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SOUTH AFRICA:

**POST ELECTION
SURVEY MISSION**

October 1994

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National Democratic Institute For International Affairs

conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote maintain and strengthen democratic institutions



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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 headquartered in Washington, D.C. and has a staff of 120 with field offices in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin American and the former Soviet Union.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 60 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 international experts 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 associations to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 25 major international observer delegations.

Strengthen Legislatures NDI organizes seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services, committee structures and the function and role of party caucuses. NDI programs also seek to promote access to the legislative process by citizen groups and the public at large.

Local Government NDI provides technical assistance on a range of topics related to the processes of local governance, including division of responsibility between mayors and municipal councils, and between local and national authorities. NDI program also promote enhanced communication between local officials and their constituents.

Civic Organization NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs. NDI programs work with civic organizations to enhance their organizational capabilities.

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

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SOUTH AFRICA:
POST ELECTION SURVEY MISSION

National Democratic Institute
October 1994

NDI SURVEY MISSION FINAL REPORT
October 1994

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I	Executive Summary	1
II	Mission Design/Structure	5
III	Findings of the Survey Mission	8
	1 Government of National Unity (GNU)	
	2 Effectiveness of Government	
	3 Transparency in Government	
	4 Role of Legislators in Policy Making	
	5 Tensions in Devolving Power	
	6 Constituency Relations	
	7 Assistance from NDI	
	8 Historically Black Universities (HBUs)	
	9 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)	
	10 Women	
	11 Civic transformation	
	12 Transitional Local Government Structures	
IV	Province Reports	19
	Eastern Cape	
	Eastern Transvaal	
	KwaZulu/Natal	
	Northern Cape	
	Northern Transvaal	
	North-West	
	Orange Free State	
	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (Gauteng)	
	Western Cape	
V	Recommendations	32
	Appendices	37
	1) Survey Mission Scope of Work	
	2) Participant Biographies	
	3) Province Appointments	

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), based in Washington, D C , conducts nonpartisan political development programs throughout the world. By working with political parties, legislatures, civic organizations and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. Since 1985, NDI has been actively engaged in the Southern Africa region in both pre and post election projects. The seven countries where the Institute has worked are Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia.

NDI has been actively involved in South Africa since 1990, when the actions of former President F W de Klerk and the African National Congress (ANC) suggested that steps might be taken to dismantle apartheid and move toward full participatory democracy. NDI worked with South Africans to prepare for the historic April 1994 elections and, following the elections, was assigned a grant by the U S Agency for International Development (USAID) to undertake a two-year project to provide immediate and long-term development assistance to the political parties in the provincial legislatures. NDI's approach to post-election political party development is a natural extension of its pre-election work with the South African political parties and builds upon established relationships. As in the earlier project, NDI will work in collaboration with the USAID-supported initiatives of the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (Joint Center) to implement the South Africa Democracy Support Project (SADSP). The first phase of this joint project was to organize a project development survey mission.

From October 10 to 23, 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted this survey mission of South Africa's nine provinces to assess the consolidation of the country's nascent democratic structures and to acquire relevant data to refine NDI's program which is designed to assist the development of political parties in the newly elected provincial legislatures. This mission was undertaken in conjunction with NDI's partners, IRI and the Joint Center.

The mission team was comprised of 13 individuals from the three organizations. The delegation was sub-divided into three teams. Each team visited three provinces and met with a broad cross-section of society at all levels: political leadership in the executive and legislative branches of government, political party activists, community leaders, civic activists, journalists, academics and business leaders. Concurrently, a team of parliamentary experts conducted consultations in seven of the nine provinces. Over the course of two weeks the delegation held more than 80 meetings and consultations. The delegation met at the end of the two weeks for a de-briefing and workshop to develop the NDI project implementation plan. The delegation received input from the independent evaluators who were in South Africa at the same time to conduct an assessment of NDI's 1993-94 election project.

The NDI members of the team were primarily concerned with the political development of South Africa's provincial legislatures. However, the NDI team also sought to gain an overall

perspective of South Africa's rapidly changing political landscape in order to examine provincial political developments in a larger democratization context. The team agreed that democratic consolidation since the April elections has been impressive when compared with progress made by other emerging democracies in other countries at similar stages of development. They observed a climate of openness, transparency and participation. By and large, there is a commitment at all levels to making the new political system function effectively and democratically. Given South Africa's difficult past, the level of tolerance and the spirit of reconciliation are remarkable, many political institutions are operating or seem prepared to begin functioning in the near future.

The NDI team took special notice of the fact that political parties are a significant contributing factor to this atmosphere of cooperation and collaboration. While the political parties have the power to make or break the fragile framework of the Government of National Unity (GNU), it seems to be the desire of most players to make it work in this phase of the transition. NDI focused its assessment at the provincial level and found that, in virtually every province, the GNU structure not only was holding together, but was functioning and, in some cases, thriving. Of course, the situation varies from province to province, however, the overall trend is heartening.

The new system is not without tension. The provinces, in particular, face serious challenges every day. Powers have not been fully devolved from the national government to the provincial legislatures, intergovernmental relations are strained, and there is deep-seated frustration among the people at the seemingly slow pace of social transformation. Efforts to integrate the civil service are causing chaos in many government structures. Citizens' expectations of the government are very high, and civil society is restless and frustrated with the slow progress of the delivery of services. Finally, on the provincial legislative level, the need for technical support and assistance is pervasive and, in some cases, urgent.

The team agreed to the following findings:

- 1 Overall, the Government of National Unity (GNU) is functioning at both the national and provincial levels. The commitment of the political parties to cooperate and collaborate is key to the success of the GNU.
- 2 The political leaders of the multiparty national parliament and the nine provincial legislatures have established procedures and structures that have the potential to facilitate development of genuine democratic institutions.
- 3 The emphasis on incorporating standards of openness, accountability and public participation into the day-to-day workings of legislatures is laudable, particularly when contrasted with the operations of legislatures of other transitional democracies.

4 Individual legislators as well as political parties in provincial legislatures are striving to define their role and powers *vis-a-vis* the executive councils in their provincial governments

5 The delay in devolving powers and corresponding responsibilities from the central government to the provinces has resulted in tension within and between political parties

6 The at-large party list proportional representation system has resulted in an awkward relationship between elected officials and constituents

7 Party leaders in the National Assembly and in each of the provincial parliaments have made specific requests for technical assistance from NDI

8 Historically black universities (HBUs) have been disadvantaged and marginalized by the scarce availability of resources, however, some of these institutions have the capacity to provide training and education to public officials

9 In the provinces, little progress has been made in converting the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) from a political party platform into a government policy that provides a basis for economic and social reform The central government needs to provide more information, clarity and mass education

10 Affirmative action efforts by political parties, especially the ANC, resulted in many women being elected to the national and provincial legislature These women recognize their need for parliamentary training if they are to maximize this opportunity

11 The human, technical and financial resources of civic organizations have been drastically reduced at a time when they are striving to adjust to a new role as nonpartisan advocates

12 Political and provincial leaders throughout the country have expressed anxiety about the formation of transitional local government structures and the local government elections in 1995 At the same time, the political leadership is strongly committed to keeping the unfolding transitional process on track and holding the elections as scheduled

NDI's primary goal in the survey mission was to refine the development of its assistance in a political party development program which is geared toward political parties in provincial legislatures Since these legislative bodies are new entities, it was necessary to become familiar with their composition and development in order to ensure that planned program activities would be appropriate and productive More important, it was necessary to reestablish contacts with the relevant political leaders in the legislatures in order to secure their input into the design of the program

The NDI program has targeted all nine provinces with distinctions in the type and level of assistance. The survey team determined that all provincial legislatures require assistance and technical support. The legislatures recognize their needs, and most have requested assistance from NDI. Political parties, which had heretofore been vehicles of protest, must now organize within the legislatures to assure effective governance. The parties are just beginning to familiarize themselves with this new responsibility and are looking for the tools and resources to make it happen. The vast majority of those serving today were protesting in the streets yesterday, having never seen the inside of a parliament let alone served in a legislature.

The survey mission concluded that the nine provinces have certain characteristics in common. At the same time, each province faces distinct challenges and is influenced by different personalities and political issues. Therefore, program plans must be designed to reflect the needs of each particular province, and will be refined and revised in consultation with members of each provincial legislature as the project evolves.

Each delegate's individual report and relevant supporting documents are available. The NDI component of the survey mission team is solely responsible for the observations, findings and recommendations contained in this report.

II MISSION DESIGN AND STRUCTURE

From October 10 to 23, 1994, NDI conducted an assessment of post election democratic consolidation in all nine South African provinces. The survey mission, organized by NDI, was executed in cooperation with the Institute's two U S partners -- the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (Joint Center) -- in the South African Democracy Support Project (SADSP). Under the auspices of the SADSP the three organizations undertook this fact-finding mission to ascertain the feasibility and focus of program activities in support of developing democratic institutions.

The three organizations agreed that it was best to pool resources and conduct this mission jointly for the following reasons:

- 1 All three organizations would meet with similar groups and opinion leaders, coordination would lessen the burden on those South Africans offering important insights to political development in the country.
- 2 Each organization and its delegates brought a unique perspective to democratic development. This enhanced and reinforced the work of the partnership. Such a cooperative effort allowed for a dynamic exchange of ideas, information and viewpoints.
- 3 It was cost efficient to implement the mission jointly.
- 4 A joint survey mission would impress upon those interviewed that the SADSP is a collaborative effort of the three organizations, even though each would carry out distinct programs.

To complement and enhance the fact-finding phase of the mission, NDI incorporated into the survey mission work plan workshops and consultations on legislative organization and procedures, these were held with political leaders in seven of the nine provincial parliaments.

Survey Mission Preparation

The basic concept for the political party in parliament project is a response to requests from political leaders for NDI's continued assistance in the South Africa democratic transition. A series of meetings took place in the immediate post-election period between NDI and South Africans who had been involved in the Institute's four-year pre-election program. In May 1994, NDI Senior Associate Patricia Keefer and NDI Consultant Padraig O'Malley met with government ministers, party leaders and newly elected parliamentarians who all pointed to the urgent need for parliamentary training and development at the provincial level. They recommended that NDI explore such a program with provincial political leaders. Patrick Lekota, premier of the Orange Free State, was among those who requested assistance in

organizing political activities inside and outside of parliament. He stressed the need to establish structures that would legitimately connect the people to the government.

At the national level, NDI received encouragement and advice from Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, MP and chair of the National Assembly's Rules Committee. In meetings in both South Africa and Washington, D C, Moleketi urged NDI staff members to pursue parliamentary assistance programs and advised the Institute on approaches to political parties in the legislatures.

In August 1994, NDI responded to its first direct request for assistance from Firoz Cachalia, MPL in Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV), who serves as ANC Deputy Whip and is a member of the legislature's rules committee. Firoz Cachalia asked for assistance with a conference on parliamentary rules and procedures that the PWV Assembly organized on August 26 to 28, 1994. NDI provided an annotated briefing book containing examples of parliamentary procedures in other countries. NDI also sponsored two international experts to make presentations at the two day conference. The international experts were Matyas Eorsi, member of the Hungarian National Assembly, and Vero Mbahuurua, counsel to the Speaker of the Namibian National Assembly.

The SADSP survey mission's scope of work was drafted by NDI staff members with input from the IRI and Joint Center. The document ultimately became integrated into the terms of reference for all three organizations (See Appendix 1 Survey Mission Scope of Work). NDI also prepared a briefing book for each member of its survey team.

Team Composition and Deployment

The composition of the survey team listed below reflected a balance of experience and expertise in legislative organization, political parties, policy formation and the transition in South Africa. The delegation was headed by Patricia Keefer, NDI's senior associate for political party programs and regional director for Southern Africa.

Rob Black, NDI Logistics Coordinator
Maura Donlan, NDI Program Officer
Kevin Kayes, Assistant Parliamentarian to the U S Senate
Kelly Lamm, NDI Regional Program Assistant
Thomas Melia, NDI Senior Associate for Democratic Governance
Senator Gerald Senator Neal, Kentucky State Senator, Chair, South Africa Task Force, National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL)
Padraig O'Malley, Senior Associate, McCormick Institute, University of Massachusetts
Anne Perkins, NDI Program Officer and former member of the Maryland House of Delegates

With the exception of one person, all of the members of the team had experience in projects similar to that which NDI was looking to design in South Africa. Five of the team members -- Donlan, Kayes, Melia, Senator Neal and Perkins -- had legislative experience, with Senator Neal and Perkins having served for many years as elected representatives. O'Malley, who edits a U S public policy journal, has experience in structuring university-based programs for elected public officials. He is writing a book on his seven-year study of the South African transition. Melia brought to the group his legislative experience as an aid to U S Senator Patrick Moynihan, more importantly, as head of NDI's governance team, he has been intimately involved in post-election democracy initiatives in more than 20 countries in every region of the world. (See Appendix 2 Participant Biographies)

The program was organized in-country by Maura Donlan with assistance from NDI SADSP secretariat staff members Rob Black, Sam Kgeledi, Kelly Lamm, Silas Lamola and Jeremy Taylor. The survey mission delegation was sub-divided in order to spend appropriate time in each of the nine provinces. Three teams were organized with NDI, IRI and the Joint Center represented on each team. Each team was assigned three provinces: one team had PWV, KwaZulu/Natal and Eastern Transvaal, the second team, Northern Transvaal, North-West and Orange Free State, and the third team, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Northern Cape.

Each team spent three to five days of intensive meetings in the capital of each province and, when appropriate, other major population centers. Kevin Kayes had an independent, parallel schedule of one-day workshops in each provincial capital, except for the PWV and Western Cape. He was joined in some of the sessions by NDI's Anne Perkins and Thomas Melia.

While the schedule for each province included sectors unique to the region, an effort was made to ensure a degree of uniformity for comparative purposes. Each team sought meetings with the following: provincial executive leadership, provincial legislative leadership, political party leadership, civic leaders and community activists, historically black universities, and research institutions and advocacy groups.

Prior to departure, the delegation received a briefing from Patricia Keefer, who gave an overview of the political structures, problems and personalities in each province and the objectives of the various meetings on the schedule. The members were also provided with a comprehensive briefing book and provincial information packets.

III. FINDINGS OF SURVEY MISSION

The accessibility of South Africans from all sectors, and the ability of the survey team to sustain a rigorous schedule enabled the mission to achieve its objectives. As a result, NDI has identified specific areas that need to be addressed in the design and implementation of its parliamentary political party program.

The following are the 12 findings of the survey mission:

- 1. Overall, the Government of National Unity (GNU) is functioning at both the national and provincial levels. The commitment of the political parties to cooperate and collaborate is key to the success of the GNU.**

The GNU is the product of the negotiated settlement of the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum (MNF) and is like no other power-sharing arrangement anywhere in the world. Given the diversity of the political players who came to the table to negotiate this settlement, there were serious doubts about the stability of the arrangement. The NDI team took care to evaluate whether or not this experiment, which assures a place for virtually everyone, could actually function in the day-to-day operation of democratic governance.

The team concluded that the system is working. Since May 1994, the National Assembly has enacted an impressive amount of legislation (52 acts), including several controversial acts such as land reform, the Truth Commission, and a local government act. With respect to the delivery of services, the civil service has generally been cooperative and responsive to the new government. The economy has experienced modest growth (an improvement from a decade of slippage or stagnation), and local government structures are coalescing to form the transitional governing bodies which will administer the delivery of local services until the 1995 local elections. After eight months, the constitutionally mandated coalition is holding together and early indications point to government structures that should survive this difficult transition capable of addressing the ills of apartheid.

At the provincial level (like the national level), political party formations are one of the principal reasons that the GNU is sticking together. For the most part, party caucuses exhibit a willingness to work together and put aside ideological differences in the interest of efficient government administration. Even in the highly charged political atmosphere of KwaZulu/Natal, parties appear to work cooperatively while in legislative session in Ulundi or Pietermaritzburg. Although political opponents resort to their adversarial positions when operating in the community, the seriousness of legislative business seems to have superseded conflict, and legislators appear committed to exercising their hard-fought democratic rights.

In provincial legislatures power is shared. In five of the nine provinces, speakers and deputy speakers are members of different parties. Parties reach agreement on committee assignments and members of smaller parties are able to work on several or all committees. In addition, ministers and committee chairs come from different parties, not just the dominant party in a legislature. For example, in the legislature of the Northern Cape where the ANC holds 15 of the 30 seats, the speaker is the only member of the Democratic Party, and she sees her primary role as one of consensus building.

In the North-West, NDI was particularly impressed by the level of respect members of different parties accord each other and the manner in which the views of the minority were solicited. Similar observations were noted in all the other provinces with the exception of the Western Cape.

The democratic process is by nature slow, and cooperation between parties has therefore been vital to the progress made at both national and provincial levels of government. Expectations for improvements in social and economic conditions are high among the vast majority of people in South Africa who have been the victims of the harness of apartheid policies. The degree of cooperation between political parties will either hasten or slow progress in the country.

2. The political leadership of the multiparty national parliament and the nine provincial legislatures has established procedures and structures that have the potential to facilitate development of genuine democratic institutions

The multiparty national parliament is operating well, and, although there is a great range in the degree of sophistication and capacity among the provincial legislatures, all have met, adopted rules and passed legislation. While the previous houses of the national parliament relied heavily on the staff of the civil service in the executive, the new legislatures have all hired a secretary to manage the day-to-day business of the legislature and are in the process of hiring an institutional staff. Provincial legislatures want now to be institutionally strong and independent from the executive.

Legislative leaders from all parties are searching for ways to be effective in this new democratic society, and, to varying degrees, there is cooperation and respect among legislators. Discussions between NDI and legislative leaders often focused on the role of committees and how to enhance the expertise of committee members. The establishment of structures that will be open and receptive to the concerns of constituents is a high priority.

3 The emphasis on incorporating standards of openness, accountability and public participation into the day-to-day workings of legislatures is laudable, particularly when contrasted with the operations of legislatures of other transitional democracies

To a person, the NDI survey team was impressed by genuine efforts to promote transparency and public participation in South Africa's new governments. Those who have been exposed to parliaments in other new democracies concluded that the emphasis placed on openness distinguished the fledgling South African provincial legislative system from that of the other emerging democracies worldwide. In contrast to Eastern Europeans, South Asians and other Africans, South Africans have elevated the principle of openness above the efficiency of consolidating government institutions unfettered by public scrutiny. For instance, in contrast to the new government of South Africa, the post-communist governments in Eastern Europe have exhibited a tendency to focus on "getting their house in order" before considering ways in which the process would be open for public input and scrutiny.

Each provincial legislature has incorporated mechanisms for public participation into its rules and procedures. Both the national and provincial legislatures appear to be committed to open and accountable procedures, with the exception of the Western Cape, which has closed committee meetings and many other proceedings. For the most part, the legislatures see the committee system as a way to involve the public in decision-making, and they appear to genuinely value public input. The more sophisticated provincial legislatures, like the Orange Free State, recognize that a strong committee system will help its members develop expertise in various areas, thus enabling them to play a role in policy formation.

This commitment to public participation was evident in a variety of different contexts. In the Eastern Transvaal, as NDI representatives were meeting with the leader of the ANC, members of the public were demonstrating outside to protest the lack of water, and the ANC leader was on the phone with the premier encouraging him to meet with the demonstrators and hear their concerns. Furthermore, when the Eastern Transvaal Legislature is in session, legislative proceedings not only are open to the public, but also are televised to an adjoining room so that the overflow crowds may follow the proceedings. In addition, the premiers in many of the provinces continue to use people's forums as they were used before the election as a vehicle to listen to the consensus of the citizenry.

4. Individual legislators as well as political parties in provincial legislatures are striving to define their role and powers *vis-a-vis* the executive councils in their provincial governments

Members of all political parties in the provincial legislatures want to become full participants in the decision-making process of the provincial government and not just a rubber stamp for initiatives of the executive council, as is commonplace in the parliaments of many African countries. This becomes a particular problem for backbenchers when they disagree with cabinet members of their own party. In most provinces, legislators are frustrated that the executive is not pushing forward legislative proposals with urgency. The division of powers between the executive and the legislature is also not clear, and the lack of control over financial resources was cited by many parliamentary leaders as a particular problem.

Regardless of whether a particular party is represented in government, legislators from across the spectrum desire some degree of independence from the executive. NDI has found all legislative leaders and party whips intent on establishing their bodies as equal partners in government, while at the same time providing optimal access to the public. The survey team received a number of requests for information and technical assistance on separation of powers.

5. The delay in devolving powers and corresponding responsibilities from the central government to the provinces has resulted in tension within and between political parties.

The concurrent powers for the provinces contained in the Interim Constitution were agreed to in an effort to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) into the Multiparty Negotiating Forum (MNF) and the elections. The ANC, ideologically committed to a strong central government, was convinced that such a system was the only way to redress the social and economic imbalances in the country. During the negotiation process the ANC gradually accepted an evolving system of devolved regional powers--first, administrative decentralization, second, elected government bodies, and third, a growing enunciation of powers, including revenue generation.

Ironically, with seven of the nine provincial premiers being from the leadership ranks of the ANC, they have become the most vociferous voices for federalism. Being closer to the people and their demands than those who sit in Pretoria and Cape Town, the elected provincial governments are eager to be responsive, but they argue that their hands are tied. The central government argues that many of the provinces do not have the administrative capacity or the political sophistication to deliver services, even if this power was transferred to them. The provincial leadership acknowledges that in some regions the capacity is weak and may even be nonexistent. However, they correctly point to other regions which have capacity and are ready and able to assume these responsibilities. They argue that determinations should not be based on the capacity of the weakest, but rather should be devolved on the basis of demonstrated abilities.

The central government has begun to initiate such actions in the areas of education, health, agriculture and local government

6. The at-large party list proportional representation system has resulted in an awkward relationship between elected officials and constituents

Members of provincial legislatures expressed frustration with the at-large system of party representation. They desire a system of more clearly defined constituency interests in which they could visit a particular community on a regular basis to solicit views and share information. To address this, parties in some legislatures are voluntarily demarcating constituencies and assigning MPs and MPLs to them. This works naturally for the National Party which is organized along constituency lines left over from the former directly-elected district system of representation. The ANC moved quickly to put in place a structure for assigning national and provincial legislators to communities for constituency work. The system is not without flaws. Primarily it is a major financial burden on the party. Then there are political tensions of assigning parliamentarians to communities that support other parties. For example, an ANC, KwaZulu/Natal MPL said that it is difficult for her to go into some villages in her assigned constituency because the tribal chiefs have political loyalties to the IFP. Nevertheless, members by and large favor the system because it clearly defines their universe of constituents. In addition, a few members found the system liberating since it de-emphasized the role of the party and elevated their positions as individual lawmakers.

7. Party leaders in the National Assembly and in each of the provincial legislatures have made specific requests for technical assistance from NDI

Requests ranged from broad requests for general parliamentary training on legislative process and comparative information about parliamentary systems, to very specific requests for information on the ways committees operate or how legislative staffs should be organized. There was no hesitancy or reluctance to ask for assistance. In fact, in most instances there was a real sense of urgency attached to these requests. Legislators were aware of NDI's experience in parliamentary training either firsthand or by reputation. For example, IFP National Assembly Member Abraham Mzizi noted that his wife, Gertrude, now a member of the PWV provincial legislature, benefitted greatly from her trip to Chile to participate in an NDI program. She advanced her understanding of political organization and parliamentary process by the exposure to parliamentarians from another country.

In KwaZulu/Natal, an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) legislator, Arthur Konigkramer, said that one of the most pressing issues for his party is the lack of skills of those who hold positions locally. Eastern Cape ANC legislator Judy

Chalmers said, "The ANC has a vacuum in terms of skills because so many members went into government "

8. **Historically black universities (HBUs) have been disadvantaged and marginalized by the scarce availability of resources, however, some of the institutions have the capacity to provide training and education to public officials.**

Professor P Brouwer at Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape said, "The administration of apartheid has starved the school and drained it of its intellectual will " He asserted that the majority of students are unprepared, are not intellectually stimulated, and are solely interested in getting a sufficient education to get a job Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Human Services Research Council (HSRC) elaborated on this point by stating that faculty from HBUs are underrepresented among empirical researchers and have been poorly trained in research This complaint is echoed by faculty and administration in HBUs throughout the country

Academic standards, policy research and accreditation of faculty have severely suffered at these academic institutions The problems encountered by these schools because of apartheid are now exacerbated by the affirmative action recruitment of university personnel to national and provincial governments Even when student/faculty ratios in political studies and public administration are as high as 300 to 1, NDI found a desire by faculty members to offer their institution as a center for learning for people serving in government

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the University of the North-West (UNW) offered immediate prospects for collaborative project development Both offered a commitment of time and professional expertise to design educational modules for elected members of the legislature in their region The School of Government at UWC already has an informal relationship with the central government in providing research and personnel from its eight disciplines The administration of the university, which is familiar with NDI's work in South Africa and Namibia, proposed a partnership to assist in designing a curriculum and structure for short-term workshops and seminars for national and provincial legislators in the region They also offered to include faculty from Fort Hare University, thereby facilitating the transfer of capacity to another regional institution

The premier of the North-West, Popo Molefe, in encouraging NDI's assistance to the legislature in Mmabatho, recommended that NDI work with faculty in the political studies department at UNW NDI found two members of the four-member department working on a program model that would bring together legislators with representatives of other sectors in the region to devise a RDP

strategy for the province. They urged NDI's involvement in the project, seeking assistance with the formulation of cases, the organization of the workshops and experts to bring to the workshop sessions.

The personnel at both the UWC and UNW expressed an interest in working closely with NDI in every aspect of their initiatives. They were familiar with similar programs at universities in the U.S., and, while realizing the disparity in resources, thought they could offer a satisfactory program. In both cases, there is a potential for long-term sustainable programs for training elected legislatures as well as a capacity to share the program with other HBUs.

9 In the provinces, little progress has been made in converting the Reconstruction and Development Plan from a political party platform into a government policy that provides a basis for economic and social reform. The central government needs to provide more information, clarity and mass education.

Presented in the election campaign as a party platform, the RDP was a credible proposition as a specific statement of the ANC's intentions for redressing poverty and economic imbalances in the country. The ANC grabbed the imagination of the people with promises during the campaign of a better life that would accompany democracy. Some in the organization feel they went too far with their vision of the future by quantifying the promises they intended to deliver, for example, one million houses in five years.

Following the election, immediate steps were taken to move from campaign promises to a plan for concrete delivery of government services. A new ministerial department was created and Jay Naidoo appointed as the minister to head the initiative. Deliberations between the parties in the Government of National Unity produced a common approach to development, both social and economic. The government White Paper, which was the result of these negotiations, is a remarkable achievement given the various economic policies of the parties in government. Most significant was the conversion of the ANC from the traditional socialist command economy to its expressed support for plans for privatization.

While these are important achievements, they do not satisfy the tangible needs of people who expect some marginal change in their lives with this new government.

Furthermore, even though there has been a great deal of work put into developing the RDP at the national level, the NDI teams universally found that few people in provincial parties and governments are familiar with the plan or know what it means for their region. A high-level government administrator in the North-West, said, "We don't know who is doing the coordination [of the RDP] at different

levels The government hasn't figured out how to coordinate RDP activities The structures we had in place before the April elections were no longer recognized by the in-coming government Now the restructuring is going so slowly that nothing is getting done " In the North-West there is a provincial RDP office with one professional staff person His responsibility is to coordinate all RDP activities in the region and to ensure that all government agencies are in synch However, people in the government departments do not understand the RDP, and this problem gets progressively worse the closer one gets to the grassroots level

Mathatha Tsedu, political editor of the *Sowetan*, views the management of expectations as the number one problem facing the ANC government Opposition parties have already begun to capitalize on the issue of "undelivered promises " A National Party leader in the Northern Transvaal says that the people are looking to the NP in increasing numbers because "the ANC is not living up to its promises " PAC leaders assert that they are working on their internal structures, so that they can be in a position to deliver when the people become disenchanted with the ANC

10. **Affirmative action efforts by political parties, especially the ANC, resulted in many women being elected to the national and provincial legislatures These women recognize their need for parliamentary training if they are to maximize this opportunity.**

In comparison to other transitional democracies as well as many traditional democracies, including the United States, South Africa has distinguished itself by the extent to which women have been elected to the national and provincial legislatures

There are 100 women in the National Assembly, 16 serving in the Senate and 90 in the nine provincial legislatures In addition to the Speaker of the National Assembly, two of the nine provincial legislatures, the Orange Free State and the Northern Cape, have elected women as speakers The principal reason for this impressive representation is the ANC's ranking of women on their national and provincial candidate slates under the proportional representation system used in the April elections Every third candidate position was allocated to a woman

When one considers that the proportional system provides an opportunity for parties to accord women prominent places on their lists and that these women are now elected to a five-year term, this phase of the South African transition presents a rare opportunity for women to demonstrate their competence in office For this reason, leadership training for women serving in government is considered a high priority NDI has received numerous requests from women legislators to assist with leadership training related to their new responsibilities

The experiences of women in their new-found leadership is consistent with that of women in similar political settings throughout the world. The most politically sophisticated women speak frankly about their lack of confidence. They are eager to overcome their insecurities and fulfill their individual and collective responsibilities as elected officials.

Women politicians have identified specific areas in which they would like to receive training: parliamentary speaking and question time, working with women's organizations on legislation and policy, media training, and leadership skills. They also feel strongly about their responsibility in building the women's organizations of their parties and the need to overcome the stigma of tokenism associated with the ballot quota system.

These appeals came from women of all parties who are willing to design and participate in multiparty training modules. They found that their common interests as women in this new position overrides their partisan preferences.

11 The human, technical and financial resources of civic organizations have been drastically reduced at a time when they are striving to adjust to a new role as nonpartisan advocates.

Dan Sendi, president of Eastern Cape SANCO, states that "the civic has had to redefine its role after the election." His organization has a seven-point plan to address the RDP and is determined to keep constituencies involved in the process with a bottom-up approach. Sendi and Bonisila Malinda, regional secretary of SANCO in the Western Cape, both cited the lack of sophistication and training of their members. Malinda also said that NGOs may be squeezing SANCO out during this period when civic organizations are making the shift from the politics of confrontation to the politics of persuasion.

Civic organizations and NGOs have played a critical role in the liberation movement, and, in many communities, have served as the alternative government. They are now undergoing dramatic transformations. As they reposition themselves to play a role as non-partisan advocates for their constituencies, they often find that their old allies who have been elected to government are unresponsive and sometimes disrespectful of their advocacy role.

Those in government have a different perspective. In a somewhat self-deprecating manner, one ANC premier spoke of the failure in the alliance to bring these structures through the transition, with the result that these same community-based organizations and NGOs see the new government, like the old government, as an adversary. Furthermore, the culture of confrontation and boycotts continue to be the tactics of the grassroots, which throws up obstacles to the progress and implementation of government projects. The ANC has

launched a campaign to halt the rent and rate boycotts and to instill a culture of payment for services. Local generation of revenue is essential to the implementation of the RDP.

These tensions between NGOs and the government are further exacerbated by the redirection of financial resources from civil society to the new government. Most of the NGOs and CBOs have been dependent on assistance from foreign governments and private resources. Many of the funders are now pursuing opportunities to assist the new government directly or to channel resources through the government for community development.

12. **Political and provincial leaders throughout the country have expressed anxiety about the formation of transitional local government structures and the local government elections in 1995. At the same time, there is strong commitment to keeping the unfolding transitional process on track and holding the elections as scheduled.**

Preparations for the local government elections in late 1995 are underway, but there are several obstacles slowing the process. Raymond Mhlaba, premier of the Eastern Cape, discussed the need to create a ward system. He feels that drawing ward boundaries is likely to draw opposition from traditional leaders. Sandy Wren, director of IDASA in Port Elizabeth, thinks that because many people in the informal sectors and rural areas do not have formal street addresses, registration of voters will also be a problem. The same problems were also highlighted in KwaZulu/Natal and Eastern Transvaal.

In Durban, IFP MPL Arthur Konigkramer thinks that there will be several different methods used to determine the authority of local governments in KwaZulu/Natal because of the great differences in the regions in his province and the IFP's desire to work in a cooperative manner with the traditional leaders. He said that many are pessimistic about the prospect for successful local elections. However, he thinks that the best solution is to push forward and try to resolve the problems. IDASA's David Screen predicts that confusion over administrative tasks as well as political challenges will lead to the postponement of elections until 1996.

At both the national and provincial level, officials inside the ministries and executives who are responsible for the elections are committed to meeting the target date of late October 1995. They maintain that it is essential to create legitimate local structures to carry through the mandate for change in the country. These structures are important for implementing programs in housing, health, policing, water, electricity and other public works. Some believe that the process does not necessarily need to proceed at the same pace in each locale, however, President Mandela has spoken ardently of "wall-to-wall" elections in which people

in every town and village will put the final nail in the apartheid coffin on the same day

Transitional local authorities have voluntarily been established in over 50% of the local areas, and President Mandela has mandated that provincial governments impose the structures in the remaining areas by mid-January. The legal and regulatory framework for the electoral process has been promulgated by the Ministry for Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs. Voter registration is planned to commence at the end of January for a 90-day period. NDI found that the Western Cape, PWV and Orange Free State are on schedule. The most serious problems are encountered in the North-West, where councils currently controlled by conservative parties have posed major obstacles to the formation of the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs).

IV. PROVINCE REPORTS

In each of the nine provinces, the NDI team met with a diverse cross-section of South African society, representing political parties, parliaments, government, business and civil society (See Appendix 3 Province Appointments) The survey team set out to assess the capacity of political parties serving in legislatures and their need for assistance, and to identify disadvantaged organizations and historically black universities with which NDI could collaborate for building long-term training capacities The teams of legislative/political experts spent three to five days in each of the nine provinces The following is a province-by-province summary of the teams' reports The full reports are available upon request

Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape is the third most populated province (5.5 million people), with 72% of its population living in poverty There is marked disparity between the undeveloped and impoverished former homelands, Transkei and Ciskei, and the province's industrialized economic growth centers, Port Elizabeth and East London This disparity has manifested itself politically There is a proposal to hold a referendum on dividing the province Proponents of the split argue that the vast differences in the economies and the priorities of the two areas warrant separate administrations Opponents argue that the current demarcation must be maintained in order to provide a revenue base for the necessary economic development in the former homelands The integration of the homeland governments in creating a single provincial administration has proven to be a daunting task, severely complicated by the corruption and abuses of power that were the practice of these former so-called "governments " One MEC commented "we don't even know who has all the checkbooks "

The political landscape is dominated by the ANC, which holds 48 of the 56 seats in the provincial legislature Of the remaining seats, the NP holds six, the DP holds one, and the PAC holds one Premier Raymond Mhlaba, a veteran trade unionist and former political prisoner of 25 years, is a member of the ANC's national executive and deputy chairperson of the South African Communist Party (SACP)

The NDI team of Senator Gerald Senator Neal and Maura Donlan met with the premier and legislators from all political parties -- the ANC, DP, NP, and the PAC -- as well as SANCO, COSATU and small business organizations In addition, Senator Neal led a three-hour workshop with the leaders of the provincial legislature in the capital The consultation was organized by the speaker of the Eastern Cape, Gugile Nkwinti, and was attended by the chief whip of the ANC, the opposition whips and 10 MPLs Nkwinti has been involved in NDI's programs in South Africa and was a member of NDI's observer delegation to Pakistan in 1989

Based on their meetings with the civic community and NGOs, the team found that since the election most of the technical, financial and human resources of these groups have been depleted There is also a concern about the need for services previously delivered by CBOs

while the government has not initiated new programs under the RDP. Most importantly, everyone spoke of the difficulty in accessing government personnel and resources.

Kevin Kayes and Tom Melia followed up on October 20 with a day-long consultation with 11 members of the provincial legislature and several staff. (The legislature had met only twice at this point: July 22-23, when the government introduced several draft bills, and again for three weeks in August when five major bills were enacted. There had been some committee review of the proposals, but there was apparently minimal debate or controversy associated with the legislation.) The ANC members wanted to have the minority members present during the consultations, both to strengthen the spirit of collaboration among parties as well as to take advantage of the ability of the veteran legislators to pose pertinent questions to the international visitors.

Much of the discussion revolved around issues of institutional clarity and delineation of responsibilities--between the committees and the plenary, between the MECs and the parliamentary committees, between the majority and minority political parties. There was a great deal of interest on the part of all parties to explore mechanisms to enhance public participation in the work of the legislature.

Speaker Nkwinti addressed some of the issues of institutional development that he placed under the rubric "separation of powers" and his plans for a national conference for Speakers and parliamentary staff in Bisho in November to review these issues. (NDI supported the Bisho conference with technical assistance and by providing two international experts.) He and his colleagues expressed great interest in the development of what he called a "permanent relationship" with "experts on call." Nkwinti and the MPLs from several parties requested opportunities for the new legislature to learn more about the workings of legislative committees and to familiarize themselves with parliamentary practices and rules.

Eastern Transvaal

Outside of KwaZulu/Natal, the Eastern Transvaal has the most arable land in the country, and in 1993, it had the fastest-growing economy in the country. The farming industry in this region contributes significantly to South Africa's GNP. However, there are great disparities between the richest and poorest sectors of the population, with one of the highest illiteracy rates and levels of unemployment in the country.

The African National Congress holds 25 of the 30 seats in the Eastern Transvaal Provincial Legislature, of the remaining five, the National Party has three and the Freedom Front has two. However, in the spirit of reconciliation, Premier Matthew Phosa appointed National Party MPL, Lucas Nel to the Executive Council, even though the National Party had failed to get the 10% vote threshold. (Nel was considered influential in the late 1980s in moving the NP to abolish its apartheid policies.)

Nelspruit ANC Coordinator Solly Zwane said that parties, people and government are trying to work together to solve problems in a peaceful manner. While the team was meeting with Zwane, approximately 150 people were marching outside the ANC office to protest the lack of water. Zwane was busy negotiating a meeting with the Premier to hear the people's grievances. He knows that problem-solving will be long and difficult, but people on the ground in the Eastern Transvaal seem to expect miracles from the ANC. Zwane notes that because of the slow changes at the national level and the lack of power at the provincial level, it has been impossible to address the problems in education, employment and health.

NDI team members Tom Melia, Anne Perkins, Kevin Kayes, and Rob Black also met with Speaker Mbalekelwa Gimidza in Nelspruit. Most of the discussion evolved around staffing and the general role of standing committees. The NDI team directed most of the meeting by raising issues and asking questions. It appeared that this legislature was lagging far behind its counterparts in other provinces, that the Speaker was not sure of what they needed or how to engage the discussion. Consequently, there were not many requests made for assistance. The only specific requests that came out of the meeting were for information on committee operations and how scheduling of business is done in other legislatures.

KwaZulu/Natal

KwaZulu/Natal is the second most populated province, with more than 8.3 million residents. Historically, it is the home of South Africa's largest ethnic group, the Zulus, and has the highest concentration of Asian population. The IFP received 50.3% of the provincial vote and holds 41 seats in the legislature, the ANC 26, the NP nine, the DP two, the PAC, African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) and the Minority Front have one each. With the IFP having a working majority, this is the only province where an African party other than the ANC has formed the government.

Since the mid-1980s, the region has been plagued by staggering levels of political violence, in what is described as a "low-grade" civil war. The battle for political control between ANC supporters and IFP supporters has claimed more than 15,000 lives and displaced tens of thousands of people in the region. These tensions were heightened during the period leading up to the election and exacerbated by the threatened IFP electoral boycott. Many think Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's eleventh-hour decision to participate in the elections saved the country from a full-scale civil war. Although the levels of violence have diminished since the elections, the political situation is still violent and bitter and is likely to intensify in the run-up to the local elections. Manifestation of this conflict is evident at all levels of government and in all segments of society.

These antagonisms on the ground have been stirred by a rift at the highest level of Zulu leadership--between the IFP President and Minister of Home Affairs, Chief Buthelezi, and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu monarch. Buthelezi has attempted to use his own position as prime minister to the monarchy to substantiate and solidify Inkatha's position as the political

party of the Zulu people King Zwelithini is accused by his critics of having switched sides to support the ANC since the elections to secure his personal accommodation from the central government At the center of this controversy is the positioning of the *amakhosi* (traditional Zulu chiefs) The provincial legislature has passed traditional authorities legislation whereby traditional leaders would retain their powers in tribal areas, thereby nullifying local elections The same legislation also reduced the power of the King, while placing substantial authority in the hands of the King's traditional prime minister--Buthelezi This dispute represents the greatest threat to peace and stability in the region since the April elections As the local elections draw nearer, the race to secure the political support of traditional leadership will intensify Reports of escalating political violence seem to indicate that the post-election spirit of reconciliation was indeed short-lived

Anne Perkins set out to evaluate the post-election capacity of political parties, NGOs, and elected officials to engage in the political process In Durban, Perkins met with Arthur Konigkramer, a KwaZulu/Natal MPL and IFP treasurer, who indicated that one of the most pressing needs for his party is to address the lack of skills for members at the local level According to Konigkramer, the party is also in dire financial straits Presently the IFP is preparing for the 1995 local elections and planning to make use of their relationship with the traditional leadership in rural communities Considering the recent IFP threats to boycott the local elections, this is a positive sign

While in Durban, Perkins also met with Strinivasa Moodley, personal secretary to the president of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) Following their decision to boycott the April elections, AZAPO is currently repositioning itself for the 1999 national elections, however, it will not contest the 1995 local government elections They plan to be ready in 1999 when "the people demand reprisals for a failed government " Recognizing their strong ideological base, AZAPO seeks assistance transforming their ideas into a viable political agenda

Perkins and Tom Melia met with members of the ACDP, a small party focusing on issues similar to those supported by the Christian right in the United States The party leaders asked NDI to facilitate contact with other Christian Democratic parties and organizations internationally

The ANC's Chief Whip in KwaZulu/Natal, Harry Gwala expressed interest in training for the party's parliamentary delegation In response to the proposed parliamentary assistance, Gwala commented

This would be an extremely worthwhile exercise Since the day after the elections, we have been trying to figure out the parliamentary system, but our bookstores do not contain the right dictionaries and explanations to tell us "What is a whip?" and such things

Perkins also gained valuable information from meeting with NGO leaders about community attitudes towards government In her meeting with the staff of Enjabulweli, a

program for homeless children and victims of political violence, Perkins ascertained that there is great frustration about access to government. People at the grassroots level have little confidence in the ability of the provincial legislators. In a meeting with the Community Law Center (CLC), Perkins was told that the NGOs have been left out of the new government structures. At the local level, there is a misunderstanding about the role of elected representatives because many local representatives are difficult to reach and in fact, appear to be as inaccessible as their predecessors. The CLC staff stressed that elected officials believe that they are accountable to their party and not to the people who elected them.

In order to assess the legislative capacity of the KwaZulu/Natal Parliament, the NDI team met with Premier Frank Mdlalose (IFP), Speaker G. Mdlalose (IFP), Deputy Speaker Willie Mchunu of the ANC, Chief IFP Whip Mike Tarr, Dr. Albertina Luthuli, ANC MPL, and the Legislative Secretary. The meetings consisted of a broad discussion about relations between the parties in the legislature and executive council, the specific needs of women legislators, the role of traditional chiefs in local government elections, and the functioning of legislative committees and personnel policies for legislative staff.

The political stalemate in the province between the IFP and the ANC draws NDI to the conclusion that the political space does not exist in this situation to offer traditional assistance in parliamentary party training. Instead, NDI will identify targets of opportunity where there is a specifically articulated need for multiparty work. For example, a request by Dr. Luthuli that NDI bring together women across party lines to address gender policy issues and specialized legislative training, offers such an opportunity. Faith Gasa, IFP MP from Natal, was enthusiastic about working with NDI and Dr. Luthuli in this initiative.

Northern Cape

Geographically, the Northern Cape is the largest in surface of the nine provinces, but it is also the most sparsely populated and least urbanized. Even though the illiteracy rate is among the highest in the country, unemployment remains comparatively low (12.3%), due to the large number of mining and farming jobs. There is a growing concern about urban bias in government structures and a flight of human resources to neighboring urban areas such as Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, and Cape Town in the Western Cape. Unlike several other provincial capitals, Kimberley was not an administrative seat for provincial or national government in the previous dispensation nor does it incorporate former homelands. The Provincial Assembly now operates out of municipal buildings and its administration plans to construct physical facilities at the same time it is consolidating its political structures.

The NDI team which visited the province consisted of Kevin Kayes, Senator Gerald Senator Neal and Maura Donlan. Although the Northern Cape is the only province besides the Western Cape which is dominated by mixed-race "coloreds," the politics of race has created a climate of consensus, rather than conflict. The ANC has 15 seats compared to the NP's 12, the DP has one and the Freedom Front, two. Given the allocation of seats and the party affiliations,

Northern Cape MPLs have embraced a spirit of cooperation and reconciliation. Kayes attributed much of this dynamic to the speaker, Ethne Papenfus, who views her role as a consensus builder among the various parties. The ANC and Papenfus, the one DP member, form a simple majority in the legislature. The ANC caucus supported Papenfus for the position of speaker--one of three women in the country holding this post--in return for her support for the ANC to form the provincial government.

In observing the Northern Cape's provincial legislature, the NDI team found a microcosm of the GNU structure. The speaker, herself, is struggling to balance the conflicting responsibilities of managing the legislature, consensus building and representing her party as its only member in parliament. Similarly, the NP is finding it difficult to reconcile the traditional role of parliamentary opposition while serving in the coalition government. Speaker Papenfus offered this assessment: "Some know the game and are trying to figure out the rules, and some know the rules but are trying to figure out the game."

Another manifestation of this dynamic arose during the consultation with Kayes in reference to the role and function of standing committees. The legislature formed committees in order to have a greater impact on policy formulation with the committees developing expertise on issues within a specific jurisdiction. Implicit in this arrangement is the idea that the committee works on behalf of the legislature, and that the legislature empowers the committee to consider and make policy recommendations to the entire legislature on matters within its jurisdiction. However, under the model inherited from the previous government, the legislature simply rubber stamps measures introduced by the executive branch. The ANC's back bench MPLs have expressed their discontent because they are attempting to be more proactive and are experiencing resistance from members of their party in the executive council. The MPLs are recognizing the confines of operating within a parliamentary system, while trying to develop a proactive legislature and an effective committee system.

Despite its structural handicaps, the Northern Cape members work well together and appear to have a working knowledge of the system. NDI intends to respond to specific requests for technical assistance from members and staff. NDI will provide information on committee operations and the relationship between the federal and state governments in the United States. Workshops are needed to address community outreach, public speaking, consensus building and media training.

Northern Transvaal

The Northern Transvaal has the fourth largest population and the lowest rate of urbanization. There is little infrastructure, and most of the population is illiterate. Its primary economic sectors include mining, agriculture and tourism. The provincial legislature has 40 seats, and all but two are ANC. The ANC received its largest vote, 92% in the Northern Transvaal, winning 38 out of 40 seats. The remaining two seats went to the National Party and the Freedom Front.

The NDI team assigned to the province consisted of Padraig O'Malley and Kevin Kayes. In Pietersburg, O'Malley had a very informative meeting with several SANCO representatives. SANCO's new mission is to pressure the government to deliver on its promises, even though the provincial government is still trying to organize itself. At least 90% of SANCO's membership live in rural areas where communication is difficult. According to SANCO, there is a need for training on the ground so that people can learn about the new government and obtain the ability to articulate their needs, because in their view, "people with no opinion have nothing to contribute." As in the other provinces, SANCO is in dire need of human and financial resources. When members attend workshops in other regions, they take a collection to pay for transportation, and when they publish materials outlining their position on various issues, they often are unable to afford the distribution. SANCO is also in need of leadership training and techniques in accessing government.

In a meeting with Reverend Molefe and members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, O'Malley learned that the churches are continuing their involvement in voter education projects. Molefe commented, "Since we have the facilities, we are getting into the democracy education game. This will be our contribution to the RDP." He believes politicians must work with the existing organizations and understand the concerns at the grassroots level. For example, the churches work closely with the civics because the civics have street committees that are well informed. "Brilliant ideas are not enough," he said, "if they are to be implemented, they must involve the people on the ground."

Similarly, an NP deputy leader in the Northern Transvaal believes that people are becoming disillusioned with the ANC because they are not living up to their promises, and at the middle management level they are arrogant and dismissive of ordinary people.

Kayes met with Speaker Malavi in Pietersburg to discuss NDI's parliamentary training program. Kayes noted that none of the members have any previous legislative experience. The speaker is a lawyer and former magistrate and there are approximately three other lawyers, all of whom are ministers in the cabinet. Some members are teachers and there are a few medical practitioners. They appeared to need support in almost every aspect of the legislative process. The speaker requested that NDI conduct workshops on the legislative process, particularly as it relates to day-to-day activities. They would also like NDI to provide information on the role of committees, conditions of employment for legislative staff and privileges and immunities of legislative membership.

Kayes indicated that this legislature needs more support than any of the other provincial legislatures because of the lack of experience and the meager support staff. Although the political leaders and legislators expressed interest in NDI's training program, Kayes believes that they are at such an early stage in their development that they would not benefit as much as some of the other legislatures. NDI recommends that members attend workshops in other provinces. In addition, NDI plans to assign a person with political parliamentary expertise, most likely from Africa, to conduct a week-long series of intensive consultations to evaluate and to assist

provincial leaders in identifying training needs. These needs would then be addressed in later program activities.

North-West

The North-West has a population of approximately 3.5 million, making it the sixth largest province in South Africa. The primary sectors of employment are mining, agriculture and personal services. There are three centers in the province: the capital, Mmabatho, in the former homeland state of Bophuthatswana, Rustenburg, the industrial center for platinum mining, and rural Potchefstroom. The province has had to integrate all the previous Bophuthatswana homeland structures with the parallel formations from the RSA, thus placing a tremendous financial and administrative burden on the new provincial government and creating substantial tensions with the civil services. For example, the estimated cost of achieving pay and benefit parity between the former homeland civil servants and those who had worked in South Africa's regional administration is approximately R3 billion (nearly \$1 billion).

The ANC secured 82% of the vote in a region that has been a bastion of white right-wing politics. The political make-up of the North-West legislature includes 26 ANC seats, three NP seats and one FF. The Afrikaner Westersbeering (AWB) is headquartered in the heart of the farmlands in Ventersdorp. Most town councils are controlled by the Conservative Party (CP).

Politics within this province have been contentious, and it is one in which there is conflict within the ANC organization. Premier Pope Molefe has been locked in a battle of political wills with the (now former) MEC for Agriculture, Rocky Malabane-Metsing. Malabane-Metsing had staged a one-day coup during the mid-1980s against then homeland leader, Lucas Mangope. While not successful, Malabane-Metsing did build a base of support in the liberation movement of the North-West which he had hoped to parlay into the premiership. The position was instead given to Molefe, a prominent ANC leader at the national level. From the day the government was installed, there has been considerable tension between the two, which has often been played out publicly. Molefe removed Malabane-Metsing from his position as agriculture minister on the executive council. The situation degenerated twice to the point that the ANC national leadership was obliged to send in a task force to mediate between the two factions and the matter was considered by the National Executive Committee. Malabane-Metsing has since been reinstated to the government and Molefe has secured his position as leader of the ANC in the province by being re-elected as chairman of the province at the recent regional conference.

The NDI team of Patricia Keefer, Padraig O'Malley and Kelly Lamm met with the premier, political leaders, NGO representatives and academics. Kevin Kayes also joined the team for a one-day workshop on parliamentary rules and procedures with the legislature, organized by the speaker J.D. Thibedi.

Joe Mokgoro, the director general for Government Services, expressed a strong desire for involvement in the province by NDI as well as other foreign NGOs. He stated that the people

do not know much, if anything, about the plans for regional development relative to the RDP. Mokgoro identified this factor as potentially the most problematic, especially given the electorate's high expectations and the potential for delay of local elections. Regarding the civil service, Mokgoro indicated the need for a comprehensive restructuring program.

Joe Kgobokoe, director of Rural Development, stressed the need to get the RDP message out to people. "In a typical rural area the majority of the people would not be familiar with the RDP, although the letters might be vaguely familiar," he said. "The media have not been educating the people. The government should mobilize people to explain the basic elements of the plan because there is a great deal of confusion."

At their meetings with faculties from the department of Political Studies and Public Administration at the University of the North-West, O'Malley and Keefer found that, although the department is severely understaffed (four professors for 600-800 students), there is great interest in overcoming the prejudices of the past and becoming a partner with the government and the community in building a new government. The faculty of the political studies department at the university expressed interest in working with NDI to design and offer a seminar series for legislators and interest groups in the region on RDP planning. The premier encouraged this initiative and suggested the involvement of the government's RDP commission.

In Kayes' meeting with Speaker Thibedi and members of the Rules Committee from all three parties, Kayes was struck by the climate of mutual respect and the manner in which the views of the minority members were solicited. The legislature has passed 12 bills, including one of which creates a House of Chiefs for traditional leaders. Kayes found this quite extraordinary when compared to the other provinces which had considered an average of three to seven bills each since last May.

The North-West legislature is interested in NDI providing technical assistance and exposure to other government systems to gain comparative knowledge, particularly from legislatures with similar backgrounds, such as other African countries and small European parliaments. Kayes noted that this legislature is a prime candidate for NDI's parliamentary training assistance. He received the following specific requests: workshop training on the legislative process, materials on committee processes and operations, materials on the conditions of employment in other legislatures, and advice on the development of the legislature's library.

The NDI team was informed by the premier, the speaker, the director general and the academics of offers of assistance that had been extended by South African NGOs and U.S. universities. They also voiced their concern about duplication.

In a two-hour round-table consultation with women from the legislature, Black Lawyers Association, Gender Commission and the Women's Coalition, a number of areas were identified as possible for long term advice and consultation: local government, NGO capacity building, legislative rules and parliamentary training.

Orange Free State

Geographically, the Orange Free State is the third largest province, (128,400 square kilometers) but has the second smallest population (2.7 million people). With the mining industry accounting for the majority of employment, the economy revolves around mining and agriculture. The official unemployment rate is 11.2%. The province has an illiteracy rate of about 20% of its economically active population. The ANC holds 24 of the 30 seats. The National Party has four representatives and the Freedom Front the remaining two.

Premier Patrick Lekota has been rebuked by the ANC in the region by being denied the chairmanship of the provincial organization. He has been accused of overemphasizing the need to allay the anxieties of the white farmers and engage them in the economic development planning at the expense of addressing the needs of the black majority. He has stressed that the people must pay for services provided by the government and noted that continual boycotts have resulted in destabilizing the GNU.

The NDI team that went to Orange Free State consisted of Patricia Keefer, Padraig O'Malley, Kevin Kayes and Kelly Lamm. They met with the premier, speaker, the deputy speaker, the ANC and NP parliamentary whips, the chief clerk and SANCO. Kayes was impressed with Speaker Chabaku's ability to balance the integration of procedures in the parliament with the political demands on her time as one of the leading women office holders in the ANC. The legislative proceedings were open and professional. The NDI was impressed with the legislature's organization, its access and use of the research facilities at the University of the Orange Free State, its practice of publishing daily its proceedings in several languages and its promotion of public access. Everyone interviewed expressed frustration about the amount of attention the central government devotes to the PWV, by-passing the development of other provinces.

Party leaders in the legislature discussed ways in which the parties in the legislature could communicate more effectively with the media. They were particularly frustrated that the press does not explain the way the legislative process works. The speaker expressed interest in assistance from NDI, specifically in improving the legislative library and developing a pamphlet on the provincial legislative process. They also requested that Kayes review their rules as he did for the PWV legislature.

Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging

The province of Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) is the wealthiest of the nine provinces, and it has the largest population (9.3 million). The PWV is also the economic center of the country, claiming more professional, technical and executive positions than any other province, 40% of the GNU's revenue will emanate from the PWV. It is the seat of the executive office of the national government in Pretoria. The legislature recently moved to rename the province Gauteng. The PWV has the largest legislature. Of the 86 seats, the ANC

holds 50, the NP has 21, the DP and FF each control five, the IFP has three, and the PAC and ACDP both have one each

The NDI team members were Anne Perkins, Patricia Keefer, Padraig O'Malley, Maura Donlan, Tom Melia and Kevin Kayes, each with complementary but distinct assignments. They met political parties, elected officials, NGOs, CBOs, and civics. In a meeting with Lawrence Schlemmer of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), and people from the Development Bank of SA, the need for capacity building at the provincial level was repeatedly emphasized. Development Bank officials indicated they would rather use a provincial level financing authority to fund provincial projects. However, they argued, without a sophisticated corps of personnel, the Development Bank is directing funds for projects directly to NGOs.

In a meeting with Johnson Mlambo, the deputy president for the PAC, and Secretary General 'Khoisan X (formerly B. Alexander), they addressed the serious problems the PAC is having in transforming itself from a liberation movement into a political party, as evidenced by the performance of the party in the elections. Jaki Seroke, the former PAC political secretary who has worked closely with NDI, suggested areas in which NDI could be of assistance to the PAC. He indicated that the PAC is, in many respects, at a very early stage of development as a parliamentary political party. