

Final Report:

The Namibia Voter Education Project

October 15 - December 15, 1992



The National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs
in cooperation with the
Namibian Broadcasting Corporation



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I. SUMMARY

From October 15 to December 15, 1992, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a voter education project in Namibia through a cooperative agreement with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The project's goal was both educational and motivational -- to inform Namibians about the process and purpose of the 1992 Regional and Local Elections and to motivate them to participate by registering to vote and, ultimately, to cast their ballots. This project sought a turnout of approximately 60 percent of eligible voters. In spite of a late start and delay in equipment deliveries that necessitated major last-minute program revisions, the project was a considerable success. Overall voter turnout nationally was 82.9 percent. In many of Namibia's more heavily-populated constituencies, more than 90 percent of the registered voters turned out. A few polling stations even recorded a 100 percent turnout.

II. BACKGROUND

The 1992 Regional and Local Elections in Namibia

The 1992 elections in Namibia differed fundamentally from the 1989 elections that led the country to independence. Not only were the objectives different, the electoral system changed and so had many of the voting procedures. Furthermore, these were the first elections to be conducted by Namibians themselves. The vast international community that had assisted the 1989 elections had long since departed.

Namibia's democratic development has had both symbolic and tangible value in Africa, particularly in the region of southern Africa. The 1989 elections provided the region with first-hand exposure to the use of the election process as a mechanism for conflict resolution. Since those elections, Namibia has been under a microscope where all developments are examined for the lessons they might provide to others in southern Africa: Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, and even South Africa itself -- each of them at an earlier stage in the democratic transition process.

The Namibian constitution establishes the requirement for a second house of parliament, an elected National Council based on regional representation. Although the constitution did not specify a date when the National Council would be formed, it was generally accepted at the time of independence that the second house of parliament should be functioning within two years.

The constitution also provides for elected local authorities to include "all municipalities, communities, village councils and other organs of local government." Several of Namibia's previously all-white municipal governments, including Windhoek and Swakopmund, had been serving for nearly 20 years since the last local elections.

Thus, by mid-1992, there was growing pressure in Namibia for elections to establish Regional and National Councils as well as for local elections to install municipal governments more closely reflecting the populations they governed. But in order for these elections to take place, a new census had to be taken, new constituencies created on the basis of the census

results, and, finally, new legislation passed to establish electoral procedures for both the regional and local elections. The passage of the Electoral Act, the Regional Councils Act and the Local Authorities Act in August 1992 paved the way for an Electoral Commission to begin its work in September.

Led by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, head of the Political Science Department at the University of Namibia, the Electoral Commission established a registration period from September 21 to October 26 (later extended by two days). The nomination deadline for candidates was set for November 2, and the elections were scheduled to take place from November 30 through December 3, 1992.

This timetable allowed for little more than a month to register an estimated 600,000 voters and less than a month to carry out an election campaign for 13 Regional Councils and 47 municipal governments during two separate elections held on the same days. Given Namibia's low population density, the vastness of its territory (larger than Germany and France combined) and the limited capacity of its existing communications and transport networks, this accelerated calendar was an admittedly ambitious, if not heroic, undertaking.

But the schedule took into account an essential reality: Namibia and its government institutions virtually shut down for the summer holiday from December 15 to January 15. If the elections were to be held in 1992, they would have to be completed by December 4 to allow sufficient time for the ballots to be counted and verified before the annual close of business. Having already allowed two years to slip by since independence in March 1990, the Namibian government was under considerable pressure to complete the regional and local elections before the end of 1992.

The Official U.S. View

In a joint U.S. State Department/Agency for International Development/U.S. Information Service message on September 29, the American Embassy in Windhoek reported to the State Department that "in a very real sense, these elections will be a test of post-independence Namibia's commitment to democratic practices and values. At this writing, we are convinced that they will be free, fair and transparent. Even so, the Namibian government lacks any previous experience in conducting elections and faces considerable logistical and organizational difficulties. These are compounded by the lack of an institutionalized democratic culture in Namibia and short lead times for civic education, registration, selection of candidates and the electoral campaign."

The same telegram commented on the possibility of a low voter turnout and its effect on Namibia's democratic process. "Reports from every region indicate that Namibians are unaware of, misinformed about, or simply do not understand the meaning and purpose of the current registration exercise and the forthcoming local and regional authority elections. If the level of

popular participation remains as it is, these critical elections will fall below expectations, dealing a severe blow to Namibia's budding democracy and the effort to decentralize national decision-making. (A very low turnout could also bring into question the legitimacy of the National Council, which is the central element of "check and balance" in the legislative process.)"

"Clearly, what is needed is a more rigorous program of civic education to make certain that all Namibians are aware of the critical importance of these elections," reported the U.S. Embassy in Windhoek. "Radio is by far the best medium for achieving this. While the Namibian government's political will to see these elections succeed is certainly manifest, the ability to do so on the first attempt without additional assistance may not be there."

III. THE NDI-NBC VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

NDI's Functional Expertise

The centerpiece of NDI's program initiatives in Africa has been civic education as it relates to elections. Activities have ranged from training nonpartisan election monitors to designing mass voter education programs in partnership with NGOs to encouraging election administrators to conduct aggressive public education campaigns. These initiatives have been credited with enhancing confidence and participation in the electoral process.

In addition, NDI has conducted two major studies in southern Africa on public attitudes toward elections: one in Botswana, a country with a tradition of conducting five elections in 28 years of independence and one in South Africa where democratic elections have yet to become a reality. The two studies used public opinion survey techniques and reached strikingly similar findings regarding public apathy toward participating in elections and cynicism toward politicians. Both studies strongly suggested the substantial need to motivate people to vote and to educate them about the registration and voting processes.

NDI's Program in Namibia

NDI has been active in Namibia since 1988 following the signing of the Tripartite Accords, which heightened the prospect for holding elections in accordance with the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435. Ambassador Donald McHenry and UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari encouraged NDI's involvement because of the Institute's election expertise and reputation for impartiality in election monitoring. Now in its fifth year of in-country program activity, NDI has conducted projects that have addressed voter education, monitored the broadcast media's coverage of elections and critiqued the electoral process; has held seminars on constitutional issues specifically emphasizing the role of the media; and has trained members of parliament. The Institute is currently engaged in an extensive program of legislative staff training and educational workshops for members of Namibia's Parliament, including the recently-elected members of the National Council.

NBC as a Channel to the Namibian Voter

At independence in March 1990, Namibia inherited from South Africa an extensive and technically up-to-date national broadcasting network. Its nine language services in radio use 31 FM, medium-wave and short-wave transmitters to reach an audience estimated (by NBC) at more than 90 percent of Namibia's 1.4 million population. Since independence, NBC has designed and installed a computerized radio and television newsroom that is reputedly the most advanced on the African continent.

NBC television currently broadcasts only in English and therefore reaches a much smaller, but steadily growing audience, varying from 5 up to possibly 25 percent of the population. This programming is restricted to Windhoek, Swakopmund and the northern regions of Namibia. However, because of the excellent quality of the color programming and NBC's access to top U.S., British and French satellite news coverage, television is watched regularly by Namibia's most influential audiences, particularly those engaged in business and government.

In addition to this excellent technical plant, NBC has invested heavily in human resources since independence. The staff inherited from South Africa was mostly white, apart from the African language services, and had to be merged with broadcast personnel returning from the exiled Voice of Namibia liberation radio stations. This pooling of resources, accompanied by the Namibian government's strong affirmative action program, has created continuing staff problems at NBC. To its credit, NBC's management has taken huge strides toward resolving these difficulties by increasing emphasis on personnel training, innovative programming techniques to make NBC more immediately relevant to its Namibian audiences, and greater community involvement through audience participation programs, including a hugely successful live "National Chat Show," which encourages Namibians to call in their views on controversial subjects.

Guidelines for NDI-NBC Cooperation

In entering into a cooperative agreement to conduct a voter education project with NBC for the 1992 regional and local elections, NDI was guided by four specific objectives:

1. To inform voters about their rights and responsibilities and educate them about the complicated electoral process;
2. To motivate the public to participate and exercise their democratic rights embodied in this process;
3. To educate the Namibian public about the importance of the electoral process;
4. To inform voters on the choice of options as detailed in the policy statements of the parties, candidates and organizations competing in the elections.

This program would be undertaken in a fair and objective manner without bias toward any party or individual.

NDI proposed assisting NBC in the production of broadcast materials that would inform the public about the offices under contention, the registration and voting procedures, the places and dates for registration and voting and where to obtain information about the election process, the candidates and the political parties.

Also proposed by NDI were interactive programs, using a live call-in format and taped interviews with Namibians around the country speaking about the importance of the elections to them and their communities, problems they were experiencing in fully participating in the process and issues they would like to see the candidates address. These interviews would be taped on recorders purchased by NBC with NDI funds, since NBC did not possess the appropriate equipment to do the job.

The NDI-NBC program anticipated broadcast debates between candidates and party leaders, as well as town hall meetings where local audiences could ask candidates questions directly, or phone them in from outlying regions.

NDI and NBC would also seek to record and broadcast endorsements from non-political, community leaders about the importance of registering and voting in the elections.

Finally, newspaper advertisements would be used to promote NBC listenership while simultaneously encouraging people to vote. NBC, using funds provided by NDI, would place the advertisements in all of Namibia's leading newspapers representing the spectrum of political opinion. [See Appendix I.]

To oversee the joint project locally, NDI would retain the part-time services of Sean Kelly, a retired Voice of America correspondent residing temporarily in Namibia. Kelly has more than 30 years of broadcasting experience, much of it in Africa. He would advise NBC on content and format, take primary responsibility for program direction and evaluate the project at its conclusion.

How the Project Worked

Administrative delays postponed commencement of the project until October 20 -- less than a week before voter registration was due to end. NBC had nonetheless gone ahead on its own and sent teams out to begin recording interviews with the equipment at hand. However, the belated starting date posed real limitations on NDI's ability to influence the voter registration process.

Kelly met with Cyril Lowe, chairman of the NBC Election Task Group on October 20 and remained in contact with him on a daily basis throughout the duration of the project. Lowe had already established an Elections Discussion Forum, which included representatives from the six political parties and three community associations registered to take part in the elections.

The Discussion Forum held its first meeting at NBC on October 2 and met at least once a week thereafter through December 8. Kelly began attending these meetings regularly, as well as the NBC weekly election programming meetings.

On October 26, Kelly was able to report that NBC expected the 21 Marantz PMD 222 broadcast-quality tape recorders funded by NDI to arrive in Windhoek by the end of the week. In the meantime, radio and television teams were being sent to the Caprivi and Okavango regions in the far northern part of Namibia to record interviews and panel discussions with political and traditional leaders on the importance of registering and voting. The interviews were to be broadcast by NBC when the teams returned to Windhoek. A similar trip to Oshakati in the Ovambo-speaking area of the north was planned for the following week.

This pattern of dispatching combined radio-television teams to outlying areas and broadcasting their interviews and panel discussions soon thereafter seemed to Kelly to be a far more effective technique for arousing voter interest than the generic public service announcements NBC had been using. He therefore recommended that NDI fund NBC to charter local aircraft so that the movement back and forth from Windhoek to the field could be accelerated, and the broadcast materials aired more quickly.

Unfortunately, the use of NDI funds for NBC television coverage, as opposed to radio broadcasting, was considered to fall outside the mandate of NDI's original proposal and was therefore not permitted.

The comments by NBC on this issue as stated in their final report on the voter education project are worth noting here:

As for the funds made available by NDI for the NBC's coverage of the process a serious constraint was the fact that television was excluded from the agreement. The NBC, and for that matter probably most of the public broadcasting institutions in the developing world, do not have the facilities and resources enabling them to at all times maintain a clear distinction and separation between radio and television. In most cases television is just as important as radio in informing the average Namibian. Television reaches the leadership and opinion makers who in turn pass on information to their supporters from where it filters through to the grassroots level. Most projects tackled by NBC are aimed at coverage for both radio and television at the same time. Leeway in this regard would have enabled the NBC to utilize funds made available more effectively. [See Appendix II.]

Another issue that surfaced repeatedly during NDI Program Assistant Nicholas Van Slyck's November 7-18 visit concerned the tape recorders purchased by NDI for NBC's use during the campaign. It was understood that these would be available well in advance of the actual campaign. An investigation initiated by Kelly and Van Slyck revealed a serious error in NBC's ordering process: there had been no follow-up in October to the original telefax message ordering the equipment -- which apparently had gone astray. As a consequence, there seemed little likelihood on November 13 that the original equipment would arrive in time to be used at all during the project. By checking various retail outlets in Johannesburg, NBC's engineering staff was able to locate similar, but more expensive Marantz recorders. At Kelly's

recommendation, Van Slyck approved the purchase of 15 of these units in order to furnish NBC the equipment it desperately needed while at the same time remaining within the NDI budget constraints.

The new recorders arrived November 19, were thoroughly checked out with the NDI-funded Electrovoice 635A microphones in Kelly's presence, and sent to outlying areas in time to be used in the final days of the campaign. They proved very successful, and the sound quality of the interviews broadcast on NBC improved substantially.

On November 23, Kelly reported to NDI Washington that NBC intended to use the new equipment in a series of broadcasts aimed at stimulating voter turnout, by reporting directly from polling stations in the language of the area. Because of the vast distances and the short period of time involved, NBC believed that it was imperative to use charter aircraft to fly the radio reporters from one region to another. Kelly was asked to obtain NDI approval to reprogram travel funds for this purpose. The money was available in the NDI budget for the project, but needed to be reprogrammed from 4 x 4 vehicle rental to aircraft charter.

Approval was eventually obtained to charter three flights during the voting period. Kelly flew on two of them, accompanying NBC National (English), Otjiherero and Damara>Nama radio reporters to polling stations in Oshakati, Ongwadiwa, Opuqo, Khorixas, Swakopmund and Walvis Bay. In most cases, the interviews were broadcast the same day on NBC's National, Otjiherero and Damara>Nama services. The NDI-provided equipment thus received a rigorous work out in time to make a considerable difference during the electoral process. In Kelly's view, this intense usage tended to help compensate for the recorders' late arrival; NBC's Election Task Group agreed.

Election Programming

The National and Language Services of NBC Radio served as the principal channels to convey routine information about the elections to the public. NBC produced a variety of programs aimed at making people aware of the purpose of the elections and the necessity to participate in them. The following program formats were utilized by NBC in an effort to reach its listeners:

- Panel discussions were conducted where political leaders and election administration officials were asked questions phoned in by listeners.
- Quiz programs were devised to test the general knowledge of the public on the purpose of the elections.
- Several of the language services held concerts with the election as the central theme.
- The NBC introduced a series of weekly programs that reflected the attitudes of the people and the problems surrounding the election process from remote regions.

- During the period of registration from September 21 to October 28, 1992, daily schedules of the mobile registration teams were broadcasted in all the vernaculars.
- Information on polling stations, both mobile and fixed, was made available for the duration of the voting process from November 30 to December 3, 1992.
- The results of the elections were transmitted by the NBC National Service as they became available from 11 pm on December 3 until 9 pm the following night. The language services concentrated on the constituencies covered by their respective services.
- NBC commissioned a radio play entitled "We Are Going to the Polls." [See Appendix III.] The original English script was translated, produced and broadcast repeatedly in eight languages. NBC's German Service felt the setting (an African village complete with chickens, roosters, horses and a wise old man) was not appropriate for its listeners. Kelly obtained a cassette of the play's Otjiherero version and had it monitored by several randomly selected Hereros who all agreed it was a fascinating program.
- NDI also sponsored Namibia's first-ever "Town Meeting of the Air" with all the political parties in Namibia represented on a single panel and a studio audience asking questions. It proved a major success in both radio and television where it was aired during prime time.
- Advertisements ran in all of the major the newspapers that informed the readers of the date, time and frequency of the NBC radio programs.
- A final panel discussion on the eve of the elections featured representatives of all the political parties and associations participating in the elections. This discussion provided the parties and groups with an opportunity to inform the public of their policies.

As noted above, NDI's provision of new microphones and tape recorders made it possible for NBC to expand its programming to include distant areas of Namibia. The use of charter aircraft assured that the interviews obtained with this equipment were broadcast in time to have impact on the voting process.

The Role of the Political Parties

As noted earlier, NDI and NBC worked closely with representatives of the political parties and community groups participating in the elections. But from the very beginning, it was clear that the parties were not prepared for the elections in 1992 and most of them, including the ruling South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), sought a postponement. When this proved impossible, they belatedly started devising campaign strategies and began the process of selecting candidates. Only SWAPO fielded candidates in all constituencies. The opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) matched SWAPO in presenting candidates in most constituencies, but declined to compete in some regions where it knew it would not fare well.

Nonetheless, when Nicholas Van Slyck and Sean Kelly visited the heavily pro-SWAPO Oshana Region (formerly Ovamboland) on November 10 to 11, the disorder at the DTA campaign headquarters was apparent. One candidate for the Oshakati regional elections, DTA's national publicity secretary, was unable to explain his party's campaign strategy, apart from simply attacking SWAPO on its home ground. He eventually received 104 votes to his SWAPO opponent's 8,242.

Other DTA candidates in the north fared poorly as well, but the surprises came in the southern and eastern area of Namibia where DTA had succeeded in 1989. The main opposition party was only able to win two out of Namibia's 13 regions while SWAPO expanded its stronghold in the north and made serious inroads into constituencies previously thought safe for the DTA.

Throughout the registration and campaign period, NBC found fruitful cooperation with the political parties difficult. The weekly Discussion Forum provided an opportunity for the parties to work closely with NBC, but they rarely (according to NBC) took real advantage of it. In its final report, the NBC Election Task Group observed that:

A major drawback was the fact the political parties were not always that well informed about the issues at stake...the NBC should have been able to draw on the expertise and knowledge of political leaders to convey important information to listeners. However, the political parties themselves did not fully understand the process and procedures to be followed and thus were not always able to serve as reliable sources of information. Furthermore, the political parties failed to mobilize their supporters. The campaign only started in all earnest about four weeks before the elections. The parties were ill prepared and were of little help to the NBC in preparing the electorate for the elections.

IV. CONCLUSION

The high voter turnout throughout Namibia speaks for itself. Some of it is no doubt attributable to the NDI/NBC Voter Education Project. As the U.S. Embassy in Windhoek reported to the State Department on December 1: "Although there were some kinks in getting started, the first day of the first elections organized by Namibians themselves went smoothly. The AREA/NDI-sponsored voter education campaign with NBC has paid off. In spite of the predictions of mass apathy, there was no shortage of voters anywhere."

In its final report on the project, NBC said:

In conclusion, the NBC would like to thank NDI not only for its financial support but also assistance rendered by its representatives monitoring the process in Namibia. Without this support, the NBC would certainly have been at a disadvantage and would not have achieved what we did in the end. Throughout this project NDI contributed towards the furthering of democracy in Namibia. The funding also enabled the NBC to gain valuable experience that can be put to good use in similar programs in the future.



November 30, 1992 - Long voting lines in Oshakati.



Special lines were established for the very young and very old.



NBC radio reporters in action with the new microphones and recorders provided by the NDI-NBC Voter Education Project.

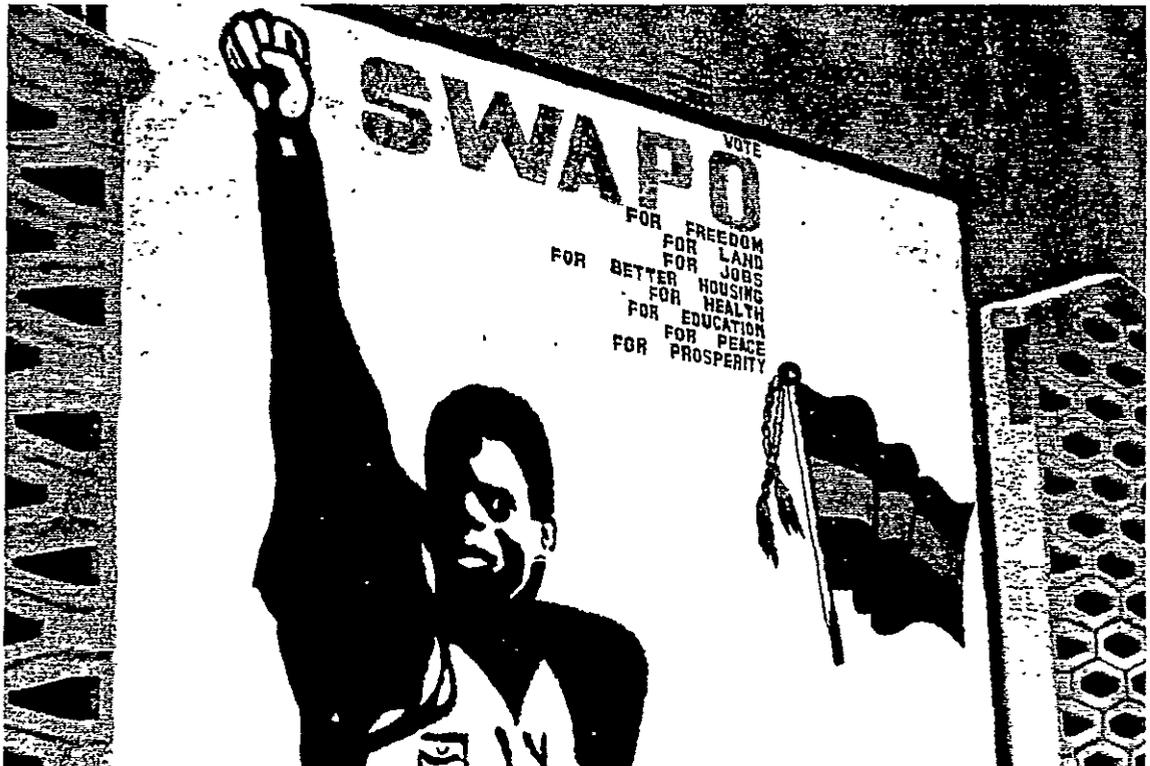




Interviews were recorded in the nine languages broadcast by NBC and often put on the air the same day.

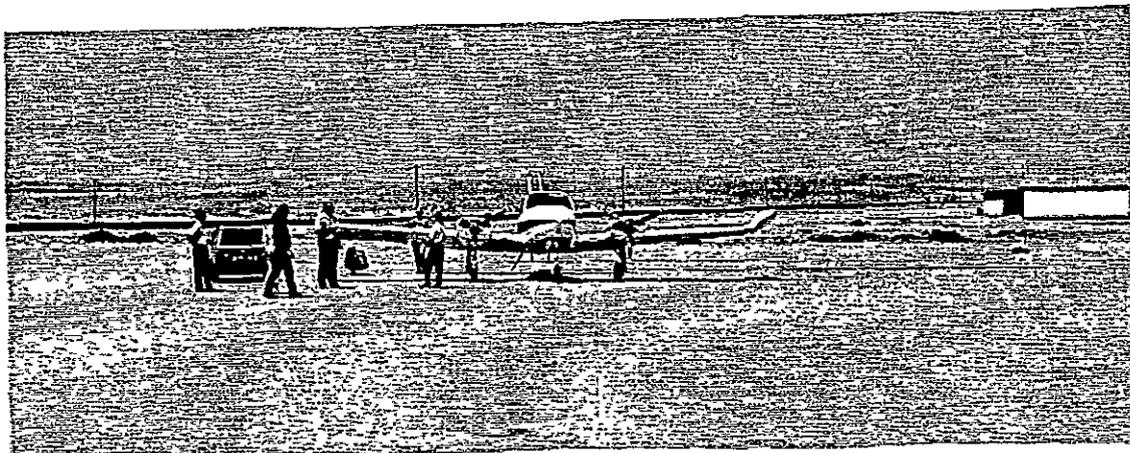


Not a lamppost nor an empty wall was left untouched by Namibia's 1992 Regional and Local Elections





The NBC-NDI flying workhorse between polling stations and loading up for the electoral process.



Swakopmund International Airport with minimal passenger amenities.



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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is chaired by former U.S. Vice President Walter F. Mondale and is headquartered in Washington, DC.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 50 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

Political Party Training: NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws expert trainers from around the world to forums where members of fledgling parties learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

Election Processes: NDI provides technical assistance for political parties and nonpartisan association to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 20 international observer delegations.

Legislative Training: In Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa, NDI has organized legislative seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services and committee structures.

Local Government: Technical assistance on models of city management has been provided to national legislatures and municipal governments.

Civil-Military Relations: NDI brings together military and political leaders to promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations.

Civic Education: NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs.



conducting nonpartisan international programs to help maintain and strengthen democratic institutions



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APPENDICES

To vote is your right

Switch-on to
NBC Radio
and find out more

- * **Rukavango Service**
- * **20:00**
- * **Saturday 21 November**

Informing the Nation

Who will you be voting for?

Switch-on to NBC
Radio's **Election File**
and find out

- * **National Service**
- * **07:30**
- * **Thursday 19 November**

Informing the Nation

Skakel-in vir die verkiesings

- Nuus
- Inligting
- Opvoeding van kiesers

..met op

NBC Radio/TV



Lig die inwoners in

Pwilikina komahoololo

- Eenghundana
Nomauyelele
- Okuhonga ovahoololi

..mo **NBC Radio**
no mo TV

The NBC logo is rendered in a bold, lowercase, sans-serif font. The letters 'n', 'b', and 'c' are thick and black, with a white outline. The 'n' and 'b' are connected at the base, and the 'c' is a simple, rounded shape.

Okushiivifila Oshiwana

Paturura komahoroworo

- Mbudi
- Mapukururo
- Erongo lyovahorowoli.

..ko Radio **NBC**
no Tv kwelike

The logo for NBC, consisting of the lowercase letters 'nbc' in a bold, stylized font with a thick outline.

Kupukurura Muhoko

Kwalula ku ba liketisa

- Makande
- Lizibiso
- Tuto ya baketi

..Zeo Kaufela u kona ku li teleza fa
moya mwa Wayalesi ya ba NBC
hamoho cwalo ni ya Maswaniso
yona TV

The NBC logo is rendered in a bold, lowercase, sans-serif font. Each letter has a thick black outline and a white fill, giving it a three-dimensional, blocky appearance. The letters are closely spaced together.

Zibiso ya Sicaba

Newspaper Advertisement in Otjiherero

Puratenana

komatoororero

- Ombuze
- Ondjivisiro
- Omahongero
uovatoorore

..ko Radio no TV
jo **NBC** aijerike

The logo for NBC, consisting of the lowercase letters 'nbc' in a bold, stylized font with a thick outline.

Ondjivise jotjuana

**//Hûidi di
saogub !na**

//khâmi #ga re

- #hoan
- #an#an-xun
- //hûi-aon di //kha//khas

..NBC's di

#hôa#gares/TV !na-u igui

nbc

Ge //aesa ra #an#an

APPENDIX II

NAMIBIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

FINAL REPORT : NBC VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME

15 OCTOBER 1992 - 15 DECEMBER 1992

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE : GRANT TO NBC FOR VOTER EDUCATION
PROGRAMME : FINAL PROGRAMME REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION:

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation's coverage of Namibia's first elections for regional councils and local authorities was aimed at creating awareness among the Namibian electorate of the importance of the elections and to motivate the public at large to participate and in so doing exercise their democratic rights. With its coverage the NBC endeavoured to further the principles of democracy enshrined in Namibia's constitution and to meet its obligations in terms of the Broadcasting Act to provide the Namibian nation with relevant information.

This the NBC undertook to do in a fair and objective manner. In order to ensure objectivity a consultative forum was established involving all political parties and groups participating in the elections. The NBC consulted with these groups continuously throughout its coverage of the elections and also accommodated agreements reached with these groups. Participating organisations were supplied with a copy of the NBC's policy guidelines for the coverage of the elections outlining the modus operandi and special projects to be undertaken. (See Addendum A)

The first meeting of the Discussion Forum was held on 2 October 1992 and since then regularly every week throughout the whole process. Political parties and groups were kept informed of all projects and activities undertaken by the NBC with an opportunity to raise objections, propose alternatives or present the NBC with recommendations. The six political parties and 3 community associations that registered for the elections were all represented on the discussion forum.

2. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN:

2.1. News and Current Affairs:

To ensure proper coverage of the elections an Elections Desk was established with the assignment to cover all news events related to the elections, to coordinate the gathering of information and to monitor all material broadcast and televised by the NBC. This Desk was the key to the whole operation and also facilitated coverage by the NBC's Radio Programme Services. The terms of reference of the Desk was to focus in reports on the informative aspects of the elections by identifying needs for information and supplying the relevant information to the Services concerned.

The Desk also covered the political rallies of the individual political parties and non-political organisations.

Most of the informative items broadcast by the NBC emanated from this Desk and audio contributions with a total duration of 554 minutes, focussing on the elections, were broadcast in the 66 days the Desk was in operation. Hard news reports on the elections accounted for a total of 438 minutes.

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The audio contributions were broadcast in the two Radio News current affairs programmes, Deadline and Update Namibia. Most of the contributions, as well as the hard news items, were repeated in the nine Language Services being Damara>Nama, Otjiherero, Oshiwambo, Rukavango, Tswana, Lozi, Afrikaans, German and National Radio broadcasting in English.

These contributions reflected important announcements by the Elections Directorate, explanatory items on procedures and appeals by community leaders for the public to actively participate. These contributions and reports included the following:

- Dates of registration of voters, registration of political parties, nomination of candidates, dates of the elections and details of the announcement of the results.
- Procedures to be followed when registering as a voter
- The Code of Conduct for political activities during the elections.
- Problems experienced with the registration of voters, as well as voting procedures and how to overcome these problems.
- Interviews with political and traditional leaders explaining the significance of the elections and urging the electorate to participate.
- A radio talk in all languages on how to vote.(Copy attached as Addendum B)

2.2. Programme Services:

The Language and National Services of the NBC served as the main channels to convey routine information to the public. At the same time the Services also conducted panel discussions highlighting the elections and making people aware of the necessity to participate.

The following programme formats were utilised to reach listeners of all the services:

- Panel discussions with political leaders and officials of the Elections Directorate with listeners phoning in and putting questions to the panelists.
- Quiz programmes testing the general awareness of the public and at the same time conveying important information about the elections.
- Several services conducted variety concerts with the elections as the central theme.
- National Radio presented a series of weekly programmes reflecting attitudes and problems related to the elections from remote regions.
- A Radio Play - We are going to the polls - was presented by all the Language Services with the exception of the German Service.(Addendum C)

- During the period of registration from 21 September 1992 until 27 October 1992 information on the programme of registrations teams and venues to be visited was supplied in all the vernaculars on a daily basis.
- Information on polling stations, both mobile and fixed, was made available for the duration of the voting process from 30 November 1992 until 3 December 1992.
- The results of the elections were broadcast by National Radio as it became available from 23:00 on 3 December until 21:00 on 4 December 1992 with the Language Services focussing on the constituencies covered by their respective Services.
- All the radio programme services conducted "vox pops" programmes involving the public to assess attitudes and to identify vague areas which were followed up with interviews and programmes addressing these issues.
- A final panel discussion on the eve of the elections featuring representatives of all the political parties and associations participating in the elections. This discussion provided the parties and groups with an opportunity to inform the public of their policies at the hand of questions asked by an audience of supporters of all the different groups.

(Copies of the Minutes of meetings of the NBC's Election Task Group as well as the reports submitted by the various Language Services and News Department are attached as Addendum D - I. These minutes and reports reflect details of programmes produced and presented as well as audio and news items produced and broadcast by News and Current Affairs.)

2.3. Public Service Programmes:

As a public service and in an effort to provide political parties with the opportunity to reach supporters with vital information on their manifestos, the NBC made available free time to political parties and groups participating in the elections. The allocation was done proportionally to the number of candidates nominated for the elections. The parties and groups had full jurisdiction over the content of these slots without any censorship by the NBC except for blatant transgressions of the NBC's internal Code of Conduct and legal requirements regarding libel.

Apart from the free time, political parties and groups could also make use of weekly slots on all the Language Services to inform the public of meetings or events.

2.4. Advertising Services:

In order to inform listeners about election-related programmes to be broadcast by the NBC a pro-active campaign of advertisements was launched via the local printed media. Advertisements in the Namibian vernaculars were published in the local dailies and weekly newspapers such as the Advertiser,

Namibian, Republikein, Tempo, New Era and Allgemeine Zeitung.

(Copies of some of these advertisements are included as Addendum J)

3. ASSESSMENT OF PROJECT:

The only way by which the NBC can assess the success of the project is to determine whether the objectives of maximum participation was achieved. From the outset the Corporation saw its task as one of informing listeners about the process in order to ensure participation of each and every eligible voter. To achieve this we first had to motivate the public to register and then to convince them to exercise their right to vote. With limited resources and a largely centralised infrastructure it was just not possible to go to the extent of introducing individual candidates and what they stood for to the electorate. This we regarded to be the responsibility of political parties.

The final registration figure of 80 comma four per cent of the estimated population aged 18 years and older far exceeded expectations of the Elections Directorate. By any standard the final polling percentage of on average 82,9 per cent for the regional elections and 81,7 per cent for the local elections were very high.

With the NBC being the only medium able to reach most of the Namibian population living in remote areas without access to printed media or other sources of information, the success of the registration campaign and the voting process can largely be attributed to the efforts of the NBC to inform and motivate people to register and vote.

Probably the main factor contributing to the success of the Corporation's campaign was the direct involvement of the public in programmes. The programme formats used to involve listeners to participate in programmes and to air their views freely availed the NBC with the opportunity to use the most reliable sources of information being the people themselves. In the case of problems being identified the swiftness of the medium made it possible to address issues without delay. Close cooperation with the Elections Directorate was of vital importance and this we had at all times.

A major drawback was the fact that political parties were not always that well informed about the issues at stake. Being the leaders of the people the NBC should have been able to draw on the expertise and knowledge of political leaders to convey important information to listeners. However, the political parties themselves did not fully understand the process and procedures to be followed and thus were not always able to serve as reliable sources of information. Most of the time when they were called upon to participate in discussion programmes they saw this as an opportunity to campaign which the NBC could not afford ~~due to~~ pressure on the Corporation to act in an objective manner.

Time and again Government office bearers of the ruling party misused their positions to campaign for their party. In future elections this issue will have to be addressed on a very high level with the Government of the day.

The real issues at stake in regional and local elections were never addressed in political campaign by the participating audience. The elections were fought mostly on part-political lines without going into details such as the changes and renewal envisaged by the main actors in regional and local Government. This was probably due to the fact that it was the first time ever that Namibians had the opportunity to elect such councils.

Furthermore the political parties failed to mobilise their supporters. The campaign only started in all earnest about four weeks before the elections. The parties were ill prepared and were of little help to the NBC in preparing the electorate for the elections.

For the NBC it was a case of trial and error. There was no precedent to go by as this was also the first time the Corporation tackled a project like this. A major drawback was the fact that we started at a very late stage with our planning. The Task Group planning and coordinating coverage was established only two months before the elections. This was due to the fact that legislation paving the way for the elections was delayed. Financial constraints forced the NBC to make do with what little funds were available and without the funding by NDI the Corporation would not have been able to achieve the level of success it did in the end.

As for the funds made available by NDI for the NBC's coverage of the process a serious constraint was the fact that Television coverage was excluded from the agreement. The NBC and for that matter probably most of the public broadcasting institutions in the developing world do not have the facilities and resources enabling them to at all times maintain a clear distinction and separation between Radio and Television. In most cases Television is just as important as Radio in informing the average Namibian. Television reaches the leadership and opinion makers who in turn pass on information to their supporters from where it filters through to the grass root level. Most projects tackled by the NBC are aimed at coverage for both Radio and Television at the same time. Leeway in this regard would have enabled the NBC to utilise funds made available more effectively.

What the NBC did not succeed in doing is to present listeners with an overview of the alternatives as projected by the political parties.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS:

Recommendations the NBC can offer on the basis of the experienced gained with this exercise will probably be applicable mainly to

broadcasting institutions in the Third World.

A prerequisite for success with a project of this nature is full commitment from the Management cadres of the institution tackling such a programme. A multi-disciplined approach should be followed involving all departments. It is therefore important that a project of this nature start off with a workshop for top-management who should clearly define the objectives. It follows that planning and preparation should start at least 6 months prior to elections.

In order to promote democracy which entails propagating a variety of views and alternatives the institution tackling such a project should see its task as twofold. Education programmes should be aimed at the general public, but at the same time and just as important is a programme aimed at educating the main actors in the process being the participating political parties. In our case political parties waited until the last minute before they started organising party structures and selecting candidates. To a large extent a public broadcasting institution can assist by aiming their programmes at informing political leaders of the requirements and demands as well as timely preparation for political campaigns.

Political parties should be guided as to the manner in which the broadcaster can be of assistance to them to further their aims but at the same time serve the nation as a whole. In our case we relied on the political parties to work out a plan of action with the means made available to them by the NBC. However, the broadcaster should assume a much more assertive role. In broadcasting they are the experts and therefore are in a position to guide and advise.

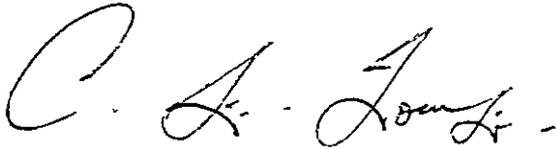
Programmes should be aimed at highlighting issues at stake. The NBC could have steered the process towards addressing the real issues at stake by involving political leaders well in advance in panel discussions focusing on their policies on issues pertaining to regional and local government. The broadcaster should take the lead and be pro-active rather than wait for the political parties to identify issues. What happened in our case is that the real issues were never addressed. Candidates fought their campaigns on party-political lines. If going by the content of political discussion during our campaign it could just as well have been a general election for parliament rather than regional and local structures. Supporters did not know what candidates stood for on regional and local government level and voted only along tradition lines of support and choice.

For a public broadcaster it is absolutely vital to stay neutral and not to be seen as partisan or supportive of only one line of thought. Although difficult to achieve it is worth the effort to maintain objectivity and to be fair. Consultation with political parties should be formalised and should go hand in hand with signed minutes of agreement. This pre-emts possible disagreement and provided the basis for sound cooperation. In our case time

and again representatives of political parties agreed to certain options only at a later stage to claim that they never informed about decisions affecting their campaigns.

6. CONCLUSION:

In conclusion the NBC would like to thank NDI not only for its financial support but also assistance rendered by its representatives monitoring the process in Namibia. Without this support the NBC would certainly have been at a disadvantage and would not have achieved what we did in the end. Through this project NDI contributed towards the furthering of democracy in Namibia. The funding also enabled the NBC to gain valuable experience that can be put to good use in similar programmes in the future.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "C. A. Louw".

CHAIRMAN
NBC ELECTION TASK GROUP

APPENDIX III

WE ARE GOING TO THE POLLS

BY

MOSHÉ M. BAITSEWE

CHARACTERS:

1. JOHN MONARENG.....
2. BEN MONARENG.....
3. BULL.....
4. ANGELINE/ELECTION DIRECTORATE.....
5. DODO.....
6. LETTIE.....

- 1.JOHN : He is an elderly man of appr. 55 years
who is talking with a slow and somewhat
shivery voice.
- 2.BEN & BULL : They are two young men of appr. 35 years.
- 3.DODO & ANGELINE: Two young women.
- 4.LETTIE : She is a woman of appr. 45 years of age.

SOUND EFFECTS.

CICADA

HEN & CHICKEN

A CROWING COCK

FLEEING CHICKEN

A VEHICLE COMING TO A HALT

A MATCH BEING PULLED

A GALLOPING HORSE

A NUMBER SHUFFLING FEET

BIRDS SINGING

A BUSTLE OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE

AT POLLING STATION.

SIGGI UP AND FADE TO THE BACKGROUND...

... INTRODUCTION DONE BY PRESENTER...

...SIGGI UP AND FADE OUT AGAIN.

.....

FX : A CICADA IS SINGING AND A HEN AND HER CHICKENS
ROAM ABOUT LAZILY WAITING TO BE FED.

1. JOHN : (IMPATIENT) Hey...! You Poppie!! C'mon
get away from me. Get away from here.
Away I say!!! (MEDITATIVE) I know you're
hungry, so am I. Now where do you expect
me to get you chicken-feed from? I don't
even have food myself.

FX : A COCK CROWS NEARBY.

2. JOHN : (ANNOYED) Oh no! Not you also. Get away
from here! Get...! Get away!!

FX : CHICKEN SCRAMBLE AWAY AS HE CHASES AFTER THEM.

3. JOHN : My goodness... (A DEEP SIGH) Dare these
chicken...!

FX : A VEHICLE STOPS NEARBY.

4. JOHN : (SURPRISED) And this... (MUMBLES TO HIMSELVES)
I won't like to hear another word about
registrations. They're just looking
for another way to waste our time.

5. E/DIR. : (AS SHE ALIGHTS) What's the matter with
the chickens old man?

6. JOHN : (ABRUPT) Don't you old man me! I don't
want to hear another word about registrations
and elections. And you can forget... Your
smooth talking won't help you much.

1.E/ DIR. : (APPROACHES) It's because you don't understand. Shall we have a seat so that I...

2.JOHN : (CURTLY) No! You won't. Go away. Just get into your car and go away. I won't have you wasting some more of my time. Just get away!

3.E/ DIR. : (CALM) Not before I have explained to you why it was necessary to register yourselves and why it is important to vote in the forthcoming elections.

4.JOHN : (ASKANCE) Oh? And why was that?

5.E/DIR. : Shall we sit?

6.JOHN : (LIGHTING UP A PIPE/ STERN) We shall not sit. I told you that your sweet talk won't help you much. Why don't go?

7.E/ DIR. : You don't get rid of me that easily. I have a responsibility here. The elections you've registered yourself for are of prime importance if we were to have a well nurtured democracy.

8.JOHN : (MEDITATIVE) Democracy...?

9.E/DIR. : The idea is to bring government to the people. It's thus the responsibility of the people to choose their own representatives to go and stand for them in parliament.

10.JOHN : (GIGGLES) Please... don't kiddy me. Don't make me laugh. (LAUGHS) It won't work! No! It simply won't work. Where on earth is the money going to come from. My dear, my advice to you is for you to return this car to where you got it from and

; go and look for something else to do.
1.E/DIR. : Why?
2.JOHN : Who is going to pay for such people.
3.E/DIR. : Let us look at it from this angle.

CROSS FADE...

FX : A GENTLE GALLOP.

4.BEN : (THINKING) I wonder who is at my father's house. That car has been standing there for too long now. I must go and check-out what's taking place there.

CROSS FADE TO PREVIOUS SCENE.

FX : A CICADA SINGING AND CHICKENS IN THE BACKGROUND.

5.JOHN : Whatever angle you're looking at it from, you would still have to pay him. And for that purpose you do need money.

6.E/DIR. : Oh yes! That's for sure. But what if we could have development and industry decentralised to your region and the people of your region could generate wealth, upgrade their standard of living and by means of taxes make it possible for the government to pay your delegate's salary.

7.JOHN : (JEERINGLY) That's fantasy! Day-dreaming. Without water and electricity, Aminius is as good as dead. Here is no future for our children.

1.E/DIR. : Aha! You see. Now you have it. You
have already identified your needs.
But whom are going to send to the
government to go and speak on your
behalf?

2.JOHN : Could that be done?

3.E/DIR. : Why not?

CROSS FADE...

FX : A GALLOPING HORSE AND SOMEONE WHISTLING. HORSE
GRADUALLY SLOWS DOWN AND HALTS.

4.BEN : What's the matter Bull? I'm in a hurry.

5.BULL : Okay Ben, I won't keep you long. (WHISPER)
What's the election officials doing at
your parent's place? They've been there
for quite some time now.

6.BEN : That's why I'm rushing there. I must go
and chase them away.

7.BULL : Okay. You better hurry up if that's the
case.

FX : HORSE STARTS OFF AGAIN.

8.BEN : See you later Bull.

9.BULL : (CALLING OUT AFTER BEN LEAVING) Okay Ben!

CROSS FADE TO PREVIOUS SCENE AGAIN.

10.JOHN : I'm serious!

11.E/DIR. : So am I. All we have to remember is that
Rome did not come into being overnight.
But yes, it could be done and it is going
to be done. Think of the development that
is going to come to the people. Just

mushrooming... Poultry-farming, vegetable cultivation and...

- 1.JOHN : (EXCITED) And thus stopping the young people from abandoning their old people and streaming to cities.
- 2.E/DIR. : You've got it right.
- 3.JOHN : Come on, let's sit down. I need to hear...
- FX : A GALLOPING HORSE APPROACHES.
- 3.BEN : (OFF MIKE) Dad, are you allowing yourself to be persuaded.
- 4.JOHN : Easy now. (LIGHTS UP PIPE AGAIN) Come nearer. This lady has a lot of very important information for us.
- 5.BEN : (STILL OFF MIKE) I'm not going to let this lady waste my time with cheap talk.
- 6.JOHN : We've been in the dark all along, Ben.
- 7.BEN : (APPROACHES) In the dark...? About what?
- 8.E/DIR. : Besides it being your constitutional responsibility to vote in the forthcoming regional and local authorities elections Mr... (SHE HESITATES)
- 9.BEN : (ON MIKE) Monareng... Ben Monareng.
- 10.E/DIR. : PLeased to meet you. I am Angeline Mosadi. Mr. Monareng, it is also your social responsibility to make sure that your region does not miss out on future developments.
- 11.JOHN : Come on. Let's sit down.
- 12.BEN : I have better things to do than...
- 13.JOHN : Just for a short while... Please.

- 139'

1.E/DIR. : We won't be long Mr. Monareng.

2.JOHN : (WITH PIPE BETWEEN TEETH) Mmmm... This lady says we would be choosing a representative of our own to go and speak for us at parliament. (SUCKS HIS PIPE) And you know... I just thought how good it would be to have a man who is also affected by what is affecting us, speaking for us; Presenting our complaints to the government.

3.BEN : (JEERINGLY) That'll be the day!

4.JOHN : (ANNOYED) Am I lying? Huh? Am I lying?

5.BEN : Okay dad. For whom do we vote?

6.E/DIR. : Participatric government.

7.BEN : What?!

8.E/DIR. : That's right. You vote for the best person for the job and...

9.JOHN : Isn't that an approach too business-like?

10.E/DIR. : Well... that is exactly what it's suppose to be. You don't go putting your money in the care of untrustworthy brokers.

11.BEN : Whom do we vote for?

12.E/DIR. : The right man for the job. As for the names of the participants, be it the political parties or independent candidates, those will be borne by the ballot paper. The important thing at this point in time is to make sure that each and every individual knows how and why to vote.

13.JOHN : The best way to do that would be to call everyone together. (AS HE KICKS BACK HIS CHAIR) C'mon let's go right away.

FX : FEET SHUFFLING AS THEY LEAVE.

FADE OUT... MUSIC BRIDGE.

FADE IN

FX : BIRDS CHIRPING IN THE BACKGROUND AND MUFFLED
HUMAN VOICES.

1.JOHN : (CLEARING THROAT/ LOUD) People...! May
I please have your attention. (SILENCE)
Thank you. I am very very pleased to see
you all here, especially on such short
notice. And I won't like to keep you here
a minute longer than is necessary.

2.DODO : Get to the point. We don't have the whole
day. We've got work to do.

3.E/DIR. : Please allow him some time, lady.

4.DODO : Listen who is talking!

5.BEN : Auntie Dodo please. Please give us a break.

6.DODO : Hey you, don't bark at me like that!

7.BEN : I was asking you politely.

8.BULL : (SHOUT FROM THE BACK) Why beg her? Throw
her out!!

9.DODO : Never! Do I resemble dirt that is being
thrown out just like that?

10.JOHN : Dodo please keep quiet and sit down. No-one
is going to be thrown out.

11.DODO : Why don't you speak to Bull? He's the one
who promised to throw me out.

12.LETTIE : Is this what we had been called to come
and witness?

13.E/DIR. : No ma'am. There has just been some
misunderstanding.
(THE DIN SUBSIDES)

1.JOHN : Thank you very much.

FX : A WHILE'S SILENCE AND A COUGH HERE AND THERE.

2.JOHN : (CLEARS THROAT AGAIN & CONTINUES) I know how you feel. Please believe me. You feel I've let you down. I can understand that. But now I can tell you this. We were in the dark about the registration and especially about the forthcoming election.

3.BULL : Don't you try to be smart. Get to the point.

4.JOHN : I'd rather call the lady to come and address you. Okay lady... Help me. Come nearer.

5.E/DIR. : Okay Mr. Monareng. Thank you. (CLEARS THROAT)
People, we are going to the polls.

6.DODO : The country is already independent, why should we vote?

7.E/DIR. : I like that question. We are going to vote so as to bring the government to the people. To really allow the people to rule, to have a say in their government. Now, why did we have to register ourselves?

8.LETTIE : Don't ask us tell us. Why?!

9.BULL : That's right. Tell us.

10.E/DIR. : We registered ourselves so that we could check before hand that the people who were going to vote are Namibians. So, why do have to vote?

11.DODO : Why don't you explain without asking questions? We are not kids!

1.E/DIR. : Okay okay...! Now suppose the good Lord gave you an arm. Only an arm... without the hand. Only an arm up to the wrist. Without the hand. No palm. No fingers. Nothing at all. What could you accomplish with such an arm?

2.BULL : What are you trying to pull?

3.E/DIR. : (IGNORES HIM) You will always have to be assisted by others. (PAUSE) Would you call that independence? Not being able to hold your pen! Not being able to hold your mug! Not being able to button-up your shirt, your dress or tie your shoe laces! Would you call that independence? No! That's certainly not independence. (SOFTER) Our parliament is like that arm. Our national assembly is like that arm. Our cabinet is like that arm and so is our government. Let us give that arm a palm and fingers.

FX : APPLAUSE.
Thank you. Regional and local authorities will provide government with hands and fingers to reach out to the people in all regions and villages.

FX : APPLAUSE.
I like that spirit! I like that very very much!

4.BULL : (EXCITED) We are going to the polls!

5.LETTIE & DODO : Yes! We are going to the polls.

6.BULL : How do we vote?

7.DODO : Yes. How do we vote? Please tell us more.

1.DODO : Yes. How do vote? Please tell us more.

2E/DIR. : (ELATED) Okay, let me just get to my files here. (PAPERS RUSTLE) For those who read and can get hold of the government gazette, the electoral act is set-out in detail in the August 31st copy of this year. Section 82 of act 24 is the one dealing in the manner of voting at elections.

3.DODO : What about us who never saw the inside of a classroom?

FX : LAUGHTER.

4.LETTIE : Some of ^{us} dodged school at the first break.

FX : LAUGHTER EVEN LOUDER.

5.B/DIR. : (AS LAUFGTER SUBSIDES) That's why I am here. On arrival at the polling station you'll have to identify yourself and proof that you're a registered voter.

6.BEN : Do you need to see the registration card?

7.E/DIR. : Yes! You need to proof to us that you're a registered voter. That's why. It is also necessary for the polling officer to compare the information on your registration card to that on the voters' list. Sippose I'm the election officer at a polling station and you want to come and vote.

8.DODO : What...?!

9.E/DIR. : (TABLE & CHAIRS BEING MOVED) Come and vote.

FX : LAUGHTER.

1.E/DIR. : Come and vote. (SHUFFLING FEET) Good morning ma'am. May I have your ID. Thank you. Let me see your registration card ma'am Goodman.

2.DODO : Oh! I'm sorry, let me look for it in my purse.

3.E/DIR. : At your leisure ma'am. (PAPER RUSTLES) Thank you very much. May I have your left hand please.

4.DODO : Why do you put that liquid onto my fingers?

5.E/DIR : Ma'am, this is an identification mark. We will be able to see it on your fingers for about seven days.

6.DODO : Is that why you first put my fingers under that thing?

7.E/DIR. : Aha!

8.DODO : Does it mean I would not be able to come and vote for a second time if I had wished to cheat.

9 E/DIR. : That's right. Now you can have your ballot paper. Let's rush through it before you go to the voting compartment to draw your cross.

10.DODO : Thank you.

11.E/DIR. : I'm sorry. Before you go, let me just enter your voter's number on the counterfoil and also stamp your ballot paper for you. Thank you very much for your cooperation ma'am.

12.DODO : Thank you.

13.E/DIR. : Happy voting and please don't forget to

; put your ballot paper in the ballot box
when you leave the voting compartment.

FX : APPLAUSE.

: That's how one votes.

1. JOHN : (SHOUTING) We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls.

2. ALL JOINING : We are going to the polls!

3. LETTIE : (SHOUTING ABOVE THE NOISE) Wait!!
(NOISE SUBSIDES) Whom are we voting for?

4. W/DIR. : To participate in government. We don't
intend ordering you whom to vote for.
The choice is yours. You draw your cross
next to the name of any of the candidates,
political party or organization of your
choice.

5. DODO : (SHOUTING AGAIN) We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls!

6. ALL : We are going to the polls! (STAMPING FEET)
We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls!

GENTLY FADE OUT... AND FADE IN.

FX : BIRDS IN THE BACKGROUND. LIGHT-HEARTED CHATS.

7. BEN : (ENTHUSIASTIC) They're doing exactly like
that lady told us. Look now, there's Bull.
He is going to vote.

8. JOHN : Where is he? Do you see him?

9. BEN : Over there. Come and stand here. In that
queue.

10. JOHN : Oh! I can see him now. He is producing
his documents. The ID... The registration
card...

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1. JOHN : And Lettie there, only a few metres
behind him, is holding her passport...

2. BEN : That's also a form of identification.
Isn't it?

3. JOHN : Yes.

4. BEN : Bull's fingers are being check at under
the light for the identification mark.
Now the officer is entering his voter's
number onto the counterfoil. There he
receives his ballot paper and now he is
going to the voting compartment.

5. JOHN : It's nice because they allow you enough
time to make-up your mind. You decide
at your leisure where you want to draw
your cross.

6. BEN : That is very important I should say.
You should not afterwards come and say
your cross is not where you actually
intended it to be.

7. BULL : (APPROACHES) We are going to the polls.

8. BEN : Hallo Bull.

9. BULL : Hallo hallo.

10. JOHN : Hallo Bull.

11. BEN : Whom have you voted for?

12. BULL : What?! You must be kidding my friend.

13. JOHN : Tell him that you've voted for representation
of the people in government.

14. BULL : That's right. There you have it. For
participative government. (LOUDER THIS TIME)
We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls!

; GENTLY FADE OUT AND CROSS TO THE SIGGI...
...BACK ANNOUNCEMENT...
...SIGGI UP AND OUT.

FINIS