's Movement, trained by the Black Sash, in running of voter education programmes including workshops. Post-election gender equality plans are examined.

1087 WOMEN'S RIGHTS PEACE PARTY

Gives reasons why you should vote for the Party that believes that "the issue of sexism and discrimination against women must be addressed at the same time as liberation from racism and apartheid". Argues that women must have an independent voice in government and decision-making.


Highlights women's vital role in voter education. (ISAP).

1089 WOOD, Sharon

Describes points of pressure facing South Africa in coping with the April 1994 elections and possible advantages accruing. Details the problems facing the
media in catering for the needs of an estimated 3,000 strong foreign press and international news networks and the plans already made by Telkom and the SABC to deal with this. Notes long term advantages to the community services infrastructure from supplying remote area voting stations. Specifies immediate benefits of the election to printing companies, the advertising industry and to travel services including car rental.

1090 WOOD, Sharon
RDP anticipation: the betting on what Keys will and can do. *Finance Week*, vol. 61, no. 11, 16 June 1994, p. 2.

Comments on the importance to overseas investment of keeping the deficit low, and notes election expenditure. Predicts personal tax changes, discusses the impact of the classification of reconstruction and development programme spending as extra-parliamentary and comments on a multi-tiered VAT system. Includes various speculative comments.

1091 WOOD, Sharon

Speculates on potential levels of disruption over the election period - costs to business, production losses, consumer stockpiling, retailers’ problems and industrial reaction to worker stayaways. Comments on implications of regional voting on worker movements.

1092 WOODS, Gavin

The Director of the Inkatha Institute considers the options facing the Inkatha Freedom Party in attaining its goal of federalism. (Sardius).

1093 WORDS that won the votes! *Fast Facts*, no. 6, June 1994, p. 2 - 4.

Identifies the commitments made by the ANC, the NP and the IFP in their election campaigns on the issues of business, labour, education, health and welfare,
housing and infrastructure, environment, gender, land and population.


Comprises speeches and debates, which mostly took place before the first democratic elections in South Africa. Its concern with the relationship between organized labour and the government of the day is of primary importance. (ASC Leiden abstract).


Argues that it is not socialism or communism that collapsed, but counter-revolutionary Stalinism, and claims that, in South Africa, the South African Communist Party implements Stalinist policies. "The ANC, SACP and COSATU leadership have sold out on all the main demands of the oppressed and exploited in favour of unity with the capitalists and reactionaries ... The Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International is counterposing a revolutionary, internationalist socialist programme to the capitalist programmes of other parties". Main issues we are fighting for: 1. A revolutionary workers' state; 2. Nationalisation under workers' control; 3. The land must be divided; 4. Workers' internationalism; 5. We reject the pro-capitalist and undemocratic negotiations process and agreements; 6. The violence against the masses must be stopped; 7. Imperialism out of South Africa and the region.


The party enters the elections in order to promote the formation of a Mass Workers' Party (MWP) "to carry forward the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses in South Africa". The manifesto outlines its ideals and proposals on the right to work; health, education, housing and social services; the economy
and democracy; trade unions and civics; land to the working people; equality and a caring; put the apartheid criminals on trial, accountability of leaders; apartheid debt and the IMF; apartheid divisions, ethnicity and tribalism; culture; self-defence and peace; a constitutional assembly; workers' government; a green S.A./Azania and internationalism. Election pamphlets separately issued: Are black youth lost? Campaigning for the right to work, Land to the working people, National conference 2 - 3 April 1994 - Apartheid debt and the IMF, Position on health, Right to work: Jobs for all must become law.

1097 WORKERS' LIST PARTY

Election leaflets include: Apartheid debt and the IMF; Are black youth lost?; Campaign for the right to work; Land to the working people; Position on health; Right to work: Jobs for all must become law. Most are issued under the banner "Build the mass workers' party".

1098 XAYIYA, Sobantu

Considers reasons why the National Party won the election in the Western Cape. (Sardius).

1099 ZONDO, N.

Presents an overview of the stances of political parties on gender issues as stated in their own manifestos. Much is promised. Women must decide on the past record of the parties in their empowerment of women. Special attention is paid to women's parties, women's rights and to the particular issue of abortion.

1100 ZONDO, N.
Women and the vote. Agenda, no. 20, 1994, p. 57 - 60.

'Mounts a strong case for gender-sensitive voter education'. The author outlines factors complicating
this in rural areas, and advocates enlightenment through informal discussions focusing on women's issues and on election participation.

1101 ZONDO, Paul

IDASA's regional coordinator reports on a peace deal struck at the IDASA facilitated workshop in January 1993 on tolerance and voter education. A series of resolutions and a draft code of conduct drawn up include freedom to organize and to canvas for support. Voter education programmes are now possible.
AUTHOR INDEX

A
Aarhus University.
Department of Political Science 287
ACCORD 648
Achebe, Chinua 4
Ad Hoc Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill (Act) 5
Adam, Heribert 6
Adebajo, Adekeye 7, 1039
Africa, Cherrel 679-680
Africa Muslim Party, 8
African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes 648
African Christian Democratic Party 9-10, 101
African Institute of South Africa 106
African National Congress 19-31
African National Congress. Department of Information and Publicity 17, 22, 25
African National Congress. Department of International Affairs 14
African National Congress. Department of Political Education and Training 11
African National Congress. Elections Fundraising Unit 15
African National Congress. Lenasia Branch 12
African National Congress. National Executive Committee 16-17
African National Congress. Office of the President 654
African National Congress. Women's League 18
African Studies Association 45, 104, 845
African-European Institute 963
Agishanang 32
Ailola, David 867
Akhtar, Shameem 34
Alac, Sadikau Ayo 35
Alberts, Paul 36
Allen, John 1040
Amato, Rob 708
American Association for
the International
Commission of Jurists
122
Anglin, Douglas G. 45-47
Anstey, M. 48
Anstey, Mark 49
Armstrong, Mr. 566
Arnold, Guy 952
Asmal, Kader 219
Atkinson, Doreen 336-
337, 856, 893, 912
Awepa South Africa
Observer Mission 55
Awepaa 56, 83
Azanian Students
Convention 57
B
Badal, Sean 58
Badat, Shireen 59
Balch, J.A. 963
Ballington, Julie 60-66
Bapela, O. 344
Barber, James 68-69
Barkhuizen, G.P. 70
Barnard, Schalk Leopold
71
Barnard, S.L. 980
Barrow, C. 72
Basson, F. 850
Bauer, Charlotte 74-75
Bekker, Hennie 77
Bell, Paul 263, 440, 885
Bell, T. 78
Bernstein, Henry 79
Bertelsen, Eve 80
Bethlehem, Ronnie 803
Beyers, Andries 81
Bhudu, G.M. 885
Bidoli, M. 84
Bierbaum, N. 85
Black Sash 87-88, 162
Bloom, Jack 89
Bodenstein, J. 90
Bodenstein, Jobst 92
Bodenstein, Jobst
Wilhelm 91
Boehmer, Elleke 93
Boesak, Allan 132
Booysen, Susan 95-97
Bophuthatswana 99
Boraine, Alex 100
Bradder, Ross 101
Bradshaw, Gavin 187,
221
Brahimi, L. 102
Braithwaite, Loren M.
951
Bratton, Michael 103-104
Brews, Alan 452, 454,
460-461, 463-464
Breytenbach, Willie 106,
141
Brink, A. 108
Brink, Andre 109, 562,
755
British Consulate 127
Brown, Geoff 111
Brownstone, Meyer 112
Bruene, Stefan 35
Brummer, Stefaans 113-
114
Buhlunghu, Sakhela 115
323
Buntman, Fran 117
Burnell, Peter 976
Buthelezi, Mangosuthu 465, 488
Butler, Anthony 577, 647
Butler, Mark 121
Butler, William J. 122

C
Caliguire, Daria 889
Calitz, J.M. 242
Calland, Richard 123-124
CARDS 126-127, 139, 1041
Career and Resource Development Strategies 126-127, 139, 1041
Cargill, Jenny 128-131, 652, 658, 660
CASE 508-509
CASME 224
Cassettte, Jacqueline 133
Cassidy, Michael 134
Cavill, John 136
Cawker, G. 137
Cawthra, G. 138
Cele, Tutu 1085
Center for Voting and Democracy 602, 849
Central Methodists Mission. Inner City. Voter Education Project 139
Centre for Development Studies 347
Centre for Policy Studies 142, 339, 344
Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation 200, 549
CFT 161
Charney, Craig 142
Chidowore, Richard 144-146
Chipps, Cheryl 147
Chitiyo, Yvonne 148
Chothia, Farouk 149-160, 574
Christians for Truth 161
Chubb, Karin 162
Cilliers, J. 163-164, 344
City University of New York. Graduate School and University Center 533
Clarke, Marlea 165, 772
Co-operative for Research and Education 270
Cochrane, J.R. 166
Coetzee, Jan K. 167-168
Coetzee, Mike 169
Coetzee, A. 409
Coetzee, J.A. 980
Coetzee, Juli 746
Coetzee, P.W. 170, 980
Cohen, Tim 171
Collins, Deanne 172
Collins, Gary 173
Collins, Steve 174
Colyn, P.J. 466
Commonwealth Observer Group 178
Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa 179-180
Commonwealth
Secretariat 178, 179-180, 182, 255
Community Agency for Social Enquiry 184-185, 508-509
Community Based Development Programme 32
Community Law Centre 646, 1085
Conradie, P. 186
Consultative Business Movement 188
Contreras, Joseph 189-190
Cooper, Saths 192
CORE 270
COSATU 3
COSATU. Northern Transvaal 194
CPS 339
Cresswell, Ryan 196
Cronin, Jeremy 197-199, 281, 345
Cronje, Frans 200
Cullinan, Kerry 201-202, 889
Curry, Alison 494

D
Dalbec, William 203
Damelin. Centre for Local Government Studies 204
DANIDA 558
Daniel, John 975
Davenport, T.R.H. 205

Davidson, Robyn 206, 480
Davies, Philip John 1028
Davis, Gaye 207
Dawson, Alan 204
De Klerk, F.W. 209-210, 290
De Kock, C. 344
De Kock, Chris 211-218, 828, 885
De Ville, Jacques 558
De Villiers, Bertus 187, 221-223, 308
De Villiers, Jacques 219-220
De Villiers, Michael 225
De Villiers, Michael David 224
De Villiers, Riaan 440
De Vos, Pierre 226-227, 326
De Wet, J. 228
Deegan, Heather 231
Democratic Party 233-240
Derksen, Wilfried P.C.G. 788
Desai, Ashwin 241
Development Bank of Southern Africa. Centre for Information Analysis 242
Dexter, Philip 244
Dhlomo, Oscar 245
Diamond, L. 246
Dichaba, W. 900
Dickman, Aubrey 803
Diehl, Paul F. 247
Donaldson, A. 249-250
Du Pisani, J.A. 980
Du Plessis, Norman 499
Du Pre, R.H. 729
Du Toit, Pierre 253
Dundas, Carl 254
Dundas, Carl W. 255
Durban Regional Chamber of Business 276, 811, 1066
Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement 256
Dutch Violence Observation Mission 256
Ebrahim, Hassen 13
Economic Intelligence Unit 136
Ecumenical Assistance Trust 951
Eddings, Jerelyn 257
Edinburgh University. Centre of African Studies 948
Egan, Anthony 388, 604
Ehlers, D. 213
Ehlers, Diana 875-879
Eldridge, Matt 258-260
Election Dossier 267-268
Electoral Institute of South Africa 62-63, 65, 229, 283, 428, 531, 626, 861
Electoral Steering Committee 285
Elklit, J. 280, 286-288
Elklit, Jorgen 558
Elmslie, Anne 289
English Literacy Project 453, 458
EQUIP 538
Eso, Hank 403
Ettinger, Stephen Joel 291
European Union Election Unit 293
European Union Police Observers 294
Evans, Gavin 295-300
Everatt, David 184, 508-509
Ewing, D. 301
Fabricius, Peter 302
Fast, Hildegarde 304
Faure, Murray 306-309
Federal Party (South Africa) 310-312
Felgate, Walter 492
Fernandez, Lovell 313
Financial Mail 803
Finnegan, William 315
Fisher, M. 317
Forbes, Annelie 927
Forrest, Drew 321-323
Frazer, Jendayi 836
Fredericks, Izak 325
Freedom of Expression Institute 344
Freedom Front 331-332
Freund, Bill 335
Friedrich Naumann Stiftung 889
Friedman, Steven 336-339, 856, 893, 912
Frielinghaus, Julia 340
Frost, Mervyn 341-343

G
Gabriels, Jolene 582
Gambari, Ibrahim A. 1039
Garber, Larry 346-347
Gevisser, Mark 352-361
Gilder, Barry 362
Giliomee, Hermann 94, 363-367, 879
Ginsburg, David 1014
Goldblatt, David 384
Goldstone Commission 369, 726-727
Goldstuck, Arthur 370
Gordham, Ketso 31
Gotz, Graeme 371-373
Gould, Ron 374-376
Gouws, Amanda 280, 377, 684-685
Gqubule, D. 707
Graham, Paul 380
Grange, Helen 381
Green, Pippa 383-384
Greenblo, Alan 385, 652
Grest, Jeremy 386
Grundy, Kenneth M. 387
Guelke, Adrian 388-389
Gupta, Anirudha 390
Gutteridge, William 391

H
Hadland, Adrian 392
Haffajee, Ferial 393-394
Hagen, Hugo 395
Hallowes, D. 396
Hamill, James 397-399
Hamilton, Georgina 400, 670
Hanf, Theodor 709
Harber, Anton 401-402
Harghey, Taj 403
Harris, P. 434
Harris, Peter 436
Hartford, Dirk 592
Harvey, Mdudzi ka 404-405
Harvey, P. 438
Hassim, Shireen 406, 407
Hauptfleisch, Sarita 94
Haysom, Fink 31, 344
Hayward, Fred M. 436
Heard, Janet 505
Hello Voter Magazine 408
Hemson, D. 701
Henning, L. 409, 980
Herbst, Jeffrey 410
Heyns, J.H. 939
Hill, Steven 412
Hindson, Doug 717
Hirschfeld, Ian 324, 362
Hirson, Baruch 413
Hirst, Manton 414
Hock, Claire 206, 480
Horn, Pat 416-417
Hoy, M.J. 419
Huck, Sue 420
Human Rights Education Project 584
Human Rights Watch 649
Human Sciences
Research Council 324, 349, 362, 369, 682, 734, 752, 810, 828, 885, 1035
Human Sciences
Research Council.
Centre for
Constitutional Analysis
222, 899
Human Sciences
Research Council.
Centre for Socio-
Political Analysis 421
Human Sciences
Research Council.
Research Division 1035
Human Sciences
Research Council.
Sociopolitical
Monitoring and
Analysis Group 211
Hutton, Barbara 423-424

IDASA 143, 494, 889
IDASA. Public
Information Centre 681
IDASA. Training Centre for Democracy 494, 1029
IFEE 475-477, 671
IFES 498
Illing, Bronwyn 426-427
IMSSA 77, 89, 206, 429-430, 479-484
Independent Board of Inquiry 431
Independent Electoral Commission. Election Administration
Independent Electoral Commission. Election Administration
Directorate. Training Division 457
Independent Electoral Commission.
Communications Division 433
Independent Electoral Commission. Election Administration
Directorate 432, 434, 588-589
Independent Electoral Commission. International Liaison Office 435
Independent Forum for Electoral Education 88, 185, 475-477, 671
Independent Media
Commission 478, 592
Independent Mediation Service of South Africa 77, 89, 206, 429-430, 479-484
Inkatha Freedom Party 486-489
Independent Electoral Institute for Defence
Kleinschmidt, Horst 553  
Kompe, Mamlydia 554  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung 223, 309  
Kotsedi, Lennox 555  
Kotze, Dirk 556  
Kotze, Hennie 557  
Krennerich, Michael 558  
Kriegler, J.C. 465  
Kriegler, Johann 327, 559  
Kriel, Hernus 132  
Kromberg, Marlene 560  
Kubeka, Sipho 561  
Kuzwayo, Ellen 562  
KwaZulu 486  

