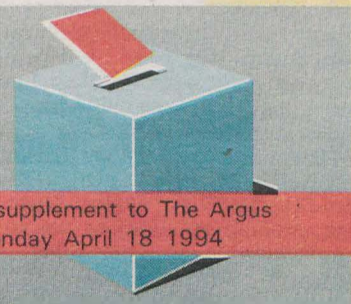


Let the people vote



ELECTION
'94



A supplement to The Argus
Monday April 18 1994

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A Government of National Unity

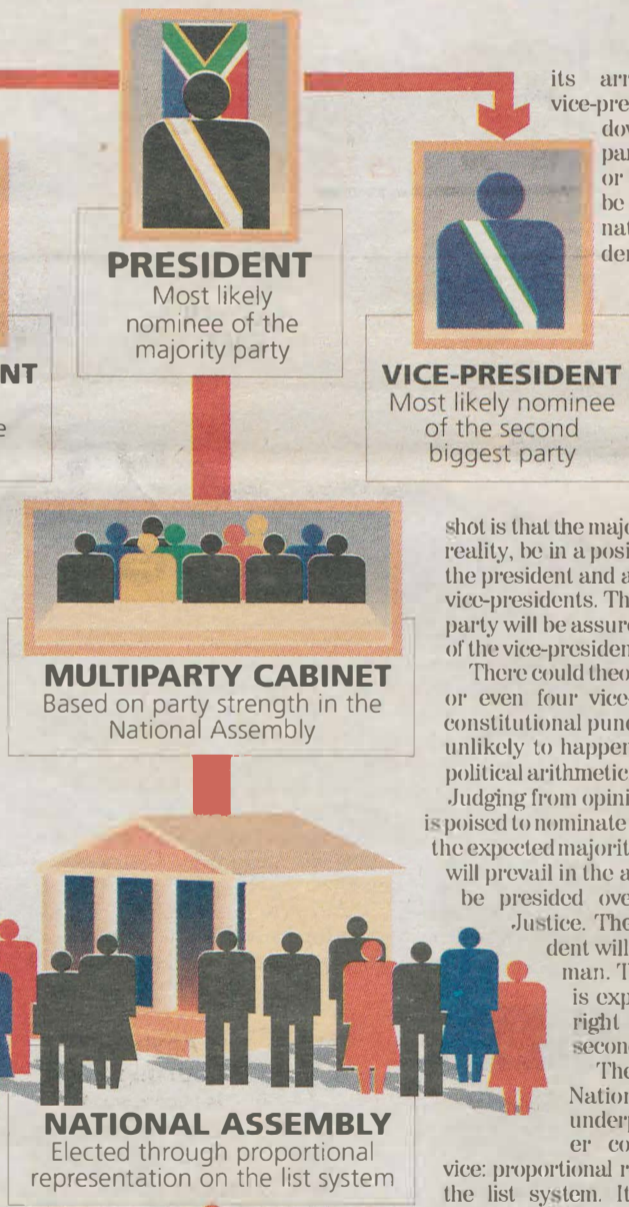
The Government of National Unity will provide for maximum consensus during the transition to a nonracial democracy.

South Africa's Interim Constitution provides for the establishment of a Government of National Unity after the election. The prospective government, however, differs from past coalition governments. One thinks of the National Party-Labour Party coalition government of the 1920s and the Hertzog-Smuts coalition government in the 1930s. Two important differences come to mind:

- The future Government of National Unity, unlike earlier coalition governments, will emerge as a constitutionally prescribed rather than a voluntary arrangement.
- Its duration, five years, is stipulated in the constitution, which states that it shall function until the end of April 1999 (even though the new MPs may complete their task of drafting a new and "final" constitution long before then).

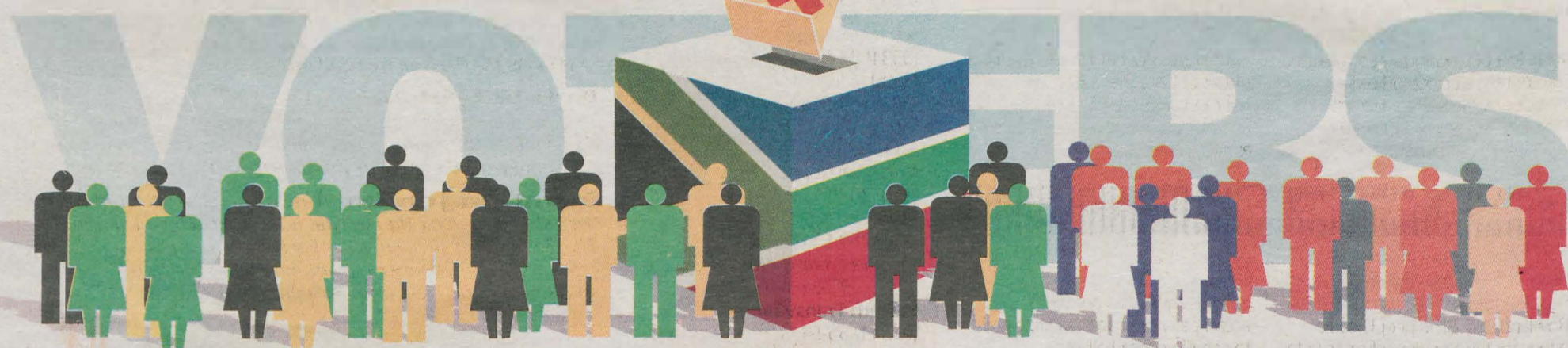
By providing for a Government of National Unity the multiparty Negotiating Council recognised the imperative need for maximum consensus during the transition from racial oligarchy to nonracial democracy. The constitution lays down that any party which obtains 20 seats in the 400-strong National Assembly shall be entitled to participate in the Cabinet.

Participation, however, is not compulsory. Parties winning 20 or more seats are free to remain outside the Cabinet and to pursue an opposition role in parliament. In broad terms, parties will be represented in the Cabinet in proportion to their strength in the National Assembly. Thus, to cite a hypothetical example, a party winning half of the seats will be entitled to half the Cabinet portfolios. The president – who will be elected at a joint sitting of the National Assembly and the Senate – will allocate portfolios to the participating parties. He is required to consult with the leaders of these parties but the final decision is his. But there is one important proviso to the presidential prerogative: while the president may decide to allot the health and education portfolios to the party qualifying for two Cabinet seats, the decision as to which members occupy those seats will be made by the leader of that party, not the president. These constraints on presidential power, plus the prescribed five-year lifespan of the Government of National Unity, are designed to facilitate the greatest degree of cooperation within the government during the transition. The constitution reinforces its prescribed power-sharing provisions with



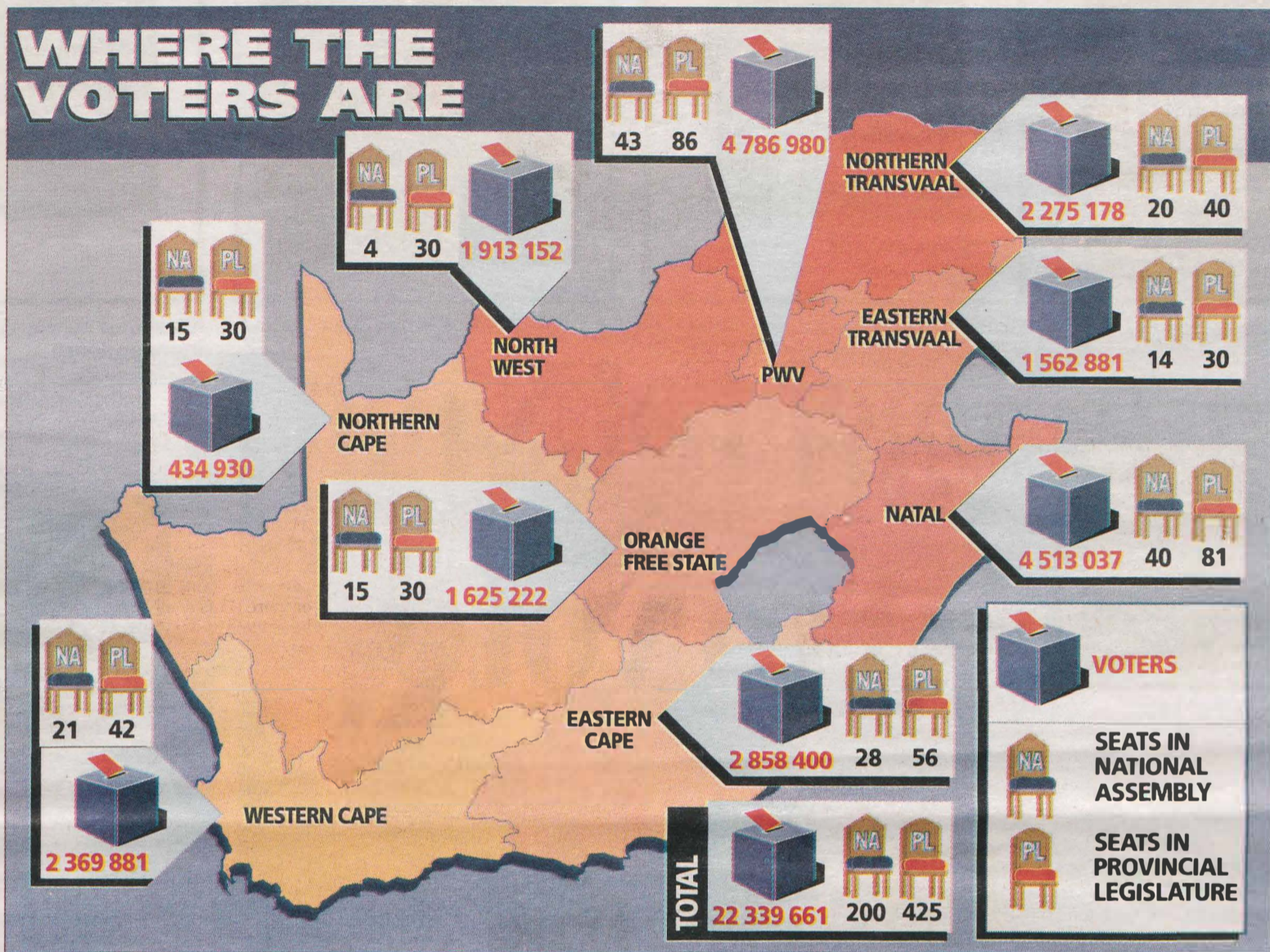
its arrangements for vice-presidents. It lays down that every party which wins 80 or more seats shall be entitled to nominate a vice-president. If only one party wins 80 or more seats, then the second biggest party will be empowered to nominate a vice-president. The upshot is that the majority party will, in reality, be in a position to nominate the president and at least one of the vice-presidents. The second biggest party will be assured of at least one of the vice-presidential positions. There could theoretically be three or even four vice-presidents. But constitutional pundits think that is unlikely to happen, for reasons of political arithmetic. Judging from opinion polls the ANC is poised to nominate the president. As the expected majority party its choice will prevail in the actual election, to be presided over by the Chief Justice. The first vice-president will be another ANC man. The NP, however, is expected to win the right to nominate the second vice-president. The Government of National Unity will be underpinned by another constitutional device: proportional representation on the list system. It is designed to ensure that parties will be represented in the National Assembly in proportion to their overall share of the vote. A situation like that which prevailed in 1948, when the NP became the gov-