L  
Labour Party of South Africa 568-569  
Landsberg, Chris 570, 1039  
Lane, J.E. 326  
Lardner, Tunji 571, 949, 1039  
Laufer, Stephen 149, 573-576, 622  
Laurence, Patrick 578-581  
Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law 586-587  
Lawyers for Human Rights 583-585  
Lawyers for Human Rights. Stellenbosch Office 582  
Layton, Roger 588-589  
Le Roux, J.H. 590, 980  
LEAP 591  
Legal Education Action Project 591  
Legum, Colin 593  
Lenoir, G. 594  
Leon, A.J. 239  
Leon, Tony 345  
Leresche, A. 438  
Lesage, J.M. 595  
Levetan, L. 438  
Levitz, E. 596  
Levy, Moira 597-598  
Liebenberg, I. 599  
Liebenberg, Johann S. 600  
Lijphart, Arend 601-602  
Lodge, Tom 603-609  
Louw, Antoinette 610-611  
Louw, Chris 352, 612-625, 1003  
Lubinsky, David 626  
Lucas, G.H.G. 627  
Ludman, Barbara 402  
Luso-South African Party 628  
Lyman, Princeton 86  

M  
Mabudafhasi, R. 629  
McDonald, Andrew 691, 795  
McDonald, David 692  
McDougal, Gay 254  
McGreal, Chris 149, 693  
Mackay, Shaun 988  
McMahon, Edward R. 694


Multinational Panel Appointed to Inquire into the Curbing of Violence and Intimidation before, during, and after the Forthcoming South African Election 726

Multinational Panel to Inquire into the Curbing of Violence and Intimidation during the Forthcoming South African Election 727

Muriuki, G. 729
Murphy, John 226, 326, 730-731
Murphy, Mike 732
Murray, Martin J. 733

Muthien, Yvonne 734-735
Mvoko, Vuyo 736-737
Myakayaka-Manzini, Mavavi 738

N
Nash, Andrew 739
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 346, 423-424, 742-744, 770-771
National Party 745-749
National Peace Convention 750
National People's Party 753
National Women's Coalition 377
Ncholo, Paseka 754
Ndebele, Njabulo S. 755
NDI 346, 423-424, 742-744, 770-771
Ndula, M. 344
Nefolovhodwe, Pandelani 756
Nelan, Bruce W. 125, 757-758
Niehaus, Carl 345
Njanana, Rhoda 764, 1045
Nkabinde, Dumisani 706
Nogxina, Sandile 284
Noller, J.F. 765
Norwegian Institute of Human Rights 957, 1031-1033, 1046
Nupen, Charles 766
Nupen, Dren 206, 481, 861
Nyanda, S. 344
Nyatsumba, K. 708
Nzimande, Blade 767-768

O
Oakley-Smith, Teresa 126
Olivier, Louise 184
O'Malley, Padraig 744, 770-771
Omond, Roger 774
Oomen, Barbara 1054
Open University 547
Ozinsky, Max 777

P
Pan African Congress of Azania 779-785
Parks, Matthew 786
Parsons, Raymond 803
Patel, Ebrahim 1094
Paterson, Lynette 792
Pearce, Justin 794
Pereira, Paul 797-798
Philips, Ian 776
Pienaar, P.A. 801
Pikoli, Vusi 284
Pillay, U. 426
Pimstone, Gideon 861
Pinnock, Dawn 866
Piper, Lawrence 802
Piper, Steven 802
Pogrud, Benjamin 804
Polacsek, Margit 866
Potter, David 547
Pottie, David 813-815
Powers, Cathy 817-818, 994
Preece, Howard 820-822
Prinsloo, Mastin 857
Pro Democracy Trust 538
Project Shelf 956
Project Vote 827
Psoulis, Christine 829

Q
Qwelane, J. 830

R
Raghavan, S 832
Rake, Alan 834-835
Ralph Bunche Institute of the United Nations 533
Ramaphosa, Cyril 836
Randall, E. 837
Randall, Estelle 152
Ransdell, Eric 257
Rantete, Johannes M. 838
Rasool, Ebrahim 777
Raubenheimer, Stefan 582
Reader's Digest Association 1
Rebehn, Michael 839
Reed, Daniel 841
Reeves, Paul 395
Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism 391
Reynolds, Andrew 123, 192, 261, 280, 288, 365, 400, 601, 603, 680, 684,

333
Rhodes University.
Department of
Journalism and Media
Studies 866
Rhoodie, Nic 885
Rhoodie, N.J. 211
Richards, Robin 851
Ricketts, Kathy 582
Roberts, Nigel S. 287
Robertson, Claire C. 856
Robins, Steven 857-859
Roskram, K.L. 963
Royal African Society 399
Royal Institute of
International Affairs 1076
Rudman, T.D. 863
Ruff, Charles 726-727
Rule, Stephen 864
Rumney, Reg 865
Russell, Cecilia 196
Rwelamira, Medard 326, 867
Ryan, C. 868

S
Sached Trust 453, 458
Sachs, Albie 823, 869, 966
SAPHOR 971-972
SAPSA 802
Sarkin, Jeremy 872
Sass, B. 164, 344
Satgar, Vishwas 873

Saul, John S. 874
Schleidman, Witney W. 880
Schoeman, Elna 881
Schreiner, Jenny 882
Schrire, Robert 776
Schrire, Robert T. 883-884
Schurink, Evanthe 885
Schurink, Willem 810, 885
Schutte, C. 213
Schutte, C.D. 211
Schutte, Charl 212, 214, 216-218, 875, 885
Schutte, P. 886
Schwartz, Pat 440
Scott, Christina 887
Scott, D. 426
Seekings, Jeremy 258-259, 888-890
Seiler, John 891
Selfe, James 281, 892
Shapiro, Ian 530
Shaw, Mark 303, 371, 373, 893-895
Shepherd, Anne 896, 897
Shezi, Sipho 187, 221
Shilowa, Sam 898
Silke, Daniel 883
Simkins, Charles 363, 803
Sindane, Jabu 899, 900
Singh, Roshene 901
Sisk, Timothy D. 280, 684, 902-908
Sisulu, Elinor 909
Sizani, Bandili 428
Slavin, Linda 772, 911
Smith, Charlene 913
Smith, David L. 914
Soarritt, J.R. 280
South Africa 974
South Africa (Republic) 941-946
South Africa (Republic). Auditor-General 915
South Africa (Republic). Bills 916-927
South Africa (Republic). Board on Tariffs and Trade 928
South Africa (Republic). Department of Correctional Services 885
South Africa (Republic). Government 929
South Africa (Republic). Laws, Statutes, etc. 930-937
South Africa (Republic). National Assembly 938
South Africa (Republic). President's Council. Committee for Constitutional Affairs 939
South Africa (Republic). Technical Committee on the Electoral Bill 922-927
South African Communist Party 970
South African Council of Churches 47
South African Institute of Race Relations 340, 506-507
South African Political Science Association 687
South African Political Studies Association 802
South African Prisoner's Organisation for Human Rights 971-972
South African Women's Party 973
Southall, Roger 975-978
Southern African Research and Documentation Centre 1045
Spence, Jack 948
Spence, J.E. 398, 982-984, 1076
Stack, Louise 337, 985-988
Stadler, Alf 989
Stengel, Richard 125, 990
Stewart, John 991-992
Steytler, Nico 219-220, 226-227, 313, 325-326, 730-731, 754, 867, 872, 993
Stober, Paul 149, 994-1006
Stoddard, Michael D. 743
Strauss, A.C.P. 980, 1007
Streek, Barry 1008
Street Law 1009
Strom, Marie-Louise 494, 1010-1011
Swanepoel, Daryl 746
Szefelt, Morris 975, 1012

T
Taljaard, Jan 1015-1021
Tambo, Oliver 1023
Taylor, Helen 679-680
Technical Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission 1024
Thabethe, E. 629
Thornhill, Christopher 1028
Thornton, Lisa 1029
Thorold, Alan 701
Tip, Ilona 206, 428
Tjonneland, Elling N. 957, 1031-1033, 1046
Tomaselli, Ruth 1069
Torres, Liv 1033
Totemeyer, Gerhard 266
Transitional Executive Council 863
Transvaal Indian Congress 37
Tredoux, A.F. 447
Trench, Andrew 1037
Trengrove, John 1038
Tutu, Desmond 1040

U
United Nations. Centre against Apartheid 550
United People's Front 1047
United States Institute of Peace 684-685, 847
University of Bern.
Institute of Modern History. Department of History 799
University of Birmingham. School of Continuing Studies 399
University of California 844
University of Cape Town. Centre for African Studies 258
University of Cape Town. Department of Political Studies 260
University of Natal. Centre for the Advancement of Science and Mathematics Education 224
University of South Africa 801
University of South Africa. Bureau of Market Research 627
University of Stellenbosch. Centre for International and Comparative Politics 557
University of the Western Cape. Centre for Development Studies
University of the Western Cape. School of Government 771
University of the Witwatersrand 901
University of the Witwatersrand. History Workshop 95
USIP 684-685, 847
Uys, Stanley 1049-1050

V
Vale, Peter 1051
Van Blerk, A.E. 1052
Valentine, Sue 374
Van de Walle, Nicholas 103
Van der Merwe, Stoffel 747-748
Van der Velden, M. 534
Van Heerden, C.H. 1053
Van Kessel, Ineke 1054
Van Niekerk, Jurie 437-438
Van Riet, Cecille 584
Van Rooyen, Johann 1055-1056
Van Schalkwyk, Marthinus 345
Van Wyk, A. 1057
Van Wyk, Alta 560
Van Zyl, J. 1059
Van Zyl Slabbert, Frederick 1058
VEETU 271, 591
VEETU. Education Resources and

W
Walker, Cherryl 1071
Ware, Alan 976
Vaugh, Esther 1072
Weekly Mail & Guardian 634-636
Welch, John 1074
Welsh, David 1075-1076
Wessels, A. 980
Wessels, D.P. 980, 1078
Westcott, Shauna 1079
White, John Kenneth
White 1028
Whiteford, Andrew 137, 1082
Whiteman, Kaye 949
Wigston, D. 1084
Wilson, Jeya 646, 1085
WIRFI 1095
Wixley, Sue 1086
Women for South Africa 538
Women's National Coalition 544
Women's Rights Peace Party (South Africa)
Wood, Geoffrey 168, 976
Wood, Geoffrey T. 167
Wood, Sharon 1089-1091
Woods, G. 344
Woods, Gavin 1092
Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (South Africa) 1095
Workers’List Party 1096-1097

X
Xayiya, Sobantu 1098

Z
Zondani, S. 47
Zondo, N. 1099-1100
Zondo, Paul 1101
Zulu, Paulus 519
Zulu, P.M. 344
Zwelithini, Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu 465
**SUBJECT INDEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS 94</td>
<td>Founding statement 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABORTION 360</td>
<td>History 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election issue 1099</td>
<td>Manifesto 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOUNTABILITY 758</td>
<td>Policies 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportional representation 44</td>
<td>Socio-economic programme 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACRONYMS 70</td>
<td>Success, reasons for 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVISTS, Roles 773</td>
<td>AFRICAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, Nominations for Constituent Assembly 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTS 729, 1044</td>
<td>AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 363, 603, 795, 966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVERTISING 361, 433</td>
<td>Achievements 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaigns 540</td>
<td>Advertising strategies 31, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties 80, 85, 883</td>
<td>Ballot paper sample 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>Bophuthatswana, role in uprising 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict management 280</td>
<td>and Business 319, 652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic consolidation 842</td>
<td>Call for elections 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratization 223, 694</td>
<td>Candidates lists 199, 278, 574, 987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role of elections 35 of electoral systems 35</td>
<td>1999 election 987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elections 280-281, 694 democratic 284</td>
<td>COSATU 172, 1063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral procedures 223</td>
<td>multi-ethnic 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral systems 223, 280</td>
<td>nominations 574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
process 21, 28
selection 44
procedure 38
unionists 176
women 629
Challenges 26
and Coloured
community 960
pre-election period
777
Constitutional
guidelines 37
Constitutional issues
13, 16-17, 31
and COSATU 3, 172
post-election 732
and Democratic
transition 30, 335
Destabilization of
KwaZulu-Natal 506
Divisions 812
Dominance 363, 367
Dominant party 526,
679
Dominant party state
978
Dominant party system
604
Economic policies 130,
652, 822
effect on economy
803, 820
and World Bank 511
Election 1999,
prospects 604
Election campaign 15,
31, 71, 350, 603, 662,
706, 822, 961, 1086
Bophuthatswana 995
commitments 1093
COSATU
involvement 115
Homelands 244
KwaZulu-Natal 155
leaflets 27
overseas consultants
691
plans 23-24
rallies 27
U.S. advisers 354
Western Cape 124,
259, 640
Election promises,
implementation 666
Election prospects 42,
352, 668, 706
Election results 603
acceptance 165
reaction 848
Election success,
justification 26
and Elections
stance 632
support 41
Electoral Front 20
Electoral process 662
preparations 822
prospects 195, 869
training workshop
1023
Financial policies 822
and World Bank 130
Five year plan 758
Funding 706
Fundraising 15
and GNU, support 609
Principles 37
Quota system, women 66
RDP programme 874
Regional election structures, programmes 29
Regional government, PWV 1005
Role in election and SANDF 578
Role in election and SANDF 578
Stance 410
Strategies 11, 20, 23, 31, 603, 662, 822
KwaZulu-Natal 82, 768
Western Cape 258-259
Strength 662
Success 50
forecasts 593, 595
Support 666
Canada 773
Coloured vote, Namaqualand 858
COSATU 115, 1063-1064
forecasts 350
Indian 521
KwaZulu-Natal 563
survey 7754
newspapers, Weekly Mail & Guardian 135
political analysis 985-986
pre-election surveys 876
reasons 420
regional 278
SACP 970
Talks, with IFP 852
and Trade Unions 42, 176
Transformation 11, 703
Transition to political party 758, 823, 869, 978
Unbanning 600
Victory 39, 230, 328, 651, 653, 835, 974-975, 1012, 1076
forecasts 278, 674
reasons 397-398
Violence reduction programmes 1030
Voter attachment, personal accounts 643
Voter education training programme 901
Western Cape 169
campaign 124, 640
defeat 556
strategy 259
voter registration fraud 728
and Women 18
AFRICAN
WEERSTANDSBEWE GING
Ejection of Black journalists 1025
Intimidation 1025
AFRIKANER
IDENTITY, Cape
AFRIKANER NATIONALISM 1055
AFRIKANER NATIONALISTS 581
AFRIKANER UNIE Policies 81 Views on election 81
AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT Election prospects 1016 Internal dissention 852 Opposition to elections 965 Threat to democracy 667 Threat to elections 667
AFRIKANER WEERSTANDSBEWE GING and Journalists 500 Opposition to elections 969 Pre-election activities 113 Threat to elections 1015 blockades 1015 secession 1015
AFRIKANERS Role in election 761 Self-determination 1062 Self-determination see also VOLKSTAAT AGREEMENT
19 April 1994, Pretoria 120, 929 Constitutional 929
AGREEMENT FOR RECONCILIATION AND PEACE 695 Failure to honour 485 consequences for IFP 490, 929 Joint press statement 929
AGRICULTURE 79 ANC policies 79 ALTERNATIVE VOTE 341 AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, Observer mission 122 AMNESTY, Prisoners 1077 ANTI-APARTHEID CAMPAIGNS 1040 APARTHEID 117 Coloured community legislation 729 Demise 390 Dismantling 315 Elimination, UN viewpoint 947 ARMS EMBARGO, Termination 947 ARMS TRADE 302 ARMS TRAFFIC Role of SAP 145
Supply to IFP 145

ARTS AND CULTURE,
Political parties policies 272

AUDITOR-GENERAL,
Report on IEC financial statements 915

AVF see AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT

AVU see AFRIKANER UNIE 81

AWB see AFRIKANER WEESTANDSBEWEGING

AWEPA
Observer mission 55
Pre-election activities 963
Support, South Africa 963

AWEPPA, Observers 56

AZANIAN PEOPLE’S ORGANISATION
Boycott 192
Electoral process 756
Policies 756
Stance 192

AZANIAN STUDENTS CONVENTION
Criticism of Constitution 57
Opposition to participation 57

AZASCO see AZANAIN STUDENTS CONVENTION

B

BALLOT PAPERS 67, 862, 1057
ANC sample 19
British printing firm, objections 277
Distribution problems 996
role of IEC 996
Finance 915
Tender award 615

BALLOTS 453, 473, 726-727
Counting 444
Rejected 470
Secrecy 483, 816
and traditional healers 414
Training 206
Valid 470
Verification 588

BALLOTS see also SPOILT BALLOTS

BEF see BUSINESS ELECTION FUND

BIAFRA, Civil war 82

BIAS 83

BIBLIOGRAPHIES 881
Gender issues 65
Women and elections 65

BILL OF RIGHTS 534, 656, 716, 912, 1044
DP draft 239

BILLS
Electoral 917, 921-927
Electoral Amendment 916
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BIOGRAPHIES, Political</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISHO, March on</td>
<td>903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK SASH, Voter education</td>
<td>304, 792, 1086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK-ON-BLACK VIOLENCE, Pre-election</td>
<td>799, 841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACKS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter education, surveys</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLOCKADES, Threat by AWB</td>
<td>1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLOEMFONTEIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election campaigns</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOIPATONG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASSACRE</td>
<td>903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International reaction</td>
<td>903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOMBINGS, Right Wing</td>
<td>112-113, 1027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOPHUTHATSWANA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC activities</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycott of election</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil service strike</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election campaigns, banning</td>
<td>995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights abuses</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looting</td>
<td>6, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition to elections</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political status</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election situation</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaos</td>
<td>6, 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN observer account</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submission on the IEC</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>590, 649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-election</td>
<td>189, 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOYCOTTS</td>
<td>120, 337, 884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Azanian People's Organisation</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Conservative Party</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possibility</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Freedom Alliance</td>
<td>500, 578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motivation</td>
<td>989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by IFP</td>
<td>82, 248, 338, 491, 572, 610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threat</td>
<td>154, 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Right Wing</td>
<td>1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election</td>
<td>1058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent and service</td>
<td>1058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threats</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRANDFORT (OFS), Electoral process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity documents</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROADCASTING</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codes of Conduct</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of election campaigns</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election</td>
<td>249, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and Elections
international
coverage 1084
in transitional
democracies 697
Guidelines 1038
Independence 334
Political, voter attitudes
186
Telkom plans 305
BUDGETS 1090
BUSINESS 51, 188, 707
and ANC 319, 652
conference 319
Benefits from election
1089
Conferences ANC 652
Election disruption
1091
Election week closure
276
Post-election prospects
952, 1030
Role
in elections 102, 188,
868
in electoral processes
118, 267, 276, 865
in mediation and
negotiation 118
in voter education
268, 868, 1068,
1022
BUSINESS ELECTION
FUND 128, 1068
BUTHELEZI,
Mangosuthu 400
and 1993 Constitution
465
Agreement with
Mandela 422
Constitutional
agreement 929
and Democratic
transition 768
Mediation issue 695
Participation in
elections 54, 119-120,
422, 581
late entry decision
144
mediation 299
refusal 764
summit meeting 572
Political options 248,
776
Political position, pre-
election 105
Political power 768
Political stance, pre-
election 150
Political statements 741
Power struggle 190
Pressure on 621
Role
in elections 718
in government 695
in negotiation
process 657
in post-election
government 82
Skukuza Summit 910
and Zulu Kingdom 768
C
CABINET MINISTERS,
Appointment 661
CAMPAIGNING, Free and fair 227, 607
CAMPAIGNS 371, 398, 673, 980, 1013, 1045
ANC 23-24, 243
Bophuthatswana 995
leaflets 27
manual 24
and Broadcasting access 697
Farms, regulations 393
Funding 313
Management 326
NP 243
Political parties 71
SACP 1034
Western Cape 640
ANC 243
NP 243
CANADA Support
ANC 773
South Africa 773
CANDIDATES 474
Accountability, to trade unions 629
ANC, lists 21, 199, 278, 574, 987
DP nomination regulations 236
IFP refusal to name 855
National Assembly, women 629
Right Wing refusal to name 855
CANDIDATES LISTS
ANC, selection procedure 38, 278, 987
COSATU 172
Submission, IEC regulations 935
CANVASSING, Farm workers 317
CAPACITY BUILDING, and Democracy 116
CAPE PROVINCE, Democratic franchise, 1910-1929 Coloureds 366
CAPE TOWN, School 315
CAPITALISM, and Democracy 739
CARDS see CAREER AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES CAREER AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES
Voter education 126-127, 1041
CARTOONS Reflection of change 1053
Role in elections 1053
CELEBRATION, Reasons for 100
CELEBRITIES, Political allegiance 818
CHANGE 142, 390, 554,
Political, reflected in cartoons 1053
Political parties' reactions 903
South Africa 187
CHIEFTAINCY 1054
Role in IFP 768
CHRISTIANS FOR TRUTH, Biblical values, role in elections 161
CHRONOLOGIES
1994 Election 804
Electoral systems, South Africa 307
Negotiation process 634
Pre-election negotiations 906
Transition to democracy 906
CHURCH AND STATE 166, 1040
CITIZEN FORCE 992
CITIZENSHIP 166, 857
CIVIC
ORGANIZATIONS and Elections 888
Role in transformation 888
CIVIL SERVANTS, Fears 42
CIVIL SOCIETY 340
Strength 734
CIVIL WAR, Possibility 834
CLINTON, Bill

Election campaign, advisers 354
COALITION
Politics 948
Western Cape political analysis 625 possibility 132
COALITION
GOVERNMENT 341, 982
Prospects 991
CODES OF CONDUCT 454
DP recommendations 89
Electoral legislation 925
Free and fair elections 448
Members of Parliament 142
Party agents 455
Police 750
Political parties 271, 750, 939
Voting agents 455
CODESA see
CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA
COGSA see
COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP
COLOURED
COMMUNITY and ANC 777, 960
Cape franchise 36
Demography 777
Eldorado Park, voters queues 997
History 729
Northern Cape, political campaigns 794
Political orientation 169, 259
Political perceptions 889
Politics 729
and South African Communist Party 777
Support, National Party 36, 1098
Unionization 169
United Democratic Front 169
Voter apathy 859
Voter attachment 366
Voter behaviour 502
1999 election 502
Voter education, surveys 185
Voter preference 259
Voting intention, surveys 889
Western Cape 169
political attitudes 642
political parties' support 279
support, F.W. De Klerk 642
COLOURED VOTE 502
1999 election 502
Cape Province 366
Namaqualand 858
Northern Cape 614,
794
Political allegiance 729
Support for ANC
Namaqualand, 858
1995 elections 858
Support for National Party 279, 692, 729
Western Cape 169, 243, 259, 366, 640, 859
National Party importance 364
National Party success 889
political party partisanship 889
two voter allegiance 889
COLOURED VOTERS, Namaqualand 858
COMMISSION ON THE DEMARCATION/DELIMITATION OF STATE PROVINCES OR REGIONS 735
COMMISSIONS 264
Transition period, role in control of financial costs 131
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS, Report 939
COMMONWEALTH and Election assistance 177
and Electoral administration 182
and Electoral process
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and Free and fair elections and South Africa</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 'free and fair' declaration</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election results</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approval</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutrality</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stance on elections</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ties with South Africa</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA</td>
<td>46, 179, 958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>179-180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal accounts</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in elections</td>
<td>179-180, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCILIATION, Necessity</td>
<td>1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFERENCES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC, and Business</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First democratic elections</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMSSA 429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Peacekeeping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force 344</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors in continuance</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forecasts</td>
<td>893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal, effect of election</td>
<td>610-611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospects</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of police in sustaining</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANAGEMENT 188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa 280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESOLUTION 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT see also VIOLENCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONGRESSES, COSATU 193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSENSUS 387</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSERVATIVE PARTY 1055</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycott 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign, overseas consultants</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operation, Provincial governments</td>
<td>854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition to election</td>
<td>969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election boycott call</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rejection of government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concessions 107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strategies 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in election</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Split in Parliamentary caucus 141
Support forecasts 852
post-election 854
CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY 530, 601
CONSTITUENCY BUILDING, Women 406
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 686
ANC candidates list 28, 199
CONSTITUTION 1993 Amendments 930
Assessment by Mangosuthu Buthelezi 465
Legislation 930
CONSTITUTION 1996, Electoral system, principles 307
CONSTITUTION 656, 708, 899, 912 Adoption 1061
Criticism by AZASCO 57
Opposition to 338 Political parties' viewpoints 345
CONSTITUTION MAKING, ANC viewpoint 823
CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA ACT 1993 Amendments 930
Voting rights provisions 108
CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY, Role 379
CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES 47
CONSTITUTIONAL CONCESSIONS, Rejection by CP 107
CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, Role 600
AZAPO policies 756
IFP stance 490, 493, 695
International mediation agreement 830
KwaZulu-Natal, summit meeting 910
Post-election 379 Technical Committee on, submission 946
Zulu kingdom 929
Zulu monarchy 150
CONSTITUTIONS 187, 343 Design 845
Drafting 379
Guides 1073 Nature of 86
U.S., Birth, and parallels with S.A. 86
CONSTITUTIONS
see also FINAL CONSTITUTION;
INTERIM CONSTITUTION
CONSULTANTS,
Overseas, role in political parties' strategies 691
CONSULTATIVE BUSINESS FORUM 118
CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA 547, 703, 880, 903, 912
CORRUPTION 413, 606
1999 election 606
Electoral 606
Political 606
COSATU 1066
and 1999 election 829, 1063
and Alliance with ANC, consequences 1014
and ANC 3 campaign 115
government 176
post-election 732
support 115
Attitude to parliamentary democracy 1014
Campaign 129, 737
Candidates 115, 129, 172
women 629
Canvassing 115
Collective bargaining 898
Congress (1993) 193
Congress (1997) 1063
and Elections 193, 1033
attitudes and expectations 873
and Government of National Unity 898
Leadership 129
Members of Parliament, political allegiance 829
Membership 129
Negotiators training 129
Political allegiance 561
Political attitudes 829
Political instruction 194
Post-election prospects 898
Reconstruction Accord 3
Resolutions 737
Stance in Natal 737
Support, ANC 1063-1064
Tripartite Alliance 873
Voter education 115, 194
Western Cape, role in elections 169
COUNTING CENTRE,
Layout 443
COUNTING
MONITORS, Training
460
COUNTING OFFICERS
Duties and
responsibilities 453
Role in election 453
COUNTING PROCESS
441
Irregularities 436
KwaZulu-Natal 512, 701
Transmission of results 589
Verification 588
COUNTING STATIONS
453
Procedures 444
CUSTOMS DUTIES
Exemption of election material 928

D
DAMELIN, Voter education 204
DE KLERK, F.W. 656
1993 New Year's message 210
Campaign OFS 358
Reception in Genadendal and
Grayston 505
Western Cape 505
Constitutional agreement 929
Debate with Mandela 886
Election date call 320
Kimberley stoning 1025
Interview 290
Land deal 543
Leadership 703
Popularity in Western Cape 870
Presidential debate 353, 359
Skukuza Summit 910
Speeches 210
Status 968
Support KwaZulu-Natal 775
Western Cape 642
DE LILLE, Patricia Complaints against 638
DEAF Voter education 266
DEBATES Mandela/De Klerk 886
Role in elections 886
DEBI see DEMOCRATIC
EDUCATION
BROADCASTING INITIATIVE
DEFENCE, Post-election structure 164
DEFICITS 1090
DEMOCRACIES Transitional, election broadcasts 697
DEMOCRACY 110, 326, 577, 646, 912
Capacity building 116-117
and Capitalism 739
Challenges 957
Consociational 601
models 530
Consolidation 94-95, 117, 123, 191, 734, 839, 841, 948, 1061, 1076
Africa 841
Mozambique 842
Namibia 842
prospects 680, 878-879, 982
role of elections 106
Sierra Leone 842
Southern Africa 842-845
Sub-Saharan Africa 106
Dawning in South Africa 134
Development, rural areas 1085
and Dominant party system 604
Education 1009
and Elections 197
and Electoral systems 1078
Emergence 398
IFP opposition 670
Inauguration celebrations 596
Legislation 920
Mathematics of 224
Multi-party 4, 97, 899
Nature of 197
Promotion 1068
Prospects 34, 117, 657, 957
post-election 949
Public support 734
Threats to 657
Right Wing 667
Transformation 385
ANC policies 13, 15
business facilitation 118
chronology 906
EU assistance 291
financial costs, role of Commissions 131
IFP fear of 768
impact of opinion polls 682-683
impact of political violence 699
international assistance 1031
Mozambique 386
negotiations 530
political cartoons 1053
problems 758
role of churches 166
of civic movements 888
of labour 1093
of media 872
of Right Wing 1055
of trade unions 1033
Southern Africa 1052
structures 1029, 1065
success 1071
support
AWEPA 963
UN 962
Voter attitudes 95-96
Women's participation 598
Workers' attitudes 1014
Workers' expectations, survey 1014
DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION, Prospects 878-879
DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION
BROADCASTING INITIATIVE 1088
Bias 622, 1069
Funding 1069
Voter education campaign 622, 1069
DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS see ELECTIONS, Democratic
DEMOCRATIC FRANCHISE, United States 366
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, Problems 338
DEMOCRATIC PARTY 798, 1075
Advertising campaign 361
Advertising strategy 85
Bill of Rights 239
Candidates, nomination regulations 236
Complaint, to IEC 641
Election 1999, success 798
Election campaign 71, 1075
leaflets 238, 240
Western Cape 644
Election results 616
Election stances 892
Failure, reasons 798
Leadership 1075
and Liberalism 798
Manifesto 232-233, 264
Media strategy 85
Philosophy 798
Policies 143, 233, 240, 892
civil rights 239
economic 264
rule of law 239
women's rights 238
Post-election situation 616
Principles 233
Problems 1075
Prospects 1075
Provincial support 616
Strategies 1075
Submission on the IEC 234-235, 237
Success, 1999 elections 798
Support, Financial Mail 318
DEMOCRATIC VALUES, in Elections 605
DEMOCRATIZATION 117, 140, 210, 246, 335, 336, 386, 522, 530, 547, 600, 880, 975
Africa 223, 694
role of elections and electoral systems 35
Effect of political violence 699
and Electoral systems 842, 845, 849
Independent media 83
Mozambique 386
Negotiations 980
Process 903
Prospects 257, 335
Role of opinion surveys 875
Role of SABC 597
Southern Africa 744, 842-845
DEMOCRATIZATION see also DEMOCRACY, Transition
DEMOGRAPHY, Voters 324
DENMARK, Electoral system 287
DEVELOPMENT AID, Norway 957
DIFFERENCE, Assertion in elections 857
DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY, Role in elections 84
DISPUTE RESOLUTION 750
DISTRICT ELECTORAL OFFICERS, Appointment 439
DISTRICT OFFICERS, Duties and responsibilities 458
DIVINERS see TRADITIONAL HEALERS
DOMINANT PARTY REGIMES 363
South Africa 367
DOMINANT PARTY STATE, and ANC 978
DOMINANT PARTY SYSTEM 363, 367, 604, 679
DOUBLE BALLOT 275, 341, 473, 556
Consequences 564
and IFP 491
and Minority parties 808
System 556
DURBAN, Election Day, reminiscence 93
DURBAN DEAL 76
DUTCH VIOLENCE OBSERVATION MISSION 256

EAST RAND
- Election days, personal accounts 715
- National Peacekeeping Force 751
- Township violence 7
- UNOMSA 1039
- Violence 751
- Voting process, problems 715
- Voting stations 300 problems 296, 817

EASTERN CAPE
- Political parties, support 167
- Voter allegiance 167

EAT see ECUNEMICAL ASSISTANCE TRUST

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 796
- Post-election 947

ECONOMIC ISSUES 410

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION 410

ECONOMY 210, 1045
- ANC policies 820
- Effects of election 803
- Post-election prospects 819

ECUNEMICAL ASSISTANCE TRUST

Funding 951
- Programmes 951
- EISA, Electoral Systems Roundtable 309

ELECTION 1999
- ANC candidates lists 987
- ANC prospects 604
- and Capitalism 739
- Coloured vote 502
- Consequences 739
- Corruption 606
- and COSATU 829, 1063
- survey 829
- Debate strategies 886
- Democratic party success 798
- Electoral system 307
- Forecasts 1061
- Gender issues 406
- IFP policies 488
- Monitoring role of political parties 815
- and NGOs 428
- Opinion polls, evaluation 985
- Opposition parties, opportunities 699
- Political parties’ manifestos 196
- Political party funding 814
- Preparation 285, 428
- Results 274, 529
- ethnographic 786
- gender analysis 64
- provincial 786
Role of NGOs 504
Seats distribution 274, 986
Surveys, interpretation 985
Voter attitudes 184
Voter eligibility 147
Voter intention 679
Women
  political involvement 406
  representation 406
  in Parliament 66
ELECTION 2004
  Electoral system 307
ELECTION
  ADMINISTRATION
  DIRECTORATE 432
ELECTION
  AUTHORITIES see
  ELECTORAL
  AUTHORITIES
ELECTION DATE 965
  Call by De Klerk 320
  Dispute 1065
  International mediation 575
  Multi-party resolution 722
  Postponement 52
ELECTION DAY
  and Employers 51
  Personal accounts 384, 914
  Violence reduction 893
ELECTION ISSUES 264, 270, 314, 328, 340, 379, 418, 634, 655, 673, 812,
  884, 1066
  Abortion 360
  Coloured community 889
  Democratic Party viewpoints 892
  Gay rights 360
  KwaZulu-Natal 1071
  Political parties, campaign commitments 1093
  Polygamy 360
  Surveys 516, 680
ELECTION MANAGEMENT 346
ELECTION
  MATERIAL, Customs exemption 928
ELECTION OUTCOME
  Economic issues 960
  Forecasts 278
  KwaZulu-Natal 565
  Leadership 636
  Political analysis 982
  Predictions 324, 961
  Prospects 403
  U.S. reaction 908
ELECTION PROCEDURES 1012
ELECTION RESULTS
  50, 197, 230, 252, 274, 306, 309, 386, 398, 400, 434, 498, 526, 529, 604,
  358
529
Racial analysis 977, 988
Racial factor 878-879
Reactions 991, 1007
Regional 849
Rejection, consequences 989
Role of Media Centre 451
Seats 905, 982
  Cabinet 905
  National Assembly 905
Tables 388, 434, 558, 905, 941-942, 1080
  political parties
  percentage support 905, 1028
Transmission to Control Centre 589
Votes 905
Western Cape 502, 786, 859
  forecasts 640, 760
  opinion polls 760
  political analysis 259
  questioned 874
White electorate 848
Women's representation 64
ELECTIONS 1987, International radio coverage 1084
ELECTIONS 1989, International radio coverage 1084
ELECTIONS 1992, Namibia 266
ELECTIONS 1993, Survey 90
ELECTIONS 1995
  Coloured vote 858
  Support, ANC, Namaqualand 858
  Voter education 428
  Youth, voter turnout 508-509
ELECTIONS
  Africa 35, 280-281, 694
  Call for by ANC 16
  Civic movements 888
  Democratic 269, 648, 789, 890
  Africa 284
  prospects 211
  requirements 632
  role of debates 886
  Evaluation 742
  case studies 742
  principles 742
  First democratic 429, 903
  Founding 246, 890
  functions 246
  popular participation 104
  Sub-Saharan Africa 103-104
  Gender issues, bibliography 65
  Global coverage 270
and NGOs 32
Political parties'
viewpoints 345
Role in consolidation
of democracy 106
Role in
democratization in
Africa 35
and Women,
bibliography 65
ELECTIONS AND
IDENTIFICATION
AMENDMENT ACT
No.92 1989,
Promulgation 937
ELECTORAL ACT 271,
559, 592, 806, 903
Amendments 916, 931,
971-972
IFEE recommendations
475
Key provisions 1022
Promulgation 931
Provisions 475, 479,
1078
Role of IEC 479
Section 16, Prisoners'
rights 971-972
ELECTORAL ACT No.
202 of 1993, Section 16
(d), Prisoners' voting
rights 108
ELECTORAL ACTS 648
ELECTORAL
ADMINISTRATION
195, 255, 273, 301, 432,
436
and Commonwealth

182
Forms 469
IEC 856
IEC headquarters 298
Problems 295-296
Role of DEOs 439
Role of IEC 439, 1006,
1079
ELECTORAL
AMENDMENT ACT,
No 1, 1994,
Promulgation 932
ELECTORAL AND
RELATED AFFAIRS
AMENDMENT ACT
No. 36 1985,
Promulgation 937
ELECTORAL
AUTHORITIES 766
Sub-Saharan 229
ELECTORAL BILL,
Drafts 724-725, 917,
921-927
ELECTORAL
COMMISSION
Activities 851
Establishment 851
Independence 851
Responsibilities 851
Role in voter education
851
ELECTORAL
COMMISSION see also
INDEPENDENT
ELECTORAL
COMMISSION
ELECTORAL
COMMISSION ACT,
Bibliographies 529, 881

Broadcasting
  international radio
  coverage 1084
  role of IBA 84
and Business 868, 1066
Business benefits 1089
Business involvement 118
and Buthelezi 768
Campaign management 878
Campaigns 261, 371, 686, 696, 890, 1008
ANC 961
Canadian observer 585
Chronology 804
Civic education 743
and Commonwealth 182
Communication 857
Consequences 412, 739, 959, 1076
  for industrial
  relations 811
Constitutional Affairs
  Committee report 939
Constitutional
  provisions 255
Constraints 984
Corruption 606
and COSATU 193, 737
Cost
  estimated 425, 1003
Creative writing 755
Democratic 594
  prospects 828
Democratic education 1009
Destabilization by IFP 670
Disruptions, UWC 644
Draft regulations 447
Economic disruption 1091
Effects 371, 373, 954
  on prisons 85, 810
Electoral systems 1078
Electoral territoriality, 1999 election 864
Employment 620
Ethnicity 684, 687, 802, 864
Euphoria 711, 713, 772
Evaluation 468
Expectations 877
Expenditure 1090
Finance
  role of international
  missions 1003
  role of TEC 1003
First elections, international
  experience 429
Fraud 513
Free and fair
  declaration
  by COGSA 181, 183
  by IEC, provisions 445
Gender issues 275, 406, 539
Guguletu 643
Guidelines 222
Guides 408, 1073
Hate speech 861
Heyns Committee, findings and recommendations 939
Highlights 835
Homelands 860
ANC campaigns destabilization 244
Humour 370
IEC mismanagement 425
IFP participation 119, 316, 523, 659
Impact of voter education 91
Implementation, Africa 35
Importance 1009
Industrial relations 51, 1066
Instruction manual 743
International community 496
International context 522
International monitoring 867
International observers 587
International support, need for 112
Intimidation 599, 943
Involvement of IFES 498
Irregularities 425
Key issues, candidates’ questions 539
KwaZulu-Natal 73, 316, 400, 439, 512-513, 523-524, 767, 772, 913, 978
delay, implications 741
irregularities 512-513
legitimacy 717
media coverage 534
peace and security 992
problems 153
requirements, IEC report 617
role of Zulu ethnicity 802
vote counting 552
Legislation 479
Legitimacy 50, 868
List system 412
Literary event 857
Literary works 562, 690
Media coverage, SABC 597
Nature of 890
Newspaper reports 909
Northern Natal,
Canadian observer report 911
Northern Transvaal,
Ellisras 546
NPKF, failure 72
Opposition, Right Wing 965
Oral history 857
Orange Free State 958
PAC failure, reasons
Participation 884
by Buthelezi 581, 741
refusal 764
by Freedom Alliance
320, 378, 392, 563, 718
EU intervention
392
refusal 989
by Freedom Front
852, 1056
by Inkatha Freedom Party 491-493, 757, 860
effect on Right Wing 1018
late entry
consequences 144
summit meeting 572
by Right Wing parties 860
possibility 1018
effect of voter education 428
role of churches 166
Party strategies 526
Peaceful prospects 905
Personal accounts 7, 93, 134, 296, 298, 300, 315, 375, 401, 404, 562, 576, 585, 643, 690, 755, 804, 909, 983, 997
Athens 774
Canada 914
Cape Province 1074
East Rand 715, 817
fiction 720
KwaZulu-Natal 701, 772
Northern Cape 794
Northern Natal 322, 911
Northern Transvaal 546
observers 873
PWV 817
Vredendal 1074
Photographs 382
queues 1
Planning 880, 913
Poem 690
Political analysis 398, 524, 526, 605, 647, 734, 890, 975, 977-978
bias 647
Political campaigns, access to homelands 545
Popular reactions 140
Possibility, KwaZulu-Natal 617, 621
Post-election period 182
Postponement 664
IEC opposition 621
implications 910
possibility 965
Preparations 222, 375, 499, 840, 984
ANC stance 632
responsibility 273
Transkei 535
Press coverage, U.S. 908
Problems 551, 633
Promises
implementation by ANC 666
non-delivery 796
Public awareness 70
Public violence prevention 368
PWV 370, 371, 372, 373
Reaction in Netherlands 596
Reactions 857, 980, 1006
Recommendations 223
by IEC 468
Regulations 449, 724, 916-917, 921-927
effect on farms 93
Review 571
Role of
ANC 761
business 102
Buthelezi 718
Commonwealth 177
COMSA 179-180
Conservative Party 761
IEC 327, 356, 499-500, 531, 559, 633, 1079
International experts 960
international monitors 347

observers 376, 548, 957, 1031
Mandela 571
media 545, 857, 866, 883, 1089
legislation 872
military 195
monitors 807
National Peace-Keeping Force 583, 751
NGOs 504, 553, 561
observers 380, 807, 994
opinion polls 664, 683
peace monitors 887
police 200, 496, 891
political cartoons 1053
political parties 325
Right Wing 761
SABC 58
SACP 198
SANDF 871
UNOMSA 102, 551, 962
White Right 1055-1056, 1081
women 195, 324, 377, 544, 630, 882
Zulus 950
and SACP 970
Security 590
Significance 527
Social significance 100
South African authors'
stances 109
Southern Africa 744
violence 648
Stability prospects 1035
Statistics 681
Success 330
UN accolade 1071
Summit meeting 620
Support
ANC, Namaqualand 858
business 267, 865
international 587, 1031
Norway 957, 1031
Threats to 431
Afrikaner Nationalists 969
Inkatha Freedom Party 969, 1081
Right Wing 411, 667, 1012
White Right 1027
violence 500, 896, 965, 984, 1081
Zulu Nationalists 969
Transkei, problems 1037
UN supervision 247
Unanimity of purpose 857
United States perspective 908
Urban legends 370
Violence 590, 599, 726, 943, 1070, 1081
Voter's guide 618
Women 62-63, 394, 979
participation 598
representation 406
ELECTORAL REFORM 602
Debate 558
South Africa 220
ELECTORAL STAFF 620
Salaries 623
Training 206
ELECTORAL STEERING COMMITTEE 285
Design 902, 904
Interim constitution 307
Reform prospects 602
ELECTORAL SYSTEMS 61, 90, 175, 187, 221, 308-309, 326, 341, 412, 602, 632, 842-845, 849, 980, 1077
1996 Constitution 307
Africa 280
Alternative 850
and Election results 842, 846-847-849
Malawi 842, 846-847
Case studies 221
Africa 223
Choice 557, 850, 902, 904
Chronology 308
Debate 309
Democratic 1078
Denmark 287  
Design 286-287, 288, 518, 557, 842, 902, 904  
Germany 287  
Inclusivity 842  
Interim constitution 307  
List-PR 61, 64  
Mixed systems 61  
Modification 220  
Party list system 850  
Proportional representation 44, 219-220, 286-287, 558  
Proposals 220, 850  
Reform 288  
EISA Roundtable 309  
proposals 558  
prospets 602  
Role in democratization in Africa 35  
Southern Africa 842-845, 849  
Suitability for South Africa 341  
Sweden 287  
Women’s representation 61, 65-66  
ELECTORAL TRIBUNALS 404  
Regulations 449  
ELECTORATE 147, 795  
Attitude, pre-election 215  
Estimation 848  
Ethnicity 902  
Expectations 142, 324, 877, 1058  
and Political parties 515  
Preparation for election 824  
Socio-economic concerns 142  
EMARY, Claire 536-537  
EMERGENCY REGULATIONS  
Criticisms by Human Rights Commission 160  
KwaZulu-Natal, effects 160  
EMPLOYERS 51  
Election holiday 415  
EQUALITY 406-407, 416, 638  
Gender issue 631  
and ANC 1071  
ETHNICITY  
and ANC 802  
and Election results 510, 849  
and Elections 681, 684-685  
and Electoral process 802, 878-879  
and Inkathha Freedom Party 802  
Voter attachment 677  
Voter behaviour 85, 681, 685, 687, 902
Voting 388
Zulu 802
EUROPEAN UNION
and Freedom Alliance 392
Involvement in
transition to
democracy 291
Police observers 294
and Post-election South
Africa 292
EUROPEAN UNION
ELECTION UNIT,
Report 293
EUROPEAN UNION
OBSERVER MISSION
IN SOUTH AFRICA 46
EUROPEAN UNION
POLICE OBSERVERS
294
EXPLOSIVES, Control
114

F
FARM WORKERS
Canvassing, guidelines
317
Electoral process,
Northern Cape 794
Voter education 582
FARMS
Electioneering 393
Voter registration 393
FEDERAL ALLIANCE
Ciskei withdrawal 378
Participation in
elections 378
Pre-election situation

38
FEDERAL PARTY 310-312
Candidates 310, 312
Leadership 310, 312
Manifesto 311
Policies 310-311
Principles 311-312
FEDERALISATION,
PAC policy 783
FEDERALISM 69, 187, 248, 390
Inkatha Freedom Party
1092
constitutional
demand 159
KwaZulu-Natal 565
FINAL
CONSTITUTION,
Electoral arrangements
308-309
FINANCE, and Politics
and Government, post-
election 948
FINANCIAL MAIL,
Support, DP 318
FIRST-PAST-THE-
POST 518
FIRST-TIME VOTERS
839
Voter education 712
FLAGS 408
FOREIGN POLICY
Post-election 948
South Africa, ANC
policies 14
FRANCHISE
Coloured community,
Boycott of elections 500
   motivation 989
Decline 105
Election concessions 320
Election prospects 763
Participation in election 563, 578, 718
   concessions by Mandela 650
   EU intervention 392
   refusal 500, 989
Pre-election situation 492
Registration 763
   refusal 855
Special party conference 492
Strategy 658
FREEDOM CHARTER 37
FREEDOM FRONT 331-332
   Election results, prospects 1015
Leadership 332
Manifesto 331
Participation in election 105, 852, 1056
Policies 331
Strategies, post-election 1019
Success in election 332
Support, forecast 853
Volkstaat concept, post-election strategy 1019-1020
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION 334, 861
   Legislation 716
   Post-election 716
FREEDOM OF SPEECH 861
G
GANGS, Western Cape 689
GAUTENG
   Election results 786
   Political parties'
      support 517
   Surveys 517
GAY RIGHTS 360
GEAR  see GROWTH EMPLOYMENT AND REDISTRIBUTION PLAN
GENDER ISSUES 61, 62-64, 201, 289, 348, 355, 394, 406-407, 416-417, 544, 630, 705, 734, 816, 882, 1087
   Bibliographies 65
   Equality 406-407, 416, 638
   Commission 265
   KwaZulu-Natal 1071
   post-election plans 1086
   Government policy 738
   Key questions 539
   Legislation 407
   Political parties'
      promises 275
   Political parties' stances
979, 1099
SAWP stance 973
GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEM
Role in election 426-427
Role in location of voting stations 426-427
GERMANY, Electoral system 287
GLOBALISM 379
GOLDSTONE COMMISSION 369, 590, 726-727, 799, 894
Evidence 368
Guidelines for peaceful marches 49
Report on public violence 368-369
GOLDSTONE COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION, Representations, Lawyers for Human Rights 583
GOLDSTONE, Richard 368
GOULD, Ron, 1993 visit to South Africa 375
GOVERNANCE, Post-election 338, 1076
GOVERNMENT Destabilization of Homelands ANC election campaign 244
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS Post-election 413 Women in 631
and Traditionalism 1071
Workers' expectations 1014
GREAT BRITAIN
Aid, South Africa 637
Foreign relations, South Africa 637
GREECE, Overseas voters 774
GROWTH
EMPLOYMENT AND REDISTRIBUTION PLAN 1064
GUN RUNNING, Western Cape 689
GWALA, Harry, Political stance on co-operation with IFP 153
HANI, Chris 970
HATE SPEECH 861
HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY 1055
HOLIDAYS, Election 276
HOMELANDS
Access during election campaigns 545
Agrarian situation 79
Demise 581
Elections strategies 244
Electoral process 860
Voters, inclusion 496
HOMGENEITY, Representation in elections 857
HOSPITALS, Voter education 126-127
HUMAN RIGHTS 239, 646
Abuses
Bophuthatswana, pre-election 649
KwaZulu-Natal, pre-election 649
Protection
Commissions 265
Public Protector 265
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, Criticism of emergency regulations 160
HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS, International 742, 867
HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL, Surveys, pre-election 660
IDASA
Election observers 585
Role in voter education 1010-1011, 1101
SADF 111
Workshop, tolerance and voter education 1101
IDENTITY DOCUMENTS
Campaign 582
Issues 1037
Problems 36
bureaucratic 74
IFEE see
INDEPENDENT
FORUM FOR
ELECTORAL
EDUCATION
ILLITERATE VOTERS,
Voter education 1086
IMSSA
ANC candidates lists,
selection procedures
38
International
colference, first
democratic elections
429
Voter education
programmes 430
INAUGURATION
Celebration 669
Presidential 656
consequences 33
costs 131
speeches 759
support 33
INDEPENDENT
BROADCASTING
ACT 592
INDEPENDENT
BROADCASTING
AUTHORITY 267,
1029
Broadcasting
frequencies 84
Radio licenses 84
INDEPENDENT
ELECTORAL
COMMISSION 267,
285, 337, 409, 436, 440,
468, 551, 726-727, 851,
912, 956, 980-981, 1029
Achievements 1037
Activities 440
Administration 432-
433, 446, 856, 913
KwaZulu-Natal 512
Administrative task
195
Assistance from
SANDF 871
Ballot papers
choice of printing
firm 277
distribution 996
finance 915
Briefing on Media
Centre 451
Budget 623, 1003
Commissioners 254
Communications 432-
433
Competence 54, 300
Complaints
by DP 641
Western Cape 641
Composition 620
Constraints 633
Cost 409
Counting Centre layout
443
Departments 436
Difficulties 439
Duties 934
East Rand 555
Election 1994 report
Electoral legislation 449
Employment contract 450
Establishment 721, 723-724, 933-934
Estimates of expenditure, approval by TEC 863
Evaluation of election 468
Expenditure estimates 1003
Finance 128, 468, 863 salaries 1003
Financial statements 915
Forms 450, 468
Free and fair declaration 303 provisions 445
Functions 559, 600, 766
Headquarters 298
Independence 531
Inefficiency 157
Joint Working Committee on elections in KwaZulu, report 617
KwaZulu-Natal 157, 409, 465
Law 721
Legislation 449, 495, 559, 723, 918-919, 933-937
Logistical problems 776
East Rand 296
Mismanagement 425
Monitoring Directorate 436
Monitors 128
Motor vehicle demand 719
Objectives 559
Operations 1022
Organization 559
Organizational development 301
and Peace monitors 158
Problems 1, 205, 245, 330, 570
Regulations 934, 937 candidates lists submission 934
registration of political parties 934
Report 468, 513, 607
Results announcement procedure 441
Role of counting monitors 452
Role in elections 50, 271, 327, 356, 479, 499-500, 555, 559, 766, 1079
Role in KwaZulu-Natal 157, 301, 465
Springs sub-region 555
Staff 298, 620 appointments, DEOs 439
salaries 623
Structure 255, 267
Success 531, 856
Support, business 128
Task groups 621
Tasks 195, 205, 570, 620, 851, 1006, 1079
Technical assistance from IFES 498
Technical Committee on, report 944, 1024
Transitional 718
Transport 471
and Violence, role and powers 1025
Voting stations 573
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION ACT 1993
Amendment 446
Drafts 933
Promulgation 934
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION ACT 559
Drafts 351, 721, 725
Submissions 495, 721
Labour Party of South Africa 568-569
PAC 780
Technical Committee on the IEC 351
Venda 1060
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION AMENDMENT ACT
No.5 1994
Promulgation 937
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION AMENDMENT ACT
No.56 1995 Promulgation 937
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION AMENDMENT BILL 446
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION BILL
Drafts 723, 919
Submissions
KwaZulu-Natal 566
South African government 918
INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION 202, 362, 534, 671, 1011, 1083
Observing elections 963
Request for meeting with Technical Committee on Voter Education 477
INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL LEGISLATION 475-476
Code of Conduct 476
Membership 476
Restructuring 476
INDEPENDENT MEDIA COMMISSION 267, 478, 534, 600, 1029
Committees 478
Law 478
Regulations 478
Role in elections 1038
Salaries 623
Staff 478
Survey 186
INDEPENDENT MEDIA COMMISSION ACT 478
INDEPENDENT OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA 958
INDIAN COMMUNITY and African National Congress 832
Role in South Africa 832
INDIAN VOTE 241, 542, 832
IMPD survey 832
National Party support 832
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS Effect of elections 415
and Election Day 51
and Electoral process 1066
Post-election period 811
and Voter education
1066
INFORMATION
Protection 450
State 478
INFORMATION
ACCESS 534
INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY
and Electoral process 626
Southern Africa 626
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY 301, 400
Advertising 85
Agreement for Reconciliation and peace, government failure to honour 485, 490
and ANC alliance possibility 552
cooperation 565
in KwaZulu-Natal 552
Arms supply 145
Boycott of election 82, 338, 491-492, 610 threat 154
Campaign, commitments 1093
Candidates lists 433
Class terms 768
Co-operation with ANC 565
Constitutional issues 488, 493, 695
Desire for peace 77

377
Destabilization
  electoral process 670
  KwaZulu-Natal 506-507
Election results
  refusal to accept 157
  validity 149
and Elections 190
and Electoral process 984
and Federalism 1092
IEC submission 486-487, 489
International mediation 575
KwaZulu-Natal 513
election results 155
Media strategy 85
Mediation 299
Nature of 768
Opposition to
democratization 670
Opposition to election 146, 965, 969
Participation in election
  491-493, 523, 528,
  581, 659, 757, 776,
  860
decision 54, 119-120,
  299, 316
late entry
  consequences 119,
  144
mediation 316
provisional
registration
agreement 422
refusal 338, 855
summit meeting 572
Policies 143, 488
Political differences 491
Political future 910
Post-election period
  565, 1092
  problems 528
  prospects 389
  strategies, national
  and provincial 159
Pre-election strategy
  524, 528
Role of chieftaincy 768
Role in Multiparty
  Negotiation Process 77
Role of Zulu ethnicity 802
Strategy 658
Submissions at MPNP
talks 486-487, 489
Success 524, 767
Support
  loss to ANC 82
  traditional leaders 485
  White 521
Talks, with ANC 852
Threat to elections
  1081
Victory
  consequences 528
  rural areas, role of
  Zulu ethnicity 802
INKATHA
MOVEMENT 400
INSTITUTE FOR
MULTIParty
DEMOCRACY 266
Projects and programmes 266
Submission to MPNP talks 495
Survey, Indian vote 832
INTERIM
CONSTITUTION 225, 263, 601, 729, 759, 806, 903, 1061, 1065
Amendment concerning Zulu monarchy 150
Electoral provisions 306
Human rights protection 265
INTERNATIONAL AID 560
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS
Electoral stances 496-497
Observer mission 122
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
Involvement 867
Liaison 435
Role in elections 347, 496
Role in founding election 246
and South Africa, investment 948
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS
Involvement in electoral process 498
Technical assistance to IEC 498
INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT
AZAPO stance 755
Pre-election period 964
INTERNATIONAL LIAISON OFFICE
and International Community 435
Mandate 435
Tasks 435
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA
Celebration 669
Role in elections 358
INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION 316, 485, 490, 695
Agreement 422, 830
constitutional issues 830
pre-election 830
Collapse, role of Inkatha 575
Election date controversy 575
KwaZulu-Natal 316
Reluctance 621
Talks 776
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, and ANC economic policies 511
INTERNATIONAL MONITORS, Role in electoral process 347
INTERNATIONAL NEWS, Responsibility 1084
INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS 45, 344, 718
NGO teams 586
Role in elections 548
Role in free and fair elections 376
UNOMSA 381
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
SA rejoining, cost 171
and South Africa, membership 560
South Africa's membership 953
INTERNATIONAL VOTE 295
INTIMIDATION 195, 500, 590, 607, 664, 726-727, 797, 878, 980
Cape Town, AWB 1025
KwaZulu-Natal 388
voting stations 76
Pre-election 350
Prevention 943
Technical Committee on 943
Threat to election 599
Voters 153, 607
INTOLERANCE 545
Political 173
Western Cape 173
INVESTMENT 1090
Prospects 952
J
JOCCS see JOINT OPERATIONS COMMUNICATIONS CENTRES
JOHANNESBURG
Electoral process 401
Queues 401
Voter intention, minority communities 323
Voting 401
Voting stations 300
Zulu march 190
JOINT OPERATIONAL CENTRES 1000
JOINT OPERATIONS COMMUNICATIONS CENTRES, Support from business 865
K
KATLEHONG
(Township) 7
KATORUS AREA, Violence 421
KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY
Manifesto 537
Policies 536-537
Stances 536
KENDALL, Frances 310-312
KIMBERLEY
African National Party, and National Party, hostility 1025
Election campaigns 1025
Stoning of F. W. de Klerk 1025
KISS see KEEP IT
STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY
KRIEGLER, Johann 149, 298, 1001
and Elections, KwaZulu-Natal 439
and IEC 1001
Leadership qualities 1001
KWAZULU-NATAL
ANC 768
prospects 73
support 563, 775
Boycott, consequences 775
Conflict, effect of election 610-611
Constitutional issues 910
Destabilization by ANC 506
Election campaigns, ANC 155
Election confusion 157
Election outcome 565, 978
role of Zulu ethnicity 802
Election possibility, IEC report 617
Election results 73, 388, 786
acceptance 155
IFP refusal to accept 157
irregularities 155
manipulation 76
political analysis 521
questioned 874
reactions 231
Electoral process 316, 384, 400, 409, 512-513, 523-524, 913
consequences 388
COSATU stance 737
counting 701
difficulties 465
free and fair, problems 465
intimidation, freedom from 388
Krieger determination 439
observers' accounts 772
participation 741, 910
summit meeting 572
political stances 465
problems 165, 512
role of IEC 512
Emergency regulations 160
Federalism 390, 565
Fraud 767
evidence 76
Human rights abuses
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IEC inefficiency</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEC submissions</td>
<td>566-567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFP victory</td>
<td>767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidation</td>
<td>76, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land deal, pre-election</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land ownership</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government elections, forecasts</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiation process, obstruction</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinion polls, ANC support</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational development, role of IEC</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace prospects</td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace and security forces</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problems</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political allegiance</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political conflict</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-election</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political rivalries</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-election</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-election</td>
<td>524, 528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics and government</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of King</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill Zwelithini</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election political situation</td>
<td>159, 552,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>565, 659, 764, 767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election political situation</td>
<td>150, 621,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>659-660, 740, 969, 1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election situation</td>
<td>82, 492, 776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>observer account 949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>political dispensation 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>violence 649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premiership, Jacob Zuma</td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional autonomy</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance campaigns</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secessionism</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of emergency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>248, 316, 528, 610, 617, 757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summit meeting</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>constitutional proposals 572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveys</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANC support 775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalism</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>53, 121, 144,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>316, 506-507, 523,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>590, 610-611, 649,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>757, 764, 776, 841,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>causes 506-507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>post-election 506-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>507, 611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pre-election 717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
public 368
Vote counting 552
Voter attitudes 231
Voter education 1085
obstruction by political parties 151
threats to 160
Voting stations
location 426-427
role of GIS 426-427
Women, equality 1071

LABOUR
and Elections, surveys 829
and Government and politics 1094
Role in transition to democracy 1094
LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA, Submission to the Technical Committee on the IEC 568-569
LAND ISSUES
ANC policies 79
Namaqualand 858
PAC policy 782, 784
PAC promises 53
LAND OWNERSHIP, KwaZulu-Natal 543
LAND REFORM
PROGRAMMES 79
LAND RESTITUTION, Commission 265
LAND RIGHTS 779
LANGUAGE AND LITERACY, Adult readers, election 1994, short stories 720
LAUNCHING DEMOCRACY PROJECT 577
LEADERSHIP 402
Political parties 408
Post-election 636
LEBOWA
Voter education 998
Voter registration 998
LEGAL EDUCATION AND ACTION PROJECT, Voter education 591
LEGISLATION
South African National Defence Force 163
Voting procedures 993
LEGITIMACY 50
of Election 989
LEKGANYANE, Bishop Barnabas, Address to political parties 404
leon, Tony 240
Speeches, UWC 644
LIBERALISM, and Democratic Party 798
LIBERATION
POLITICS 1076
LIBERATION STRUGGLE 69
LIBERTY 239
LIST SYSTEM 341, 602
Effect on women's representation 407
LITERARY WORKS
Poem 690
LITERATURE, Essays 755
LOBBYING 188, 705
LOCAL GOVERNMENT, Structure 600

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS 1996, Forecasts 521
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS 975 KwaZulu-Natal, prospects 485 Outcome 975
LOGOS 67, 408 Political parties 4
LONDON, Political activity 297
LOOTING, Bophuthatswana 6, 189
LUSO-SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY 628 Manifesto 628 President 826

MALAWI, Election results, alternative electoral system 846-847
MALAYSIA, Political parties 363
MANDELA, Nelson 6, 205, 257, 329, 656, 707, 990 Agreement with Buthelezi 422 and ANC victory 653 Concessions to Freedom Alliance 650 Constitutional agreement 929 Debate with de Klerk 886 Inauguration 33, 39, 131, 656, 669, 833, 1045 speeches 759 and Inkatha participation in elections, summit meeting 572 and International mediation 422 Interviews 652, 655 Leadership 125, 703, 990 Nobel Peace Prize 654 and Opposition parties 34 Presidential address 651 Presidential debate 353, 359 Presidential election 787, 953 Role in election 571 and Shell House Shootings 1044 Skukuza Summit 910 Speeches 653, 759,
Statements 17, 26, 654-655
Voting 693
MANGE, James 75
MANGOPE, Lucas
Political position 98
Replacement by administrators 189
MANIFESTOS 196
ACDF 9
AMP 8
ANC 22, 40, 43, 196, 340, 418
Biblical values 161
DP 232-233
FF 331
Gender issues 1099
KISS 537
LUSAP 628
NNP 196
NP 340, 747
PAC 196, 253, 778-779, 784
Political issues 263
Political parties 263, 408
South African Women's Party 973
WIRFI 1096
Women's Rights Peace Party 1087
Workers' List Party 1096
MANLEY, Michael, COMSA leader 698
MAPS, Provincial delimitation 735
MARKDATA, Surveys 516-517
MARKINOR POLLS 377
MASS MEDIA see MEDIA
MASS WORKERS' PARTY 78, 1096
Formation plans 1096-1097
MATHEMATICS, Elections 224
MATLA TRUST 202, 672
Voter education research project 94
survey 95
MBEKI, Thabo 656
MCHUNU, Mandla 913
MEDIA 883
Advertising campaigns 540
ANC training women's workshop 18
Bias, DEBI 622
Centres 305
Communication 305
Election campaigns 228
coverage in transitional
democracies 697
and Elections 697
preparations 1089
problems 1089
Electoral legislation 592
Facilities 1026
Guidelines 1038
Independence 83, 883
International coverage 58, 358
International interest 249
KwaZulu-Natal 433
Legislation 478
Monitoring 534
post-election 1059
Political broadcasting 186
Political parties' campaigns 361
Political parties' preparations 353
Propaganda 228
Role
in democratization 872
in election 83, 545, 857, 872, 883
in electoral process, rural areas 866
in voter education 839, 866
and Women 705
MEDIA CENTRE 433
Contract 433
Launch 451
Role in election 451
MEDIA MONITORING PROJECT, Post-election 1059
MEDIATION 48
Role of business 118
MEDIATION ISSUE
Agreement 695, 830
Role of Buthelezi 695
MEDIATION ISSUE see also INTERNATIONAL
MEDIATION
MEDIATORS, Training 49
MEMBERS OF
PARLIAMENT
Code of Conduct 142
Legislation of election 917
Women 407
MEXICO, Political parties 363
MEYER, Roelf 541
MILITARY
and National unity 391
Post-election integration 391
Restructuring, pre-election 880
MILITARY RULE, Sub-Saharan Africa 1052
MINORITIES,
Constitutional issues 989
MINORITY
COMMUNITIES, Voter intention 323
MINORITY GROUPS, Indians 542
MINORITY PARTIES 59, 800, 999
Effects of Double Ballot system 808
Failure 762
Policies 800
Seats, forecasts 762
SOC samer 75
State funding 59
MIXED MEMBER
PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM 288, 412
MMP see MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM
MOBILE POLLING 438
MOBILE VOTING STATIONS 457
MOCK ELECTION, Soweto 405
MOLEFE, Popo, Statements 98
MONEY MANAGEMENT, and RDP 822
MONITORING ELECTIONS 188, 436, 437, 454, 694, 718, 726-727, 867, 958, 963
Counting stations 452
International component 45-46
Northern Natal 911
Roles of IEC 1079
of NGOs 162
of party agents 815
of political parties 815
1999 elections 815
of UN 247
UN civilian observers 1042
UN observers 1048
MONITORS 128, 452, 726-727
Codes of Conduct 454
Counting, training workshop 460
Deployment 437-438 provincial 438 regional 438
Gender, tables 1036
Race, tables 1036
Role at counting stations 452
Role in elections 347, 452, 454, 456, 807
Trained, provincial 1036
Training 461-462, 464 Vote counting 481
MONTREAL, Voting day 914
MOTOR INDUSTRY Pre-election demand strikes 719 UN and IEC 719
MOUTINHO, Manuel 826
MOZAMBIQUE 1994 Election 386 Democratic consolidation 842
Electoral process 386 Transition to democracy 386
MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY 4 Southern Africa 1052
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING
FORUM 273, 547, 880, 912, 1012
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS 336, 343, 386, 530, 533, 806, 947, 1061, 1065
Ad Hoc Committee on the IEC Bill, Memoranda 723
Ad Hoc Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill (Act), Submissions 5
Agreements 903
ANC guide 13
Independent Electoral Commission Act, submission, PAC 780
National Party input 745
Negotiating Council resolutions, election date 722
Obstruction, by KwaZulu-Natal 400
Political parties' institutional choices 903
Political parties' viewpoints 345
Role of IFP 77
Submissions, IFEE 477
Technical Committee on the IEC, submissions, United People's Front 1047
Technical Committee on an Independent Electoral Commission, reports 721
Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues submission on constitution making 946 submission, South African government 946
United People’s Front 1047

Venda 1060
Technical Committee on Violence, submissions, South African government 943
MULTIPARTYISM 602
MUSLIMS, Participation in political life 833

N
NAMALAND
ANC support 858
Coloured vote 858
Land issues 858
NAMIBIA
1992 election 266
Democratic consolidation 842
UN peacekeeping 247
NATAL
Peace deal 1101
Post-election prospects 1051
Pre-election political situation
premiership 740
reconciliation prospects 740
survey 660
Violence 53, 121, 146, 154, 421, 893
NGO intervention 173

Voter education 174, 1101
NATION BUILDING 210, 656, 899
ANC stance 25
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
Election legislation 921-927
Election results 529
Election of Speaker 787
List of candidates 466
Members of Parliament, 787
women 406-407
 tables 406-407
Membership determination 1080
Proceedings 787
Seats 274
 allocation 274
 by party 986
 political parties 788
Votes 274
Women members 738
Women representation 64, 406-407
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROVINCES 123, 813
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, Attitude to elections 172
NATIONAL ECONOMIC FORUM 118
NATIONAL ELECTION
COMMISSIONS 346
NATIONAL ELECTORAL OBSERVER NETWORK 944
and International observers 994
and Local observers 994
NATIONAL PARTY 365, 1055
Advertising 85, 361
Aims 747-748
Cabinet divisions 984
Campaign 71, 350, 365, 663, 747-748
commitments 1093
OFS 357
Soweto 541
Western Cape 640, 889
Candidates list 613
Western province 'witdoek' 612
Concessions 686
Constituency 208
Constraints 966
Election prospects 145, 613
Election results 230
forecasts 760
opinion polls 760
and Electoral process 526
and GNU
departure from 379
rejection 41
Manifesto 340, 747-
748
Media strategy 85
and Multiparty Negotiating Process 745
Policies 143, 745, 747-749
Post-election dilemma 1058
Pre-election period 964
electioneering difficulties, in Ventersdorp area 113
political concessions 1050
Programme of Principles 747-748
Stance 208, 410
Strategies 208, 365, 655, 663, 746, 964
Support 208, 663
Coloured community 279, 364, 366, 692, 968, 1098
decline 1015
forecasts 350
IMPD survey 832
Indian vote 832
pre-election surveys 876
prospects 968
role in GNU 968
Whites 876
Western Cape
election prospects 676
role in provincial
government 676
victory 397, 692, 1098
NATIONAL PEACE
ACCORD 49, 894
Implementation 89
Strengthening 907
Structure 180
Text 750
NATIONAL PEACE
SECRETARIAT 128, 158
NATIONAL PEACEKEEPING
FORCE 195, 344, 590, 751-752, 1002
Attitude of SAP 1002
East Rand 751
Establishment 894, 896
Failure, reasons 72
Foundation 660
History 751
Monitors, and IEC
electoral tribunals 158
Problems 578
Prospects 72
Role in election 583, 751, 992
Salaries 623
Submission to
Technical Committee on
the IEC 583
Tasks 600
Training 146, 578
SADF 896
Viability 751
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S
PARTY, Submissions,
Technical Committee on
the IEC 753
NATIONAL POLICE
INSPECTORATE,
Establishment 624
NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION
210
NATIONAL SECURITY
MANAGEMENT
CENTRE 1000
NATIONAL SYMBOLS
980
NATIONAL UNITY 954
Role of the military
391
NATIONAL WOMEN'S
COALITION 382
Survey 377
NATIONALISM 69
NATIONALIZATION
410
NEGOTIATING
FORUMS 635
NEGOTIATION, Culture
955
NEGOTIATION
PROCESS 657, 686, 702, 975, 977, 1032
and ANC 838
Chronology 906
Effects of violence 799
NEGOTIATION
PROCESS see also
MULTI-PARTY
NEGOTIATION
PROCESS
NEGOTIATIONS 1012
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chronology</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guides</td>
<td>1073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election</td>
<td>806, 912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEON see NATIONAL ELECTORAL OBSERVER NETWORK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NETHERLANDS, and Elections</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW NATIONAL PARTY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manifesto</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception in Genadendal and Greyton</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support 1999 election 988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support Coloured community 502 Western Cape 505 Whites 988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bias</td>
<td>1059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartoon, electoral process</td>
<td>1053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties endorsement</td>
<td>819 support 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGERIA, Voter education</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, Award to Mandela</td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Elections</td>
<td>32 Observers 586 Political allegiance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH WEST PROVINCE, Pre-election situation, UN observer account</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN CAPE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured vote</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election campaigns</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election results</td>
<td>786 political analysis 614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile voting station</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election situation, problems</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting station, personal account</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN NATAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boerekommando rejection of elections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Electoral process 911
problems 322
Fraud allegations 149
Observer mission, Canadian 911
Volkstaat concept 321
Voting conditions 322
NORTHERN NATAL
BOEREKOMMANDO
Activities 321
Rejection of elections 321
NORTHERN PROVINCE, Traditional leaders 1054
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
Electoral process, Ellisras 546
Proportional representation 518
NORWAY
Assistance, electoral process 957
Development aid 957
Observer mission 957
Peace monitors 957
Support, South Africa 957
NORWEGIAN OBSERVER GROUP, Report 1046
NTOMBELA, David 157
O
OBSERVER MISSIONS 48, 122, 134, 381
AWEPA 55, 963
Canadian, Northern Natal 911
COGSA 333, 395
Commonwealth, leadership 698
Commonwealth Observer Group 958
COMSA 179
personal accounts 715
Dutch 256
EU 293-294, 949
Intergovernmental 45-46
International 958
role in election 1031
NGOs 45
Norwegian 957
Reports 7
Role in election 993
UN 947, 949, 953, 1041
UNOMSA 1046, 1048
Cape Province 1074
Violence 256
OBSERVERS 726
AWEPAA 56
Canadian 585, 874
Conduct 56
EU Police 294
Facilities 1026
International 994
KwaZulu-Natal 772
Local 993
Personal accounts
Bophuthatswana 949
KwaZulu-Natal 949
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page/Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role in elections</td>
<td>456, 807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>462-463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>1048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBSERVING ELECTIONS</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDASA</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO observer teams</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO support</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Natal</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reports</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of peace monitors</td>
<td>887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of UN</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasks</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONE-PARTYISM, Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPINION POLLS</td>
<td>377, 577, 795, 980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>674-675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC government</td>
<td>679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data, use in election studies</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Research Africa</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect on political leaders</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect on voters</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election results</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings, analysis</td>
<td>514-515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forecast</td>
<td>674-675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact on transition to democracy</td>
<td>682-683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>674-675, 688, 985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC support</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutrality</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political analysis</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political issues</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support</td>
<td>516-517, 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forecasts</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election</td>
<td>515, 876, 878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWV area</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results, interpretation</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in elections</td>
<td>665, 683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validity</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter attachment</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter attitudes</td>
<td>516-517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter intention, Coloured community</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPINION POLLS see also SURVEYS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPPOSITION</td>
<td>526, 530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary</td>
<td>888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction to election results</td>
<td>1007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PARLIAMENT see also NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
PARTY AGENTS
Duties and responsibilities 455
Role in election monitoring 815
PATRIOTIC FRONT 41
PEACE
Freedom Front post-election objective 1019
Prospects 403
Threats to 578
Right Wing 1055
PEACE MONITORS,
Role in election 887
PEACE PROCESS, UN support 962
PEACEKEEPING 344,
726-727, 750, 894
KwaZulu-Natal, problems 152
Monitors 1070
Organizations 897
Plans 897
Role of UN 247
PEACEKEEPING FORCE
AZAPO stance 755
Necessity 496
PEACEKEEPING FORCE see also NATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE
PEACEKEEPING, Strategies 49
PEOPLES' FORUMS 655
PERSONAL TAX 1090
POLICE
EU observers 294
Observer mission 256
Violence 256
POLICE AND POLICING 294, 727
EU observers 294
Observer mission 256
Public order 344
Role in election 200, 496, 624, 891
Supervision 624
Violence 256
POLITICAL
ALLEGIANCE 878-879
Celebrities 818
INTOLERANCE 55
Pre-election period 897
POLITICAL ISSUES
Analysis 516
Surveys 516
Voter attitudes, surveys 520
POLITICAL PARTIES
161, 231, 261, 339, 635, 1045, 1073
Acronyms 67
Advertising 80, 85
Campaigns 361, 540, 883
Aims 812
Campaigns 71, 350,
608, 673, 884, 1008
ANC 15, 350
Coloured vote,  
Northern Cape 794
funding 313
NP 350
posters 228
promises 1093
PWV 371, 373
strategies 361
Western Cape 640
Candidates 474
lists 466
women 66
Codes of Conduct 271, 939
DP recommendations 89
Constituencies 208
Constitutions 404
Contesting the election 67
Development 1028
Dominant regimes 363
Eastern Cape, support 167
Election 1999, results 274
Election results
acceptance 2
performance by province 274
reactions 1007
tables 938
Electioneering strategies 148
and Elections legislation 325, 939
participation 325
regulations 325
and Electorate 515
Financial Mail survey 318
FP 310-312
Funding 59, 188, 313, 814, 939, 976
disclosure 142
legislation 814
Southern Africa 975
state 282
Gender issues 979
election promises 1099
History 1028
Key issues, attitudes 360
Leadership 67, 404, 696
role in elections 500
visit to Moria (ZCC) 404
Logos 4
Manifestos 196, 404
1999 election 196
Manifestos see also MANIFESTOS
Media strategies 85
Negotiations 903
Newspapers' endorsement 819
Opinion polls 170
Orientation 324
Partisan support 681, 991
KwaZulu-Natal 519
Policies 143, 195, 696,
Television 353, 359
Voter allegiance
  effects of race and ethnicity 684-685
  surveys 889
Voter identification
  680, 688
Voting agents 455
Western Cape campaigns 678, 870
  strategies 678, 870
  support 173, 676
  White support 988
Workers, establishment 78
POLITICAL PARTIES
  see also MINORITY PARTIES
POLITICAL VIOLENCE
  see VIOLENCE
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT 39, 187, 261, 326, 514, 577, 702, 708, 733, 948, 974
  Demands 796
  Five year review (1994 - 1999) 123
  KwaZulu-Natal, pre-election 524
  Participation 261
  Muslims 833
  Personalities 402
  Popular opinion, surveys 679-680
  Post-Apartheid 656, 696
  Post-election period 123, 339, 1076
personalities 399
Pre-election period 378, 522
Prospects 952, 977
Regional 912
Southern Africa 1052
Women's representation 407
Women’s role 289, 1087
POLYGAMY 360
POPULATION
  Distribution, tables 242
  Ethnic distribution 864
PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY 628
POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA 656
POST-ELECTION PERIOD 191, 385, 514, 533
  ANC government 110
  ANC restructuring 116
  ANC strategies 110
  Constitutional issues 379
  Corruption 423
  COSATU and ANC government 176
  COSATU prospects 898
  Democratic consolidation, prospects 947
  Democratic prospects 257, 950
  Economic development 1081
Economic forecasts 627
Economic prospects 947
Empowerment of women 348
Euphoria 1081
European Union 291-292
Foreign relations 302
Freedom of expression 716
Freedom Front strategies 1019
Gender issues 631, 1086
GNU 379
Governance 123, 796
Industrial relations 811
International aid 33, 560
International organizations, cost of rejoining 171
KwaZulu-Natal, political situation 159, 485
Legislation, SANDF 163
Military integration 391
New directions 1030
Opposition 947
Overview 831
Parliamentary proceedings 787
Personalities 399
Political analysis 1076
Political developments 793
Political parties expectations 793
prospects 805
visions 793
Political reactions 991
Politics and government 423
Power sharing 954
Prospects 136, 138, 261, 580
Provincial government 813
Quality of life 710-711, 713
Role of the military 138
SANDF structure 164
Satisfaction with GNU 609
Service delivery 710-711, 713
Social predictions 627
Socio-economic expectations 142
Socio-economic issues 831, 835-836
Surveys, ANC government 679
Tasks and problems 835-836
Trade 560
Traditional leaders 1054
Transition costs 131
Voter education programmes, need for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>900</th>
<th>Women empowerment 631, 638</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POST-ELECTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLITICAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SITUATION 339, 342,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>398-399, 661, 696, 954-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>955, 959, 982, 1044,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1058, 1076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governance 579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal 159,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>485, 552, 767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forecast 764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parliament 1058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participation by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muslims 833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PWV 1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POSTERS 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POWER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANC preparation 823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizen participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peoples' power 594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political, and ANC 969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POWER SHARING 339,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>601, 878, 954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consequences 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IFP reactions 686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRE-ELECTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERIOD 54, 55-56, 68,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79, 350, 967, 984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accounts and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overviews 533, 535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bophuthatswana 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured community,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western Cape 777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conservative forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumer confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Democratization 699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government and politics 964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International involvement 964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANC strategy 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Premiershipt, election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Zuma 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motor vehicle demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MPNP 806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>political parties 806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer missions,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AWEPA 963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personalities 402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political parties,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>electioneering campaigns 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political analysis 69,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political developments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political guides 1073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political situation 137,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Popular opinion 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Problems 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commonwealth 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UN and South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violence 421, 649,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>699, 797, 799, 841,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

401
PRE-ELECTION

SITUATION 100, 205, 290, 410, 545, 578, 750, 912
Bombings 113
Bophuthatswana 492, 834
Economic issues 1050
IEC tasks 1006
KwaZulu-Natal 492, 717
Negotiation process 530
chronology 906
Opinion polls 515
Political parties 105, 733
Political progress 880
UNOMSA assessment 551
Violence 431, 500, 717, 752, 880, 974

PRESIDENT
Election 787
Inauguration consequences 33
costs 131
support 33
Role 600

PRESIDENTIAL
DEBATE
Television, arrangements and format 359
party politics 359

PRESIDING OFFICERS
456, 457
Mobile voting stations
PRESS 883
Alternative 883
Bias 1059
Coverage in U.S. 908
Foreign, technical arrangements 1089
Freedom 534, 716
International interest 249
Support, political parties 819
PRETORIA-WITWATERSRAND-VEREENIGING REGION (PWV)
ANC policies 1005
Campaigns 371, 372, 373
Electoral conditions 371, 372
Free and fair elections 372
Post-election political situation 1005
Pre-election opinion polls, HSRC 619
Pre-election violence 421
Voter behaviour 371, 373
Voting stations, problems 817
PRISONERS
Amnesty 1076
Riots 825
Violence 810, 885
Voter education 582
Voting rights 108, 825, 971-972, 1077
Voting stations 438
PRISONS
Management 885
effect of elections on 810-885
Political violence 1077
Violence 590
PROJECT VOTE 202
PROMOTION OF
DEMOCRACY BILL, Submissions, South African Government 920
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION
286-287, 288, 326, 341, 367, 412, 535, 602, 66
Accountability 44
Advantages 808
Benefit to ANC 367
Candidates’ nomination, DP regulations 236
Consequences 287
national 518
regional 518
Constituency elements 558
Effect on women's representation 407
List system 66, 219-220
Quota system 66
Reform proposals 558
and Seat allocation 225
and Women 66
PROTECTION OF INFORMATION ACT 450

PROVINCES
Boundaries 735
delimitation 735
maps 735
Establishment 290
Government 813
PAC policies 783

PROVINCIAL DISTRICTS, Political parties 442

PROVINCIAL ELECTION OFFICERS, Duties and responsibilities 458

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT 813

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES
Composition 986
Membership
determination 1080
Seat allocation 813
Seat distribution 274
Seats 442
by political party 986
1999 election 986
regional 1080
Voters 442
Western Cape, NP list, 'witdoek' 612

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION 708

PUBLIC OPINION
Effect of opinion polls

683
Surveys 679-680

PUBLIC PROTECTORS 265

PUBLIC VIOLENCE
Commission of Inquiry 368-369
Prevention 368-369

PUBLICATIONS, State-financed, guidelines 1038

PWV see PRETORIA-WITWATERSRAND-VEREENIGING REGION (PWV)

Q
QUALITY OF LIFE 710-711, 713

QUEUES 1
Durban 93
Eldorado Park 997
Johannesburg 401, 576

QUOTAS, Gender 64, 66

R
RACE
and Democracy 734
and Elections 170, 684, 687, 879
Influence on voting intention 681
Voter attachment 677

RADIO
International coverage of elections 1084
Licenses 84
Role in electoral
process 84, 866
RECONCILIATION 787, 955
RECONSTRUCTION ACCORD 3
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT, Political parties’ policies 264
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 130, 387, 761, 796, 803, 874, 1005
and Business 130 Costs 1005 Draft 821 Finance 1090 Personalities 1005 Significance for business 821
REFERENDUM, Effects 703
REFERENDUMS ACT No.108 1983, Amendments 937
REFERENDUMS AMENDMENT ACT, No.97 1992, Promulgation 937
REFORMISM 78
REGIONAL LEGISLATURE, PWV, ANC candidates 28 REGIONALISM, PAC policy 783
REGISTRATION
Freedom Alliance reluctance 855 Political parties 467, 763
REPORTERS AND REPORTING 702 International 669 REPRESENTATION 980 REVOLUTION, Democratic 26
RIGHT WING Accommodation 1061 Activities 702 Bombing 113, 1027 History 1055 Opposition to elections 578, 1012 Bophuthatswana 189 Pre-election challenge 880 Role in transition to democracy 1055 Support 853 Terror campaign 853-854 Terrorism 1027 Violence, pre-election 421 Votes 853
RIGHT WING PARTIES 590, 635, 984 Attitudes 1062 and Democracy, threat 667 Disruption scenarios 411 Elections boycott
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>consequences</td>
<td>1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposition to</td>
<td>965, 1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation</td>
<td>1018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refusal</td>
<td>855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role in</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stance</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threats to</td>
<td>411, 655, 667, 984, 1055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>1055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policies</td>
<td>1055-1056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discord</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stances</td>
<td>1017, 1018, 1020, 1020-1021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election policies</td>
<td>1062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situation</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strategies</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospects</td>
<td>1016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategies</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL AREAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>development</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID Problems</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affiliation, KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter education</td>
<td>672, 866, 1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Law Centre</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problems</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role of NGOs</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>304, 1086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>554, 1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL COMMUNITIES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei, preparations</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL VOTE</td>
<td>668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL WOMEN, Voter education</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Sash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in elections</td>
<td>58, 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABOTAGE</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACHS, Albie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Canada</td>
<td>773, 823, 869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview, in Toronto</td>
<td>869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic viewpoints</td>
<td>869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit to Toronto</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC policies and preparations</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACOB</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACP see SOUTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFE see SOUTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA FREE ELECTIONS FUND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANCO see SOUTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICAN NATIONAL CIVIC ORGANISATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANDF see SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANGOMAS see TRADITIONAL HEALERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTA, Voter education 126-127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPOHR see SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONERS’S ORGANISATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOLS, Boycotts 315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEATS, Calculation of 808</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECESSION KwaZulu-Natal 390, 741</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans by AWB 1015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY 7, 114, 294, 344</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrangements 897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election campaign 590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems 897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting stations, role of IEC 1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY FORCES 750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacekeeping 992</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in election 992</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELFIE, James Democratic Party viewpoints 892</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview 892</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATE Seats, political parties 788</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women members 738</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPTEMBER COMMISSION (1997) 1063-1064</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICE DELIVERY, Post-election 710-711, 713</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHELL HOUSE SHOOTINGS, and Nelson Mandela 1044</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHILOWA, Sam 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSATU viewpoints 898</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIERRA LEONE, Democratic consolidation 842</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKUKUZA SUMMIT, Failure 910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOGANS, Political parties 263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCCER PARTY, Leadership 75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS 638</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election 1050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES 340, 874, 879</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters' expectations 877</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH AFRICA Authors' viewpoints on elections 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Commonwealth 183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developments 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic development, post-election 948</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEFENCE FORCE
Problems 992
Training NPKF 896
Voter education
programme 111

SOUTH AFRICAN
ELECTION SUPPORT
AND OBSERVING
PROJECT 587

SOUTH AFRICAN
NATIONAL CIVIC
ORGANISATION 888

SOUTH AFRICAN
NATIONAL
DEFENCE FORCE
Assistance to IEC 871
Post-election
legislation 163
structure 164
Role
in electoral process
578, 871
in post-apartheid
South Africa 138

SOUTH AFRICAN
POLICE FORCE
Arms supply IFP 145
Attitude to NPKF 1002
Behaviour plan 891
Labour issues 131
Role in elections 200,
891, 1002
KwaZulu-Natal 992
Security, voting
stations 573

SOUTH AFRICAN
PRISONER'S
ORGANISATION FOR

HUMAN RIGHTS 971-
972
Founding statement
971
Objectives 971-972

SOUTH AFRICAN
WOMEN'S PARTY 394
Manifesto 973
Policies 973

SOUTHERN AFRICA
Democratic
consolidation 842-845
Democratization 744
Electoral process 744
Electoral systems 842-
845
Electoral violence 648
Information technology
626
Multi-party democracy
1052
Political parties,
funding 976

SOUTHERN
TRANSVAAL,
Violence, township
factions 841

SOWETO
Mock election 405
NP campaign 541
Voter education 405

SPECIAL VOTES 438

SPEECHES, De Klerk
210,
Leon 644
Mandela 653, 759, 787,
963
Tambo 1023
SPLIT VOTES 274
SPOILT BALLOTS 274, 434, 848, 942
Tables 1080
SPRINGS, and IEC 555
STABILITY, Prospects 403
STATE
DEPARTMENTS,
Rationalization 131
STATE ELECTORAL
FUND, Finance 915
STATE
INFORMATION,
Guidelines 592
STATE OF
EMERGENCY 248,
610, 617
KwaZulu-Natal 248,
316, 528, 757
Natal 1051
STATE RESOURCES,
Information and
publications, guidelines 1038
SUB-SAHARAN
AFRICA
Democratization 106
Elections 106
founding 103-104
Military rule 1052
Multi-partyism 1052
One-party states 1052
Transition to
democracy 103-104
SUB-SAHARAN
AFRICA see also
SOUTHERN AFRICA
SUMMIT MEETINGS 910
KwaZulu-Natal 621
SURVEYS 170, 577
ANC government,
effect on voter
intention 679
ANC support,
KwaZulu-Natal 775
COSATU
attitude to elections
828, 873
Democracy, trade
union attitudes 1014
Eastern Cape 167
Election results 170,
980
Western Cape 760
Electoral process 681
role of women 377
Electoral territoriality
864
HSRC 864, 991
Pre-election 660
Interpretation 985
Intolerance levels 991
KwaZulu-Natal 660
Launching Democracy Project 577
MarkData 520
Matla Trust 96
Political broadcasting 186
Political intolerance
173
Political issues 864
Political parties
partisan support 681,
TABLES
Election 1999, results
274, 1080
Election results 1080
national 39
provincial 39
Monitors trained 1036
Political parties
percentage support
1028
Population distribution
242
Seat apportionment 225
Voter distribution 242
TAIWAN, Political
parties 363
TAMBO, Oliver,
Speeches 1023
TECHNICAL
COMMITTEE ON THE
IEC, Submissions and
comments 234-235,
237, 477, 940
TECHNICAL
COMMITTEE ON
VIOLENCE 893
TELECOMMUNICATIONS
Equipment 1026
Funding 305
Rural 305, 1026
Urban 305
TELEVISION
Presidential debate 353
political parties' attitudes 359
Role in election coverage 58

SURVEYS see also
OPINION POLLS
SWEDEN, Electoral system 287
SYMBOLS see also
NATIONAL SYMBOLS
SYMPOSIUMS
Gender issues 201
VEETU 201

991
support 516-517
Post-election 514
Pre-election 515, 516, 876, 878
KwaZulu-Natal 519
Public opinion, effect on democratization
682-683
Socio-political, evaluation 875
Trade unions attitudes 1014
Tripartite Alliance, election expectations 873
Validity 875
Voter allegiance 991
Voter attachment 167
Voter education 709
Voter intention
1999 election 679-680
Coloured community 889
Voting patterns 681

T

411
Costs, Role of Commissions 131
Democratic 733, 823, 903
Africa 35
and ANC 30
chronology 906
necessity for 86
South Africa 48, 106
Sub-Saharan Africa 103-104, 106
Role of workers 193
TRANSITION PERIOD [1994 - 1999] 666
Traditional authorities 1054
TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION 745
TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL 267, 839, 880, 912, 947, 981, 1029, 1065
Approval of IEC estimates of expenditure 863
Ratification 600
Role in Bophuthatswana election campaigns 995
in election expenses 1003
Role and functions 600
Rulings, prisoners' voting rights 826
TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENTS, Sub-Saharan Africa
1052
TRANSKEI Election preparations 535
Electoral process, problems 1037
Voter education 1085
Voters, ID issue 1037
TRANSPARENCY, Administration 716
TRANSPORT Bus 471
PAC policies 785
TRANSIENT ADVISORY SERVICES, Bus transport 471
TRANSVAAL, Pre-election violence 421
TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE 732, 1064
Criticism by WIRFI Stance of COSATU 873
TSHING (Township), Pre-election tension 113
TUTU, Desmond Biography 1040
Sermons 1040
TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY 706
U UBUNTU 571, 1039
and Voter education 1041
UMLAZI (Township),

413
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political rivalries 152</th>
<th>UNOMSA mandate 378</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN OBSERVER MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA see UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA</td>
<td>and South Africa, pre-election 947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, and Coloured community 169</td>
<td>UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA 45-46, 48, 381, 548-550, 947, 952, 957, 1043, 1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED NATIONS Election supervision in SA 247</td>
<td>Activities 1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Assembly, resolution, UNOMSA 1043</td>
<td>Cape Province 1074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in South Africa 952</td>
<td>Director’s visit 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicle demand 719</td>
<td>East Rand 1039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observer missions 549-550</td>
<td>townships 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola 550</td>
<td>Establishment 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia 550</td>
<td>Financing 1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace process 962</td>
<td>Mandate 378, 549, 962 expansion 1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacekeeping in Namibia 247</td>
<td>Norwegian Observer Group 1046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with South Africa 133</td>
<td>Pre-election 133 Report 1046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in election 957</td>
<td>Role in election 102, 549-550, 962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary General, report 1046</td>
<td>Security Council proposal 1042 Supervision 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Council reports, UNOMSA 1043</td>
<td>Tasks 962, 1043 Vredendal 1074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resolutions 384, 1042-1043</td>
<td>UNITED PEOPLE’S FRONT, Submission on the IEC 1047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNITED STATES and 1994 SA election 908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Constitution
birth 86
parallel with South
Africa 86
Democratic franchise
366
Foreign relations,
South Africa 302

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WESTERN CAPE,
Disruption 644
UNOMSA see UNITED
NATIONS OBSERVER
MISSION IN SOUTH
AFRICA
URBAN LEGENDS,
Election 370

V
VAAL TRIANGLE,
Violence, observer
mission 256
VAT 1090
VEENENDAL, Leonard
321
VEETU see VOTER
EDUCATION AND
ELECTION
TRAINING UNIT
VENDA, Submission to
MPNP talks 1060
VENTERSDORP, Pre-
election tension, AWB
113
VILJOEN, Constand 961, 964, 1016
Conservative voice 141
Decision to contest
election 105
Opposition to AWB
1020
Participation in election
852
Volkstaat concept,
post-election
involvement 1019-
1020
Withdrawal from
politics 1021

VIOLENCE 42, 77, 146,
195, 324, 344, 410, 545,
590, 660, 726-727, 878,
912, 980
Alternatives 906
ANC reduction
programmes 1030
'Black on Black' 799,
841
Causes 590, 664
Control 894
East Rand townships 7
Effect on transition to
democracy 699
and Election 664, 689
Election Day reduction
893
Election period 895
Electoral 648
Factors 212, 218
Forecasts 893
Geographical
distribution 590
Goldstone report 368
Incidents 1025
Influence on
negotiation process

415
Influence on political process 799
Kimberley 1025
KwaZulu-Natal 53, 121, 144, 368, 523, 590, 610-611, 717, 757, 764, 776, 893
causes 505-507
post-election period 505-507
Natal 121, 146, 154, 368
NGO intervention 174
pre-election 421
Nature of 895
and Negotiations 893, 903
Observer mission 256
Perceptions of 799
Police 256
Political analysis 799
Post-election 217
decline 895
threat 758
Pre-election 431, 500, 605, 655, 702-703, 752, 797, 799, 841, 860, 903, 947, 974, 1012
escalation 500, 896-897
KwaZulu-Natal 421, 841
Southern Transvaal 841
solutions 907
townships 841
Prevention 369, 943
Goldstone Commission 726-727
Peace Accord 750
Prison 421, 590, 810, 1077
PWV, pre-election 421
Right Wing 421, 590, 884
threat to elections 1081
Role of COMSA 179-180
Role in elections 605
Role and powers of the IEC in curbing 1025
Taxi 689
Technical Committee on 943
Threat to elections 500, 578, 599, 884, 965, 1070
Threat to free and fair election 718
UNOMSA concern 962
Vaal Triangle 256
Western Cape, political impact 689
VOLKSFRONT 1019-1021
and Constand Viljoen 1019-1021
VOLKSTAAT 321, 1056, 1062
Concept, role in election 1018
Demands by the AVF
Establishment 852
and Freedom Front
1019-1020
Political parties' pre-election stances 1018
Post-election policies 1019-1020
Support 853
VOSLOORUS
(Township) 7
VOTE COUNTING 337
Monitoring 481
VOTER ALLEGIANCE
516-517, 520, 545, 1028
Indians 542
KwaZulu-Natal 802
VOTER APATHY,
Coloured community,
Western Cape 859
VOTER ATTACHMENT
789-791, 818
ANC 643
Coloured community 366
Eastern Cape 167
Ethnicity 677, 684-685, 687
Locality pressure 991
Race factor 677, 684-685, 687
Western Cape 364, 366
VOTER ATTITUDES
95, 96, 184, 186, 516, 520
Cape Town 645
townships 645
KwaZulu-Natal 231
Western Cape 258
VOTER BEHAVIOUR
371, 909
Impact of voter education 709
Influences 515
Johannesburg suburbs 576
Personal accounts 643, 645
Racial groups 684-685, 687
Western Cape 502
VOTER CHOICE 371,
373, 517, 890
Motivations 608
Political analysis 878
Restriction 607
VOTER EDUCATION
52, 60, 87-88, 90, 92,
96, 102, 148, 161, 175,
188, 197, 202, 324, 349,
408, 477, 482-483, 484,
534-535, 709, 726-727,
827, 839, 857, 1035,
1045, 1073
1955 election 428
Black Sash 304, 792, 1086
Broadcasting 1069
and Business 268, 1022, 1066
Community Law Centre 1085
Companies 268
COSATU 115, 194
Deaf 266
DEBI programme 622
Demand 1011
Effect on voter behaviour 709
Farm workers 582
First-time voters 712
Funding, SAFE/EAT 951
Guides 139, 262, 618
Hospitals 126
IDASA programme 111
IFEE 671
Illiterate voters 1010
Illustrations 1067
Impact on election 91, 283
Impact on participation 428
Implementation 362
KwaZulu-Natal obstruction by political parties 151 threats to 160
Lawyers for Human Rights 582
Lebowa 998
Management training 396
Methods 91
Natal 174 possibility of 1101
Need for 824
and NGOs 1088
Nigeria 4
Organizations 202, 423-424, 503, 1083
IFEE 476
Plays 792
Pre-election guide 1073
Prisoners 582
Problems 362, 1010-1011
Programmes 213, 1041
BEF 1068
CARDS 126-127, 1041
IMSSA 430
post-election need 900
rural areas 672
VEETU 396, 901
Projects 951
Proposals 127
Purpose 203
Research 901
Role of business 1068
of IDASA 1010, 1101
of IEC 851
of media 866
of NGOs 283, 584
of women 1088
Role in election 857
Roundtable 283
Rural 582, 584
Rural areas 672, 1085-1086, 1100
Rural voters 1010
Rural women, Black Sash 304
SADF 111
SANTA 126-127
Soweto 405
Statistics 430

418
Stellenbosch area 582
Submission to
Technical Committee
on the IEC 945
Success 203
Surveys 283, 709
Africans 185
Coloureds 185
Matla Trust 95-96
Townships 405
Trainers 480
Training 92, 126, 204,
423-424, 479, 484,
494, 501, 503, 538,
591, 827
Training programmes
480
and Ubuntu 1041
Western Cape 582
Women 60, 201, 598,
792, 1010, 1100
Workshops 404, 423-
424, 484, 494
IDASA 1101
Youth 92
VOTER EDUCATION
AND ELECTION
TRAINING UNIT 201,
396, 428
Action Research
Project 901
Management training
396
Manual 591
Programmes 396, 901
VOTER EDUCATION
AND TRAINING,
Symposium 201
VOTER IDENTIFICATION
515, 684, 688, 839, 890
Coloured community
889
Surveys 889
VOTER INTENTION 95,
184, 214, 216, 324, 515,
679-680, 828
Coloured community,
Western Cape 889
Factors 211
Minority communities,
Johannesburg 323
Surveys 688
Tables 688
VOTER LITERACY,
Programmes 213, 900
VOTER PARTICIPATION 214,
909
Women 598, 816, 979
VOTER PREFERENCE
Coloured community
502
and Ethnicity,
KwaZulu-Natal 802
KwaZulu-Natal, rural-
urban divide 802
Surveys 680
VOTER REACTION 983
VOTER REGISTRATION 175
Farms 393
Fraud, Western Cape
728
Lebowa 998
Legislation 917
VOTER TURNOUT 510, 848
Encouragement 203
Local government elections, youth 508-509
Tables 1080
Youth 508-509
VOTERS
Coloured community, Eldorado Park 997
Demography 324
Distribution tables 242
Eligibility 147, 442, 754
Empowerment 96
Ethnicity 85
Expectations 95, 213, 324, 556, 839, 877
survey 167
First time 371, 373, 839
Homelands, inclusion 496
Illiterate, voter education 1010, 1086
Indian 241, 842
Intimidation 153, 607
Personal accounts 701
Potential 242
geographical distribution 242
regional distribution 242
Racial polarization 388
Rural, voter education 1010
South African 890
Surveys, political broadcasting 186
Women 394, 544
VOTERS see also
FIRST-TIME VOTERS;
ILLITERATE VOTERS
VOTES 982
Counting 444, 481
Counting irregularities 436
Provincial 274
Tables 1080
Total 434
VOTES see also
ALTERNATIVE VOTES; SPECIAL VOTES; SPLINTER VOTES; SPLIT VOTES;
VOTING 161, 262, 263, 271, 709, 87-88, 140
Cape Town 645
East Rand 715
Empowerment 1039
Johannesburg 401, 576
KwaZulu-Natal 400, 701
Legislation 993
Manuals 646
Nelson Mandela 693
Opposition by AZASCO 57
Personal experience 405
Political analysis 684
Regulations 449
Secrecy, and traditional
healers 414
Training 827
VOTING AGENTS 455
Codes of Conduct 455
VOTING OFFICERS 456
VOTING PATTERNS 556
1999 Election 864
Racial component 388
Surveys 681
Western Cape 889
VOTING
PROCEDURES 472-473, 482-483, 671, 816, 1057
Illustrations 139, 1067
and Women 979
VOTING PROCESS 388, 535
KwaZulu-Natal 316
VOTING RIGHTS 271, 754
Eligibility 754
Prisoners 108, 825, 971-972, 1077
Women 201
VOTING STATIONS 474
Athens 774
Cape Province 1074
Durban, personal accounts 93
East Rand 300
problems 296, 817
Equipment 1026
Intimidation 153
Johannesburg 300
KwaZulu-Natal, location 426-427
Layout 456
Mobile 438, 457
Monitors 452
deployment 437-438
Montreal, Canada 914
Number 573
Prisoners 438
Procedure 472, 589
Provincial 438
magisterial 438
Risidale
(Johannesburg) 576
Security 439, 573, 1000
Separate counting 589
Size 419
VREDENDAL (Cape Province), Observer account 1074
VRYHEIDSFRONT see FREEDOM FRONT

W
WARLORDISM 157
WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN, Support, African National Congress 135
WESTERN CAPE ANC defeat 556
ANC strategies 258, 259
Candidates lists, provincial 612
Coalition possibility 132
problems 625
Coloured community
pre-election period
socio-economic issues
voter behaviour
Coloured vote
support for National Party
Democratic franchise
Election campaigns
ANC
DP
NNP
NP
voter reaction
Election issues
Election results
forecasts
opinion polls
questioned surveys
Electoral process
disruptions
problems
National Party campaign
control
importance of support by Coloured community
support
victory
Party allegiance
Political intolerance
Political parties campaign strategies
campaigns
problems
support
whites
Political situation, post-election
Reactions to election
South African Women's Party
Support, NNP
Survey, political party support
Violence, political impact
Voter attachment
Voter attitudes
Voter education
Voter registration 1999 election
fraud
WHITE RIGHT
Threat to elections
WHITES Fears
Party allegiance
Political future
Political support 564
Prospects 410
Right Wing 125, 138, 758
  opposition to election 146
Support
  National Party 876
  NNP 988
  political parties 988
Suppression 420
WIRFI see WORKERS INTERNATIONAL TO REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL [South Africa]
WITDOEK, Candidates 612
WITWATERSRAND/V AAL PEACE SECRETARIAT,
  Support from business 865
WNC see WOMEN'S NATIONAL COALITION
WOMEN
  Accountability of COSATU candidates 629
  and ANC 18
    media training
      workshop 18
  Citizenship 598
  COSATU candidates,
    accountability 629
    and Democracy 598
  and Elections 65
  Electoral process 62-63
  Empowerment
    post-election 348, 638
  KwaZulu-Natal 1071
  Media portrayal 705
  Members of Parliament 355, 407
  Organizations 416-417, 630
  Parliamentary representation,
    electoral systems 61
  Participation in
    elections 60, 62-63, 979
    problems 598
  Political attitudes 377
  and Politics 65
  PR list system, effects 66
  Representation 406
    1999 election 406
  bibliographies 65
  in Parliament 64
    effects 738
    party lists 66
  Role
    in elections 195, 309, 324, 882
    in electoral process 62-63, 377
    in politics 289
    in voter education 1086, 1088
  Rural areas 382
    change 554
    problems 554

423
and ANC economic policies 511
and ANC financial policies 130

Y
YOUTH
Voting patterns 508-509
1995 local government elections 508-509

Z
ZAMBIA, Elections, transition 104
ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH
and Electoral process 404
Support for political parties 404
ZULU KINGDOM
Constitutional agreement 929
Future 563
Nature of 768
Political power 768
Recognition 768
ZULU MONARCHY, Political position 150
ZULU NATIONAL PARTY, History 248
ZULU ROYAL HOUSE, Constitutional role 910
ZULUS
Johannesburg march 190
Political conflict 53
Role in elections 949
ZUMA, Jacob 837
Candidate Natal regional premiership 740
Premiership of KwaZulu-Natal 156, 837
Reconciliation facilitator 740
ZWELITHINI, King Goodwill 190, 400
Agreement on political position, motivation 150
and Boycott 563
Influence 563
Land ownership 543
Political statements 741
Summit meeting 621, 910
Ulundi statement to IEC Chairman Judge Kriegler