erning party on a minority vote, is not possible under the present constitution. Whatever the disadvantages of the list system of proportional representation – one is that it gives the party bosses too much power – it serves as a guarantee against minority government. A related advantage of proportional representation is that it helps smaller parties survive bruising and expensive election battles. Parties which would have been gobbled up under a winner-take-all constituency system will almost certainly be represented in the new parliament and, with only 5 percent of the vote, in the Cabinet. Another constitutionally in-built factor will work to the advantage of smaller parties under the Interim Constitution. The constitution lays down that any person who defects from one party to another after the April election will be forced to resign. Thus people elected under the banner of smaller parties will not be tempted to join larger parties, even if they are offered tempting inducements. Without that safeguard, there would be a definite danger of members of smaller parties defecting to larger one. Imagine the following scenario: the ANC wins 61 percent of the seats in the new parliament and embarks on an aggressive campaign to win additional seats to secure the two-thirds majority necessary for it to impose a constitution of its choice. With the patronage at its disposal as the government of the day, the ANC is unlikely to fail. Its success would, however, defeat the spirit of the Interim Constitution. Hence the value of the clause protecting smaller parties from the predatory intentions of their larger brethren. The clause, of course, has a downside. It imposes an artificial rigidity on party-political divisions. But as a temporary measure during the transitional phase of constitution-making, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.





April 27 – by consensus



As April 27 looms closer, many people may wonder where the date that has come to symbolise the big moment of change in the country's history came from.

It emerged from the mire of the multiparty negotiations at Kempton Park that appeared to be going nowhere in the middle of last year. The ANC had the most to lose as its supporters became increasingly frustrated with the slow pace of negotiations and, according to the Democratic Party's Ken Andrew, there was "sufficient consensus" among the negotiating partners that a deadline would result in agreements being reached.

"The ANC alliance wanted to set an election date as a goal to work towards. We looked at a date that left enough time to get all the deals made and then passed through Parliament, while still leaving enough time to campaign.

"Since elections have historically been on a Wednesday in this country, the negotiators chose the last Wednesday in April, which happens to be the 27th. This also roughly coincided with the timetable that President de Klerk had announced in November 1992 so there was multiparty support for it too," Andrew said.

He added that there was then a great debate over how many days the election should last, since nobody really knew how many people would be voting.

There was the potential risk of keeping polling boxes secure at polling stations if the election was over more than one day.

But, according to Andrew, the negotiators decided on two days of voting rather than one long day, where many people would be travelling and queuing in the dark at the start and the end of the day, making intimidation more likely.

Since one of the voting days was going to be a public holiday, there was a strong desire to limit the disruption

of the economy. So last December there was speculation that April 27 should be for special votes, with voting on the 28th and the 29th, with Friday the 29th also being a public holiday.

But Andrew said there was then some concern that people would take a long weekend and not bother to vote at all.

It was also decided that the 27th was a "holy cow" day that had formed part of voter education and it was too late to change the date.

The dates reverted to the current

situation which is special votes on April 26, with regular voting on the 27th and 28th, and the 27th as a public holiday.

Those entitled to a special vote are the ill, the physically infirm, the disabled and the pregnant.

Special polling booths will be set up at all hospitals and all registered old age homes and institutions, according to PWV region deputy provincial electoral officer George Orr.

He added that some political parties were also arranging to transport people to special polling stations.

People who were planning on voting at South African embassies overseas must also vote on April 26.

■ In the previous Election '94 supplement, dated March 11 1994, an editing error may have led to confusion. Among those entitled to vote are all persons, 18 years and over, who are permanent residents.

Counting the votes

South Africans will be holding their breath from the moment the polling stations close on April 28 until the official declaration of the election result.

In that time, electoral officials countrywide will be furiously counting votes. The result of the election must be declared not less than two days and not more than 10 days after polling is over, according to the Electoral Act.

After the last voters have cast their votes at 9 000 polling stations around the country, electoral officers – guarded by the SAP – will transport the ballot boxes to about 1 191 centralised counting stations.

The seals on the ballot boxes will be broken under the scrutiny of the attendant political party agents, monitors and observers, and the counting will then begin.

The arduous job of counting is shouldered by Independent Electoral Commission-appointed electoral officers and their personnel. They will be closely watched throughout by the party agents, monitors and observers, who will certify the result of the counts.

The results will trickle into the IEC's offices at Gallagher's Estate in Midrand, and it will be there that the final election result will be officially announced.

Choice for the blind

Arrangements have been made to enable blind people to vote, Disabled People South Africa chairman William Rowland said. Blind people could either ask the electoral officer to vote

on their behalf, in the presence of at least two election monitors, or choose any trusted person to accompany them to the voting point to complete their ballots.



Anybody with questions is welcome to call the toll-free number for the

Independent Electoral Commission at 0800-11-8000.

Numbers at the regional IEC head offices are:

Western Cape (021) 402-5111

Eastern Cape (0431) 30-5111

Northern Cape (0531) 88-5111

Natal (031) 363-5111

Orange Free State (051) 401-5111

North West (018) 207-5111

PWV (011) 353-5111

Northern Transvaal (0152) 293-5111

Eastern Transvaal (01311) 55-5111

VOTER VIEWPOINT

Stanford Mathebula, (31) unemployed Randburg



On secrecy: It is very important that it is a secret ballot. Nobody will know who I vote for, which will make it free of intimidation. I think there would be a lot of intimidation if the vote were not secret. Even my mother and father will not know who I vote for. The secret vote is what will make the election free and fair.

On double ballot: It is important to have two ballots, because it means you can vote for one party at a national level, but for the region you can vote for people who can better represent us and know our problems better.

On postponing election: To delay the election would be very stupid because the election is supported by the majority. The IFP, to show they have support, must take part in the contest. But the Government has promised to deploy soldiers in areas like Natal, to help keep the peace.

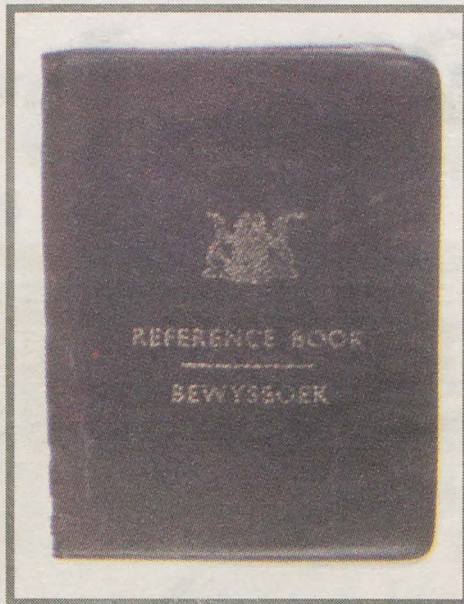




Blue ID book issued since 1972



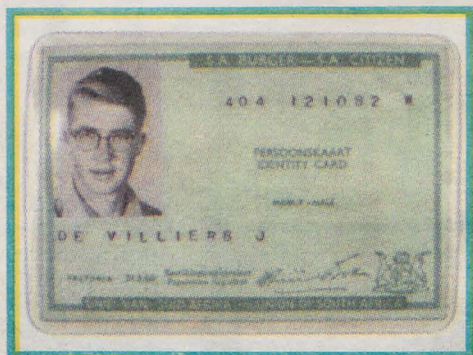
Green ID book issued since 1980



Reference book issued since 1950

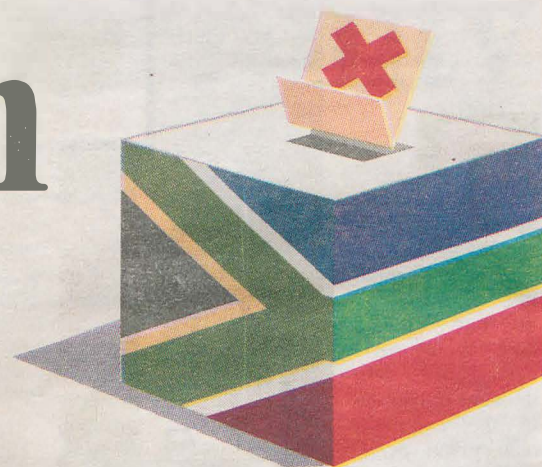


IDs issued by the TBVC states since independence



Green ID card issued in 1950

You need an ID to vote



Before being allowed to vote, every voter must be in possession of a voter eligibility document.

This can be one of the following:

- The green ID card issued in 1950, the blue ID issued since 1972, all green IDs issued since 1980, reference books issued since 1950 and IDs issued by the TBVC states since independence.

- A temporary identity certificate (issued when an identity document has been lost).



- A temporary voter card (TVC) which will be issued on the spot to people who are eligible to vote.

- ◀ Only people in possession of a valid South African passport will be allowed to vote at foreign polling stations.

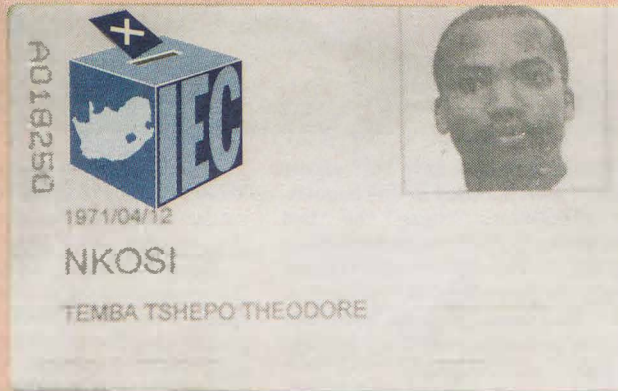
HOW TO GET A TEMPORARY VOTER'S CARD

An IEC temporary voter card will be issued to you if you haven't an identity document. These cards can be obtained

– up to 24 hours before the election – at any of about 400 issuing offices throughout the country. Three hundred machines are being used as fixed workstations and 100 as mobile units.

The fixed stations are being deployed at regional and district offices of the Department of Home Affairs and at some magistrate's courts. Workstations have also been deployed in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei.

All workstations are manned by an operator and the equipment produces a TVC with-



in two minutes. It bears a security mark which is visible if the card is exposed to ultra-violet light.

The temporary voter card is issued without

cost.

A free photograph is also taken for use on the card.

To obtain a temporary voter card, people need one of the following: birth certificate, baptismal certificate, school records, clinic or hospital record of birth, house permit in their name, letter from local or traditional community authority.

If people have none of these, they can ask a friend or relation with an identity document, who has known them for 10 years or more, to identify them.

When applying for a temporary voter card, people will fill in an ID application form which will be used later to issue them with a permanent identity document.

VOTER VIEWPOINT

Joyce Solomon (29), roadside clothes seller Hillbrow



On secrecy:

It is very important that the vote is secret, because the result would be different if everybody knew who you were voting for.

On double ballot: No opinion

On postponing election: *I don't think they should postpone the election. There may be some violence if the IFP does not take part, but I believe things will change after the election. I think my rent will come down, because I am paying too much for a small flat, and I will be able to get a better job after the election.*

VOTER VIEWPOINT

Job Mathebula (27), taxi driver Alexandra



On secrecy:

Yes, the vote must be secret. When I go inside alone to vote, I don't want anybody to know who I vote for. It is my secret.

On double ballot: *It is good to have two ballots so we can choose the right person to represent us. But I will vote for the same party on both ballot papers.*

On postponing election: *They must not postpone the election to get the IFP to take part. That would take too long, which would be bad.*



Selling the message

The majority of voters in the rural areas have not been touched by the voter education programmes being held around the country

Start 'em young ... they may not be able to vote this time, but these youngsters listened attentively during a voter education programme held recently in Mogoto in the far northern Transvaal.



As the countdown to the election begins to be measured in days rather than weeks, there is a growing concern that voter education (VE) programmes aimed at the rural communities may have barely scratched the surface of the massive task facing them.

This was reinforced during a recent field trip into the northern Transvaal with a Group Africa voter education programme being run on behalf of the Business Election Fund (BEF).

Group Africa run a slick operation where the scenario of a "beauty contest" is used to get across both the BEF message of tolerance and goodwill and the important information on how to actually vote.

Two teams of local beauties are selected – presenting an opportunity for some light-hearted banter to brighten the message – as well as 16 voter/judges.

It is explained to both judges and audiences that their selection, as with their vote, is secret.

They are shown how to mark their choice with a cross in the space next to the team they choose, and how they will do this in a voting booth – a mock-up of which is on the stage – before placing their vote in a locked ballot box.

Finally, it is explained that only the Independent Electoral Commission has the key to unlock the ballot box and count the votes. The emphasis is on the fact that at all times their vote is secret – no one can know how they have voted nor which of the millions of votes is theirs.

Despite the care taken to explain the system, fully 50 percent of the votes cast in this particular beauty contest/election were spoilt.

Two young women were asked if they had enjoyed the show and if they intended to vote. Yes, they enjoyed the show they reply, but, no, they wouldn't be voting.

Why? "Because we don't have enough money to vote," comes the reply.

For Barry Leitch, a director of Group Africa, it is a scene that has been repeated throughout the country – from the northern Transvaal to the Transkei – in fact wherever he has taken the



BEF roadshow.

"I don't want to disparage any of the organisations carrying out voter education," he says, "they are all working hard. But it seems obvious to me that the job is beyond the efforts of all of us – the task is more vast than anyone imagined."

"What I have found is that even in the remotest areas there is usually someone who has been touched in some way by a VE scheme – but the majority have been missed," he adds.

"This is especially so in Natal, where I have done a lot of work, and where because of the violence access is very difficult." Leitch points out that aside from the huge scale of the operation to educate the rural masses, there is still the major problem of trying to ascertain whether or not the message has been received and understood.

"The major problem I find is with the concept of secrecy. Many rural people simply do not believe that their vote will be secret.

"They worry that somehow their particular 'X'

Voter education ... "Go together in a friendly way" says the inscription above the platform behind Group Africa roadshow compere Elda Majuta as she urges rural voters in Mogoto in the far northern Transvaal to go to the polls. The Business Election Fund-backed programme uses play-acting as part of the learning curve for educating voters who will be voting for the first time.

will be recognised. Some very traditionally minded people believe that it will be possible to bring in teams of Sangomas after the election and they will divine who voted for whom.

"This belief is so deep-rooted that the only way we have been able to combat it is by saying that this is not possible because there are simply too many voters for this to work – a point they grudgingly accept.

"I have also perceived that in Natal tribalism is playing a major role. Rural people have generally seen control by whites as being apolitical. They perceive that the white man is in politics for money, but think that if another group of black politicians win power, they may persecute the Zulus for tribal reasons." A "better the enemy we know than the one we don't know" reasoning.

Another problem in rural areas has been the speed at which the political process has been taking place – leaving people unsure of what course of action is best for them to take.

In Natal that has been a serious problem. Leitch points out that with the fluctuating position it has been impossible for potential voters even to arrange for identity documents.

"Unfortunately even the decision to go for documents could be misconstrued as putting a person into the 'pro-vote' camp, and so be politically dangerous.

"A person going to get documents is visible, is possibly noted, and may suffer the consequences, so once again the prudent course is to do nothing." He points out also that rural people are traditionally ultra-conservative, and so distrust the

A cross for democracy ... part of the voter education programme being backed by the Business Election Fund (BEF) in rural areas is learning how to make a cross in the right place. Recently in Mogoto eight out of 16 "voters" who were called on to the stage got it wrong when offered a choice of two candidates on a trial run organised by Group Africa.

message of change that the politicians are selling.

"The message of change has been sold to the youth because they see that they stand to gain, but the older people, who generally have managed to save some humble possessions – maybe a little money or a few cattle – are scared that any change might see them losing.

"There is an old Zulu proverb 'that it is he who stokes the fire that gets burnt by the falling log', and they project that to the elections and conclude that maybe it is better to leave well enough alone and not vote." The most positive thing that Leitch has noted in his wide-ranging travels is that there has been virtually no intimidation in rural areas.

"People in rural areas know their neighbours – and in many ways depend on and respect them – so that they are less likely to take any action against them." What will all this mean come voting day? According to Leitch it could result in a 20 to 30 percent spoilt ballot, which will put everyone's voting predictions severely out of kilter.

Mitigating against this prediction is the fact that there is still one aspect of voter education that every voter will come into contact with – when he or she reaches the polling station.

That is where the political parties have their final line of offence – the familiar rosette-bearing supporter who can tell the potential voter how to vote.

But once again, whether the message finally gets through or not, will only be known after it is too late.



PAC Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**
PLATFORM Central to the PAC's campaign are the issues of redistribution of land and wealth, a beefed-up education system, affirmative action and quota programmes in the workplace and labour tribunals to rectify the injustices to which workers are subjected.
It claims to be the true voice of the oppressed masses and promises to give them more power over the management of the economy, industry and State services. The PAC proposes that businesses should be socialised and democratised, and its tax policy would attempt to redistribute wealth from the "settlers" to the Africans.



RP The Right Party

Registered to contest: **Eastern Transvaal**
PLATFORM The Right Party believes life is too valuable to live in conflict. All the conflict in the world is caused by different ethnic groups sharing the same country. Different ethnic groups have different lifestyles and different values, and this promotes conflict, the party argues.
The Right Party stands for complete separation between different ethnic groups so that each can live in peace.
It cites as an example the Swiss system of government, where the people in the different cantons can either accept or reject the laws made by the central government, so that different communities with different values can live in peace and harmony, with the right of association and dissociation.
Each person has the right to a private life free from interference and domination, it insists. The party supports strong local government and limited central government.



SAWP South African Women's Party

Registered to contest: **Western Cape**
PLATFORM The SAWP was formed to draw together women from every corner of the country when it seemed that other efforts towards solutions were failing, says Millard. Instrumental in the formation of the party were journalists Michel Muller, Susan Smuts and Sue Millard. Muller was pivotal in forming the Western Cape branch which will contest the regional election.



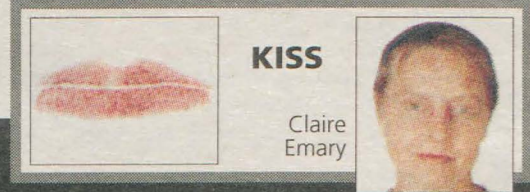
SOCCER PARTY Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights

Registered to contest: **National**
PLATFORM The Soccer Party claims to be able to heal the rifts and find a common ground by building national spirit on the emotionally bonding elements of sport, music and the arts.
"We intend being a unifying force in the forthcoming election. Through sport, music and the arts - social elements which have historically crossed all social and political boundaries - the Soccer Party aims to provide South Africans with a common destiny through a sense of unity, pride and mutual respect," says a spokesman.



GRP The Green Party

Registered to contest: **Western Cape**
PLATFORM The Green Party, which was established several years ago, plans to run its election campaign around green issues, among both black and white voters in the western Cape. Among its intentions is to stop the University of Cape Town developing land around Valkenberg. It hopes to win four of the 42 western Cape seats.



KISS The Keep It Straight and Simple Party

Registered to contest: **National**
PLATFORM Emary wants to put a limit on the size of big government - "to get it off our backs". The best way to achieve this strategy is to restrict its powers to tax. The tin tacks of democracy rest on the tax code, thus the power to tax is the power to destroy, she says.
It is the spending power of the politician or parliamentarian which must be contained.
The onus is on the taxpayer to draw the line and put politicians in their proper place - to serve, not to rule, she says.



UPF United People's Front

Registered to contest: **Northern Transvaal**
PLATFORM The UPF aims to bring unity to the northern Transvaal region's five national groups. The challenge is to bring unity and integration and racial and ethnic harmony.
Consequently, the total eradication of racial discrimination is the party's first and foremost priority in the region's reconstruction.
People who have been dispossessed of their land and denied fundamental rights will be the subjects of affirmative action under the UPF. The party stresses this will not mean apartheid in reverse, but the creation of equal opportunities.
UPF believes it is in the interest of all South Africans that the process of restoration is carried out with minimal damage to stability and economic growth.



VF-FF Vryheidsfront Freedom Front

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**
PLATFORM The FF stresses it is treating the elections as a test for support of the ideal of a volkstaat.
Secondarily, it will offer those who cannot be accommodated in the volkstaat the alternative of self-determination elsewhere.
It is approaching the issue of self-determination within the framework of the elections, unlike the CP which is choosing to boycott the election.
A principle in the constitution says that if enough support is demonstrated for the volkstaat idea, a Volkstaat Raad (council) may be established by elected FF members.



WKFP Wes-Kaap Federaliste Party

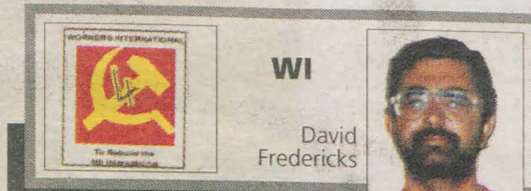
Registered to contest: **Western Cape**
PLATFORM Details could not be obtained.
However, in terms of the party's electoral pact with the Federal Party for the western Cape region, it is required to accept, without condition, the policies of the Federal Party, says Frances Kendall.

The electorate's choice of parties was nearly doubled by the extension of the deadlines for the registration. The parties are in the same order as they appear on the ballot paper.



WRPP Women's Rights Peace Party

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**
PLATFORM Stands for the reconstruction and transformation of society for everyone through focusing on gender issues. "It is vital that, in order to have a truly democratic government, liberation from sexism goes hand in hand with liberation from racism." The WRPP will consistently monitor all government policies and decisions and vigorously oppose any that in any way discriminate against women and children.
It brings the work of the Women's National Coalition to its most logical conclusion, by participating as a political party - with three women as co-leaders and with a majority of candidates as women.
The WRPP claims it will add a new richness to the concept of what a "multiparty democracy" is by giving women an independent voice within government.



WI Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (SA)

Registered to contest: **Western Cape**
PLATFORM The party is standing in order to make the ideas of socialism part of the political fabric of South African society and to expose and to get people to reject the pro-capitalist negotiated settlement. It stands for the nationalisation of all the big companies, mines and farms, under workers' control without compensation, and for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist society. It stands for the building of a socialist society.



WLP Workers' List Party

Registered to contest: **National**
PLATFORM The WLP was formed by socialist organisations and individual supporters in trade unions, civics, women's groups and youth groups. It stands for the building of a mass workers' party.
The WLP manifesto says it will institute a 35-hour week, an end to retrenchment and a public works programme. It aims to build an economy which places human needs before profits and involves people in democratic decision-making.
Full maternity rights, women's health rights and an end to violence against women are promises the party makes. It says it would build a caring society by prioritising the rights of children, the aged and the disabled.
Its manifesto says it would ensure an end to corruption, the accountability of leaders and the building of a united nation.



ADM African Democratic Movement

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**
PLATFORM The ADM stands for a negotiated constitution for the new democratic and free South Africa.
The party takes a hard line on those who are not negotiating, saying they should have to accept the new constitution as is.
It places a lot of weight on the value of an independent judicial system, saying many black people have been sentenced in the past because of its lack of independence.
The ADM would push for the improvement of South Africa's international image and put much effort into attracting foreign investment and maintaining current foreign involvement in the local economy.
The ADM says it would equalise the educational biases in budgets for different races and ensure equal educational opportunities up to primary school level.
A unitary state is rejected by the ADM as less democratic and too dictatorial. Such a government gives power to a few people who govern the people to their own benefit, says the ADM manifesto.



AMCP African Moderates Congress Party

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**
PLATFORM The AMCP believes the country must be managed like a company where government positions will be filled by experienced, qualified and competent persons with proven track records, regardless of their party political affiliations.
The voters, as shareholders, will measure the dividends of this strategy in the general economic prosperity of the country, says its policy statement.
The party places much emphasis on the South African youth and carries this through to asserting that cabinet positions should be filled by young executives.
Its economic policy is strongly free-market oriented.

Pick a Party...

The list now includes parties with only two candidates all the way through to those with a nearly a full complement for both the regional and national lists. Herewith the list of the 26 parties and an idea - as supplied by the parties themselves - of the platform on which they are standing. All parties were invited to submit material detailing their positions. Some did not and appear without any description of their platform.



XPP Ximoko Progressive Party

Registered to contest: **National, N Tvl and PWV**
PLATFORM No details could be obtained.



ACDP African Christian Democratic Party

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**
PLATFORM "The African Christian Democratic Party believes that South Africa is a nation under the almighty God, the father of our lord Jesus Christ," reads its founding statement.
The ACDP says it represents the following: a fresh start, uncontaminated by the past; a diverse leadership, united behind common Christian principles to bring hope and vision to the nation; a genuine federal framework of self-governance with maximum constitutional powers at the lowest possible level and an open-market economy.



10 more Parties on Page 9



Questions and answers

Kontak, a non-political women's organisation which aims to improve relations among various groups in southern Africa, has produced a guide for voters. These questions and answers were taken from it:

What will I vote for? The Interim Constitution will ask us to vote for both regional and national government. The interim government will be in power for four to five years and will formulate the final Constitution. The next election will determine the permanent governing structure of this country.

How will I vote? Elections will be conducted through proportional representation. This means the number of seats allocated to a party is determined by the votes the party gets. The party with the most seats will be the governing party.

What can I expect before the election? Different political parties will campaign, canvass and persuade you to vote for them. Through meetings, rallies and newspapers, talks on television and radio you will be flooded with information and promises.

Tell me more about my vote Your vote is *secret* and *confidential*. No one will see or be able to find out who you voted for. It can be compared to a seed planted

in the ground. No one knows what happens next. The green leaves are the only visible results of germination. Your vote means a lot. Peace-keeping forces will ensure safe transportation of sealed ballot boxes to stations where the counting of the votes will be done in front of the election monitors.

How will I cope? It is very important that you:
 ■ Listen to the views of the different parties.

■ Ask them questions about what they offer.
 ■ Decide for yourself if promises made can be kept.
 The choice is yours, but the above steps will help you to make informed decisions.

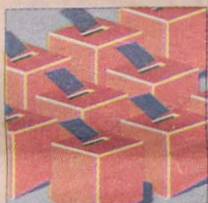
What can I expect on the day of the election? Voting stations will be at schools, community centres and church halls. They will be open for a certain period of the day. The stations will be cordoned

off for protection and no weapons will be allowed in the voting area. International and local monitors and marshals will ensure that no intimidation takes place and that the peacekeeping forces carry out their duties.

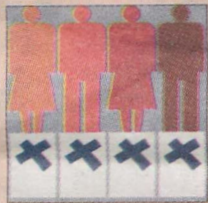
What can I expect after the election? Some of us will be thrilled with the results and some of us will be disappointed. We have a responsibility to respond positively. We also have the right to demand accountability. All citizens ought to benefit from the new dispensation.

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS

South Africa will be holding its first democratic election. What does this mean? While there is no widely acceptable definition of democracy, accumulated experience across the world points to certain key features which distinguish democratic societies from those that are not. Some of these are:



Regular multiparty elections.



The right of every citizen to a vote of equal weight and to stand for elections.



Freedom of speech, association and religion for every citizen.



The rule of law - applying to citizens as well as the government and state organs.



Equality before the law for all citizens irrespective of race, gender or class.



The right of every citizen to peaceful assembly, demonstration and petition.



An independent judiciary.



A free press.

Besides the above political rights, often referred to as first-generation rights, the debate about democracy in South Africa is also focusing on social and economic rights, such as:



The right of each citizen to work, education, health and housing (second-generation rights).



The right of society as a whole to clean air, water and a healthy natural environment (third-generation rights).

The practical implementation of second and third-generation rights, as well as the question of gender equality, is expected to receive a great deal of attention and debate in the post-apartheid era.

Besides defining how a society governs and regulates itself, democracy is also about how individuals and organisations relate to one another in day-to-day political life.

The culture of democracy, involving attitudes such as tolerance for different views and balancing out the demands of diverse interest groups through debate and negotiation, will have to be continuously cultivated - particularly in a country such as South Africa which has experienced

centuries of oppression and conflict.

It should also be appreciated that democracy rarely produces instantaneous results. Much open, and often prolonged, debate is needed to raise and create an awareness of the issues and then set in motion the slow wheels of government and parliament to usher in the changes needed to improve people's lives.

South Africa's fledgling democracy will have to be carefully nurtured, developed and protected so that it can become a robust vehicle for fulfilling the promise of a better and decent life for all.

Every citizen has a duty in this regard. The right to vote, and the conscientious exercise thereof, is the foundation on which a stable and prosperous society can be built.

How elections evolved

Long before the ballot box was invented and candidates smiled down from every billboard, long before television played an integral part in garnering votes and sex scandals got more publicity than political platforms, long ago elections were a simple matter. Swords were raised, coloured pebbles cast or you simply uttered a loud and clear "yes" or "no". From the clash of spear against shield to the casting of preprinted ballots, the history of elections has been closely linked to the development of democracy, though voting came well before the modern-day concept of democracy.

In the days of Homer (anywhere between BC 1200 and 800), elections were necessary to keep the peace. After a battle, the loser had little choice but to acclaim the winner and yet it was essential that he did. If both sides gave their vote of confidence to the winner, tensions were eased and everyone could leave the battleground in relative harmony.

In 6th century Athens (BC), voting was mandatory. If you didn't vote when you were called to do so, you lost your status as citizen. Voting meant favouring one side or another during times of conflict between two groups.

Later, in Greek and Roman assemblies (circa 5th century BC), voting was a matter of raising your hands or shouting your opponent. This process has been recorded, or rather, recreated, for posterity in Hollywood films showing men in togas voting for or against an issue or leader by vocal vote.

In some cases, usually when someone was to be ostracised or a lawsuit was pending, a system of secret voting was used. White and black pebbles, marked or unmarked shells or carved wooden tablets were used to cast a vote. Less sophisticated was the method used by inhabitants of the northern and eastern regions of Europe at around the same time. If you liked a decision that had been made or if you approved of a new leader you banged your sword against your shield. At this point in time the belief was still held that all participants in an election were considered equal and that a unanimous vote was essential to effective governing.

But, of course, some people were more equal than others and as societies developed along those grounds, the so-called "unanimity rule" fell by the wayside.

By the time the Middle Ages came along, the feudal system proved the ineffectiveness of the unanimity rule. Creating "workable representative institutions and government

by consent" was difficult because of feudal lords clinging to their powers.

By the 13th century, however, kings found it useful to get the people's, or at least the town councils', consent to govern. Without their consent, raising taxes was a difficult task.

But make no mistake, the individual, the man or woman in the street, didn't count for much. Those whose votes, or consent, counted were representatives of landed interests or of towns or boroughs.

And inheritance played a far greater role in succession than voting. It took several centuries before the individual was considered eligible to vote.

In the Britain of the 19th century, parliament finally represented the individual human being - as well as estates and corporations. But this right to vote was not extended to every single individual.

Several population groups were excluded from the voting process, eg women or the propertyless, primarily to preserve the status quo of those in power.

In Great Britain, university graduates, owners of businesses in constituencies other than where they lived all had an extra vote - and this until 1948. It took a long time before the concept of "one man, one vote" was achieved.

As suffrage gradually was extended to more and more population groups, one defining factor emerged: the more prepared the group demanding the vote, the more effectively the group used the vote once it received it.

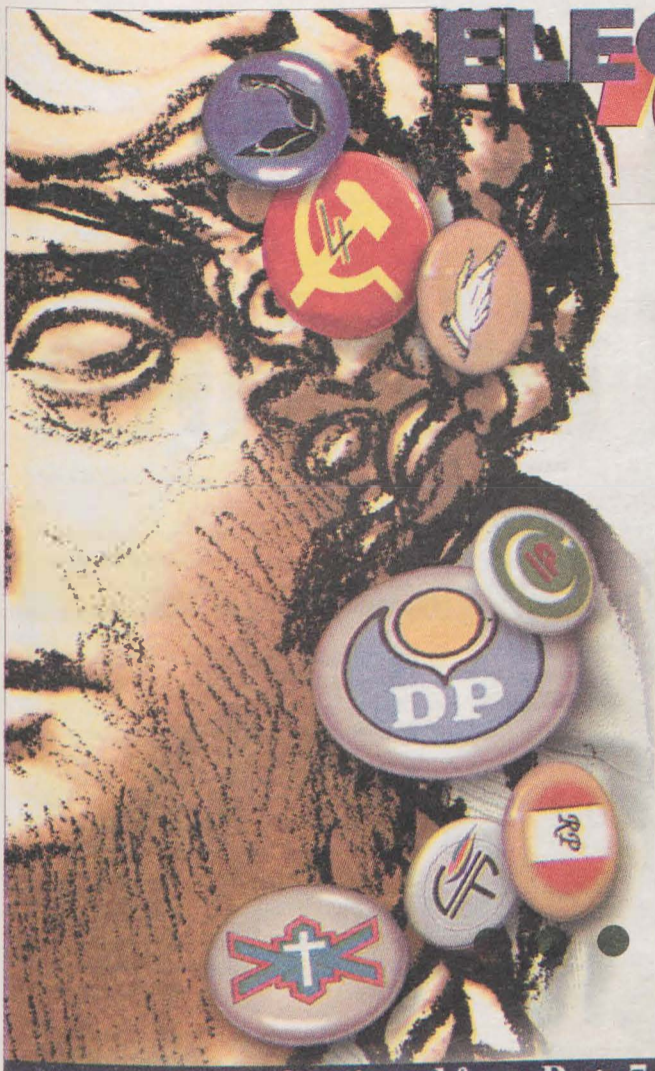
For instance, the black population of the United States was not prepared for the vote after emancipation in 1863. Of course, a biased application of the election laws created a formidable obstacle, but the black population was also hampered by ineffective organisation and lack of leadership.

One hundred years later, these leaders emerged and the black population organised itself effectively to fight for civil rights.

As the electoral process has evolved over the course of history, one factor has remained constant: elections have maintained a certain degree of ritual. Whether in the assemblies of the ancient Romans or in the meeting halls of European kings, whether on the battleground or on the campaign tours of 20th century politicians, elections are an *event*, which may "exude the gay atmosphere of a circus or the sombre atmosphere of a funeral".

Sources: Encyclopaedia Britannica; Andrew McLaren Carstairs, A Short History of Electoral Systems in Western Europe





Continued from Page 7

AMP
Imtiaz Sooliman

Africa Muslim Party

Registered to contest: **National, W Cape, Natal and PWV**

PLATFORM The party's policies are based strongly on those propounded by the Koran. It aims to encourage racial harmony and religious tolerance, respect for human life, women's rights, honouring

parents, the elderly and an accountability to God. The AMP hopes to attract a sizeable number of the coloured and Indian communities' votes, many of whom have traditionally veered towards the NP.

ANC
Nelson Mandela

African National Congress

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**

PLATFORM The ANC represents the majority of blacks and other fellow South Africans who deplore apartheid, its exploitative and discriminatory policies, says the party.

To address past imbalances the ANC has a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which is a comprehensive plan to bring about a better life for all the people. Within the

framework of the RDP, the results of past discrimination to specific groups in society will be corrected through affirmative action. Africans, women, rural areas and the disabled will enjoy special attention in this regard, it says.

It argues it is the only party with a clear plan to build a democratic, nonracial, non-sexist, united South Africa.

DP
Zach de Beer

Democratic Party

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**

PLATFORM In a climate in which the ANC and NP have already done deals in private to share government after April 28, the DP has a more important role than ever before, both now and after the election. The DP, unlike its opponents, has always taken an uncompromising stand on morality, human rights, social responsi-

bility, an open and free economy, clean government deregulation, privatisation, free and compulsory education, law and order, real federalism and independence of the courts. It talks empowerment, not entitlement economics and has always stood up for the individual. It has earned people's trust, says a party spokesman.

DPSA
TK Mopeli

Dikwankweta Party of South Africa

Registered to contest: **National, OFS and PWV regions**

PLATFORM The party's views are similar to those of the ANC with the exception that they espouse a more free-market economic policy.

It stresses the importance of protecting the rights of workers and the need to institute a land reform policy which has no

restrictions on the ownership or use of land.

"The Dikwankweta Party of South Africa has maintained the principles and objectives of one economy, one passport, one citizenship and one democratic, nonracial South Africa," says its manifesto.

FP
Frances Kendall

Federal Party

Registered to contest: **National and PWV region**

PLATFORM Kendall stresses federalism above all. She believes in the devolution of power and in direct democracy.

The electorate should be encouraged and allowed to vote on issues on an ongoing basis.

The Federal Party believes central government should have power only over defence,

finance, foreign affairs and the Appeal Court.

Each region should have power to determine its own economic, health and social welfare policy.

A pact has been struck with the Wes-Kaap Federaliste Party and they have agreed to adopt the FP's strong federalist stance.

IP
Abdullah Gamieldien

Islamic Party

Registered to contest: **Western Cape**

PLATFORM At the heart of the Islamic Party's policy is the need to achieve recognition for the rights of Muslims.

More specifically, the party would push for the legalisation of Muslim precepts of polygamy and inheritance rights, says a party spokesman.

In the longer term, it would make the general public aware of the benefits of the high moral standards of the Muslim

creed.

The party hopes to achieve a large proportion of the Muslim vote in the Western Cape, one of the most strongly Muslim regions in the country.

Between 8 and 10 percent of the region's electorate are Muslim, says the party spokesman and this would be enough to secure two to three seats in the regional government.

LUSAP
Manuel Moutinho

Luso-South African Party

Registered to contest: **National and PWV region**

PLATFORM The major political groupings had written off the Portuguese community as being of little importance in the elections, says Lusap. It aims to look after the interests of the Portuguese community in government.

The party was formed as a result of the alienation of the Portuguese community in the transition process, it says.

Further, the provision in the Electoral Act allowing permanent residents to vote and the system of proportional representation provide an opportunity to get one representative at both regional and national levels, says a spokesman for the party.

It seeks to bring the Luso (Portuguese) community out of its political isolation.

MP
Solomon Schkolne

Merit Party

Registered to contest: **Eastern Cape**

PLATFORM The Merit Party is effectively what the old Progressive Party was, says Schkolne. The goal of the Merit Party is one word - quality.

"The means is to make merit the measure. Quality commands admiration and attracts across the colour and race lines.

"The principle of the mass is bound to end in disaster and that apartheid and peoples' power both suffocate quality. "We desperately need the

third option of merit which generates quality by requiring critical measurement of the real worth of the individual to count in all spheres and reduces violence by demanding the responsibility of the individual and enhancing the economy." There is nothing we can do about it before the election, he says, explaining how the party hopes to bring the idea of merit through its voice in a new government.

MF
Amichand Rajbansi

Minority Front

Registered to contest: **National and Natal/KwaZulu region**

PLATFORM Following the provision in the constitution for "the effective participation of minority political parties in the legislative process in a manner that is consistent with democracy", the Minority Front has registered to contest the election.

Throughout the world minorities, through their political parties are playing a role in government by being the pure and effective voice of the

minorities, says the MF. The party has a 10-year programme to build itself into a strong force. Its priority is to get a voice in the provincial and national parliaments. Minorities do not want a voice through proxies as they are subject to things like party discipline, says the MF. "We are here to ensure that any action by government and the private sector minorities are not prejudiced."

NP
FW de Klerk

National Party

Registered to contest: **National and all nine regions**

PLATFORM The NP asserts repeatedly that it is the only party which has been able to admit its past mistakes and work on correcting them in a future government.

It promises to focus on stimulating rapid economic growth, providing decent facilities for millions of South Africans and effecting national reconciliation.

It boasts a long experience of

government and argues for autonomous local and regional government and a strongly free-market economy based on the right to private property ownership.

More equitable tax policies will be implemented and discriminatory policies of the past will be reversed to ensure full political and civil rights to those who did not previously enjoy them.

VOTER VIEWPOINT



Debbie Moon (35), education consultant Randburg

On double ballot: The two ballots address two separate issues so it is a good idea to be able to vote for your representative in the region.

On postponing election: No, the IFP has had a chance to take part, it cannot be postponed. We have waited a long time for this and they have known about it for a long time. They must get their act into gear.



Farmworkers and the vote

For years they were the forgotten labourers of South Africa. But now farmworkers have been turned into pawns by political parties and the agricultural unions.

For decades farmworkers were the lowest paid and the most abused, with no rights whatsoever.

Then in May last year the Basic Conditions of Employment Act was made applicable to them.

The Act covers the right of farmworkers to trade union membership, but falls short of protecting them against victimisation for membership of a political party.

In February, the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions announced that they would ban all kinds of political activity, including much-needed voter education, from their farms.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was asked to act urgently. SACP chairman Joe Slovo took up the matter with the Transitional Executive Council and had a meeting with Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

After trade union representatives met in February, the IEC launched "Operation Access", designed to facilitate access for political parties and voter education in hitherto no-go areas, such as farms and hostels.

Nikki Moore of the IEC's media department said political parties should report areas to which they were denied access. Project officials would then approach the local authority to establish a venue and a date for a political gathering.

"The IEC has the power to prosecute anyone who refuses, on the ground that it will be a con-



travention of the Electoral Act." Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Piet Gous has said that allowing political parties to organise on farms would be a recipe for disaster.

Political organisations, from the ANC to the National Party, have entered the fray as they eye the million-plus votes from the farmworker community.

The ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have called for free political activity on farms, and the giant federation has called on President de Klerk to raise the matter with the agricultural unions.

The problem is that farm owners are in a position to instruct their workers to attend meetings of their own political party, a move from which the Free State Agricultural Union has distanced itself.

During De Klerk's western Transvaal road

Attentive ... farmers and farmworkers at a meeting at Eston in Natal

show, farmers not only transported their workers to listen to the NP leader, but also gave them R10 for food and drinks.

ANC MP Jan van Eck said in Parliament in December that farmers were confiscating their labourers' identity books and refusing to return them unless they voted NP.

Farmworkers whose employers belong to parties which were against the election told The Star that they feared losing their jobs and homes, or that they would be penalised for attending a rival political party's meeting.

Pressure groups, fighting to restore the rights of farmworkers, have encountered endless problems.

These organisations say that if the situation continues unchecked, over a million farmworkers will either not vote or will spoil their votes because of illiteracy.

Over a million farmworkers will either not vote or will spoil their votes because of illiteracy.

Political parties should report areas to which they were denied access

What does it mean?

Election: is a process that allows citizens of a country to vote for a political party of their choice to become the government.

Ballot paper: is a paper that has the names of all the political parties taking part in the election. The voters put a cross in the space next to the party they are voting for.

Ballot box: is a box where voters put their ballot papers after they have made their cross for the party of their choice.

Polling station: or voting station is the place where people go to vote on election day. Schools, community halls, churches and tents can all be polling stations.

Polling booth: is a closed space where voters go alone to mark their ballot papers.

Secret ballot: means every vote is secret. No one will ever know who citizens have voted for on election day.

Spoilt paper: is a ballot that has been marked wrongly and will not be counted.

Election officials: are people who work in polling stations on election day.

Government accountability: means the government must explain its actions and policies to the people.

Negotiation: is a process of talking to your opponent so that you may resolve your differences.

Proportional representation: is an election procedure in which the number of votes a party gets in an election determines the number of candidates the party can send to parliament.

Tolerance: is when a person allows other people the right to support any party they choose.

VOTER VIEWPOINT

John Teer (30),
computer student
Ferndale



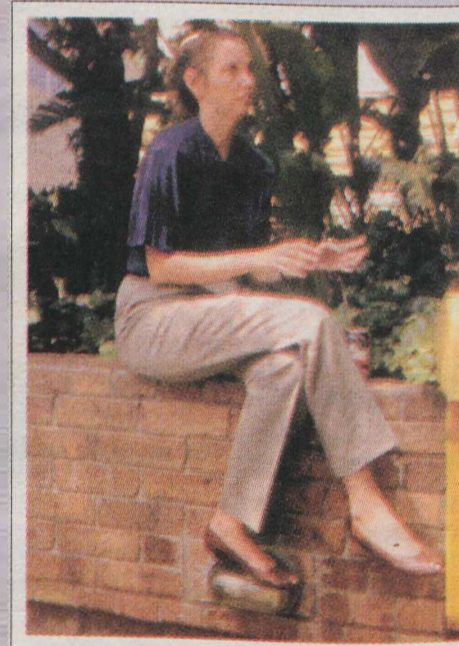
On secrecy: What's the point of an election if the voting is not secret, because it would dramatically affect the outcome. The voters would be open to intimidation, they would be voting more to please others than their own consciences.

On double ballot: I think there should be a vote for regional representatives who would then go on and decide who goes to the central government.

On postponing election: We cannot postpone the election. It is a political ploy and I think the IFP will take part in the election. The IFP is reputed to have spent so much money on ads, they would not waste it. If they don't vote that's their own decision. It will cause violence whether from the IFP or the Volksfront if they don't take part, resulting in the election not being free and fair. But everyone has bent over backwards. The whole process is give-and-take and the IFP has not made any concessions.

VOTER VIEWPOINT

Marie Norman (24),
signwriter
Randpark Ridge



On secrecy: It's very important that the election is secret otherwise lots of people would be intimidated, although their vote counts. If there is intimidation it is not a fair election, but a secret ballot will prevent that.

On double ballot: Each region will have its own priorities so they need separate governments.

On postponing election: The IFP have a lot of support so they should be in the election because I believe they would win. It would be a good idea to postpone the election to get all the people who want to, to take part. They haven't had a chance to register or to get their lists in. I think there will be violence because the IFP is not in, but there would probably be violence anyway so it doesn't make too much difference.



THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION MEMBERS



Chairman Judge Johann Kriegler



Vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke, former Pan Africanist Congress leader.



The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches.



Charles Nupen, liberal lawyer who specialises in conflict negotiation.



Rosil Jager, a former mayor of Sasolburg and nominated National Party MP.



Helen Suzman, veteran liberal parliamentarian.



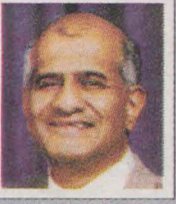
Dawn Mokhobo, SA Business-woman of the Year and senior resources manager at Eskom.



Ben van der Ross, lawyer and former Urban Foundation director.



Johan Heyns, former President's Council deputy chairman.



Zac Yacoob, advocate and ex-executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.

At the heart of the election



Oscar Dhlomo, former Inkatha leader.



Gay Mc Dougall (USA)



Ronald Gould (Canada)



Amare Teckle (Eritrea)



Walter Kamba (Zimbabwe)



Jorgen Elklit (Denmark)

In October last year the State President signed into law a unique organisation – the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) – whose only function is to take South Africa through its first truly democratic election.

Then, almost like a moth that labours mightily to turn itself into a butterfly – only to die within a few days – the IEC will, by successfully organising, conducting and certifying the election, ensure its own demise.

But until then the task facing the 16 members of the commission is enormous.

According to commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler, the organisation will eventually control more than 100 000 people whose short-term tasks, in the words of the mandate, "to administer, organise, supervise and conduct... free and fair elections for the National Assembly and all other legislatures in terms of the Constitution and Electoral Act".

In addition, it is required to promote the conditions conducive to free and fair elections, determine and certify the results of the election and certify to what extent they have been free and fair, conduct voter education and, the sting in the tail, *make and enforce* regulations for the achievement of its aims.

When the 16 members of the Independent Electoral Commission finally sit in conclave to decide if they have successfully carried out their task there will be no rules and no guidelines to follow – not even any written criteria that describe what is or is not *substantially free and fair*.

"There are broad areas that we will have to look at in consultation with the foreign observers," Judge Kriegler answers carefully, "such as the per-

centage poll, the amount of violence in any given area – or if results are radically different to what the polls show we can expect.

"But essentially each operation of this kind is unique – we will have to make our decision based on the information we have." It seems a very "finger in the water" kind of empiricism for such an important decision. "Yes," the judge replies, "but at least we have a wide variety of fingers doing the testing." A wide variety indeed – not quite a jury but a group, good and true, who are required in terms of the IEC Act to be "impartial, respected and suitably qualified... who do not have a high party political profile".

In addition to the locals, there are five international "non-representative" members of the commission, though no one seems to know exactly what "non-representative" means in this context. But before the legions of unemployed rush off to the IEC headquarters looking for electoral jobs, it is fair to point out that the commission does not exactly have to start from scratch. It will be able to build on the existing substantial infrastructure of the State and – with the aid of the international observer missions, especially the United Nations – modify them to its vision.

"We don't want to try to re-invent the wheel," is how Judge Kriegler puts it, "but some things will have to be invented." To do its job the commission has divided itself into four sections: the executive, administration, monitoring and adjudication branches, each headed by a director. The four sections will be overseen by four sub-committees of the commission.

At the heart of the implementation of the commissions' mandate is the director of the monitoring section – the job has been given to civil rights lawyer Peter Harris.

His mandate is to control the actual election monitors, the people whose reports on election day will in real terms decide if the election – and subsequent counting of votes – has been free and fair.

He will also have to register and regulate the activities of the many thousands of election observers, investigate infringements of the electoral code of conduct and other electoral

offences, and mediate with political parties over any disputes that may arise between them.

He also has the power to enforce his decisions. He can issue and execute search warrants and subpoenas, seize items and order the police, SADF or other security forces to carry out his dictates.

In all of this the director is required to *consider*, but is not bound by, the advice of the Transitional Executive Council.

The commission will also set up Election Tribunals – consisting of one person, usually a lawyer – in a large

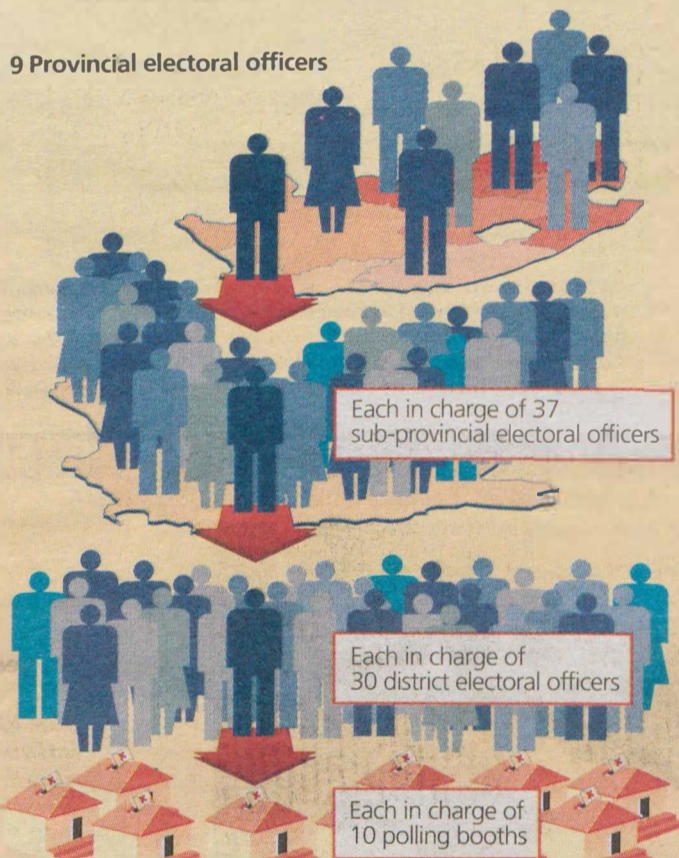
number of locations throughout the country to hear allegations of electoral misconduct, as well as Election Appeal Tribunals to hear appeals against the decisions of the Election Tribunals.

Finally, the commission is also required to establish a special Electoral Court, under the chairmanship of a Supreme Court judge and with two other members, to review the decisions of the IEC as a whole.

In a telling sentence in the IEC Act it is stated that the Electoral Court shall *determine its own practice and procedures and make its own rules*.

The Act also states that if the IEC decisions run counter to any other laws relating to elections, the IEC stance will prevail.

RUNNING THE POLLING STATIONS



There will be a presiding officer in charge of each of about 9 000 polling stations around the country. Each electoral officer will have a staff of 18 people to help run the election at that polling station. It will be their task to ensure the procedure of voting is done in accordance with the law.

It is their task to rule on the validity of identity documents and on who is eligible to vote.

Because there are observers from each party present at all the polling booths, any person or party representative can lodge a complaint, which would then be discussed with the observers and monitors and a decision reached.

The presiding officer and his electoral staff are involved in the running of the polling station.

They are different to monitors and observers who are independent watchdogs, there to ensure that secrecy is maintained, no voter fraud takes place and to try to resolve disputes.

The presiding officer at each polling station is indirectly appointed by the IEC.

During the nomination process any of the parties taking part in the election can lodge a complaint against anybody appointed to help run the election.

VOTER VIEWPOINT



Leroy Gibbons (18), haircutter Johannesburg

On secrecy: A secret vote is very important because different parties are fighting, so if the other party knows who you vote for, then they may kill you. I am convinced the election is secret.

On double ballot: I don't think the double ballot is important, because I will be voting for the same party.

On postponing election: It is a good idea to postpone the election, because otherwise there will be thousands of people who will not be able to vote. The other parties have to talk to them more, to try to get them to take part in the election.

AT EACH POLLING BOOTH



The IEC's electoral staff countrywide will consist of:

- 9 provincial electoral officers
- 37 deputy officers,
- 1 191 assistant deputy officers,
- 2 382 clerical staff,
- About 9 000 presiding officers,
- 193 706 voting officers
- 90 838 enumerators.

Local government and you

It's May. It's the monthly town council meeting. Standing outside the civic centre, watching the councillors file in, are you likely to see evidence of the country's passage from minority rule to democracy?

No. You may see evidence of change (and even that will vary according to the local political climate) but it won't yet amount to democratic local government.

The councillors may display a variety of skin colours. You may see pillars of the local establishment rubbing shoulders with former civic association firebrands or veterans of a liberation army. But none will have been freshly elected to office.

The reform of government of the cities, towns and villages of South Africa is running one phase behind the national political process. So, by the time the national elections are held, local government will just be moving into a phase roughly equivalent to the period of office of the Transitional Executive Council.

The first nonracial local government elections will not take place before the end of this year and, according to the Local Government Negotiating Forum, could well occur only in early 1995.

According to the timetable set out in the Local Government Transition Act, by May 4 local negotiating forums in every town and city should have decided on the model of local government reform to be followed and have chosen the people to sit on the new structures.

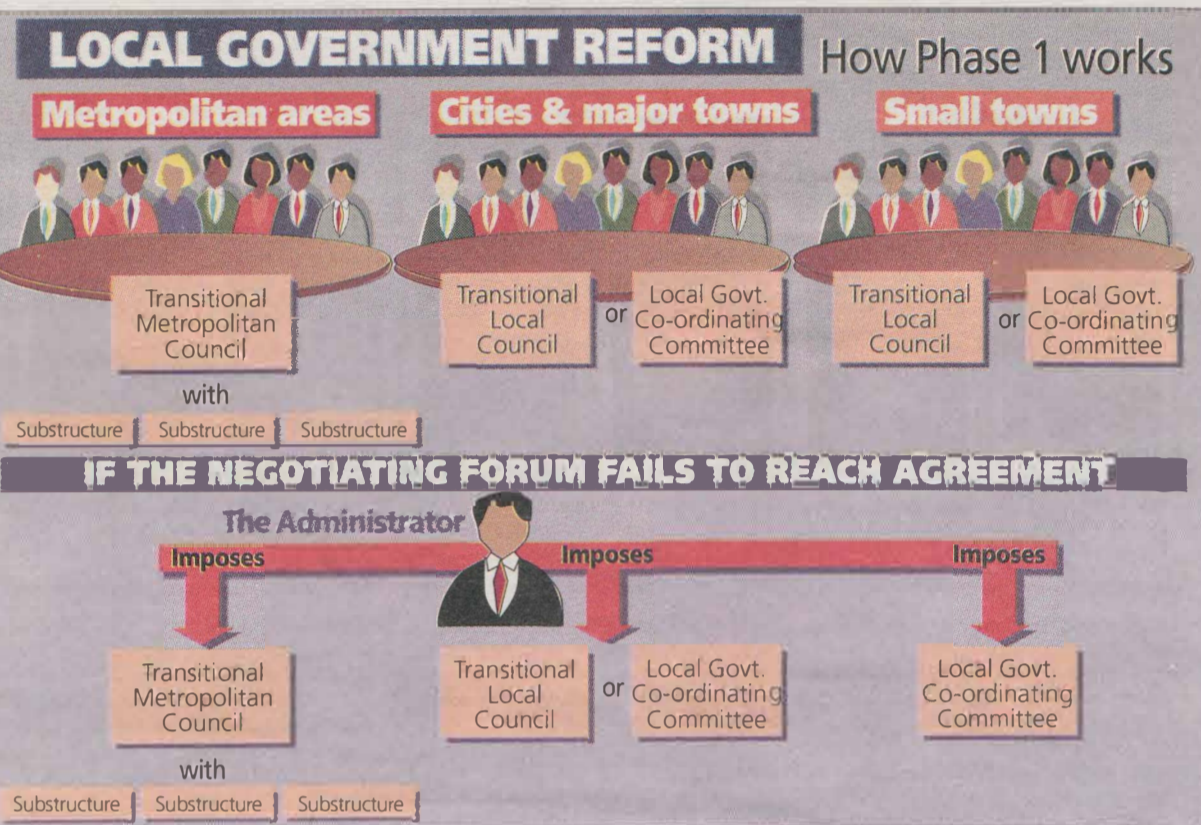
Negotiating forums have different choices depending on whether they are situated in metropolitan areas, cities, large towns or smaller towns.

So, if you live in Johannesburg, Greater Soweto or one of the adjoining areas, by May there should be an appointed Transitional Metropolitan Council in place and this metro-wide body should be involved in setting up what the Act refers to as "local sub-structures".

The area of jurisdiction of the Johannesburg-centred metropolitan council is likely to cover roughly the area of the present Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council. The local sub-structures would comprise various clusters of town and township within that area.

In metropolitan areas, the law allows no half-measures: racial local authorities must give way entirely to appointed nonracial transitional councils during this first phase of reform.

But, if you live in a city, which isn't part of a sprawling metropolitan com-



plex, or in a town, then the type of change you ought to see by May is less predictable.

In a concession to the right wing, the architects of the Act decided to give local negotiating forums in these less complex urban centres a choice. They could either scrap the existing racial councils and set up appointed nonracial transitional local councils in their place; or they could retain existing councils and create a nonracial local government co-ordinating committee. This umbrella structure would begin in a modest way to merge certain func-

tions of the local authorities represented on it.

Wherever transitional councils are set up – in the metropolitan complexes or in towns of all sizes – the idea is to give an equal say to those parties and organisations which have operated within the system in the past, and those which have been outside the establishment, mainly in the liberation movements.

This is what is meant when people refer to the "50/50 model", or to the equal representation of "statutory" and "non-statutory" organisations.

Of course, there is another distinct category of towns which is not explicitly referred to in the legislation: towns where the extreme Right has a grip on the white local authority, which in turn has a hold on vital resources. The Right minority has unilaterally proclaimed many of these lesser urban centres to be part of a Volkstaat and has refused to engage in local level reform until its national demands for Afrikaner self-determination are met.

The deadline for negotiating forums to complete the business of setting up interim structures will probably come

and go in many of these areas without results. In some areas negotiating forums may be too divided to get the two-thirds majority needed to take decisions.

In either situation, the Act empowers either the provincial Administrator or the provincial Premier, once appointed, to step in. First he/she has to try mediation, but if this fails, he/she has the power to simply appoint interim structures.

In most areas the Administrator/Premier, in close consultation with the provincial Committee for Local Government, can decide whether to impose an interim council on the "50/50 model" (disestablishing existing racial bodies along the way) or to go for the modest co-ordinating committee.

But, in towns which are graded 8 or lower on scale used for determining the pay of town clerks – that is, towns like Belfast in the Eastern Transvaal or Lichtenburg in the West – the Administrator/Premier has no choice. He/she can only set up a local government co-ordinating committee.

Whether town and township are bridged by a transitional council or less firmly by a co-ordinating committee, a real step will have been taken to defining the boundaries of the new nonracial town that will eventually be created. The boundaries will be finally set down by a Demarcation Board before the first nonracial election.

In addition, residents of township and suburb will be on the path to "one town, one tax base".

The process of equitably sharing the revenue of the local authority may start very slowly in areas where conservatives hold the strings to the biggest purse. Where co-ordinating committees exist, member councils will only be compelled to put 10 percent of their total assessment rates into a common pool which will be used to upgrade services on the basis of need.

But the principle of uniting racial areas and distributing resources right across the urban area will at least have been conceded.

Furthermore, the first local elections will be just around the corner – elections, which will in many ways demand greater organisational work than the national elections. You'll need more than an identity document to vote a new council into being. At that point there will be voters rolls, and local wards and a direct vote for the candidate of your choice as well as for the party of your choice.

VOTER VIEWPOINT

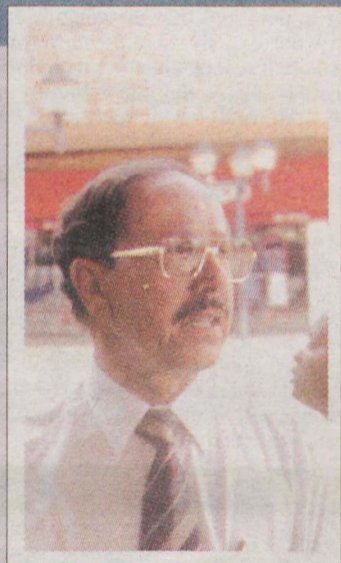
Leslie Krause (57),
sales rep
Midrand



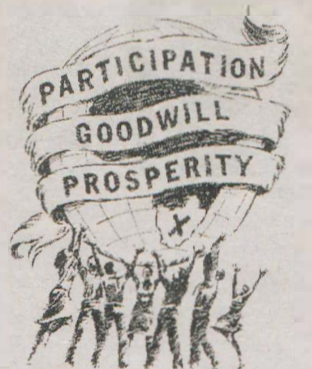
On secrecy: *It is important for the vote to be secret, hopefully it will prevent people from intimidating others. Hopefully this will discourage them.*

On double ballot: *I am not sure of the implications but it does seem to be the right thing.*

On postponing election: *I would like to see the IFP take part because without them there will be trouble. But they knew about the deadlines and you have to have a cut-off point somewhere. Everybody has been given a chance, you cannot postpone the election because one or two parties don't want to take part.*



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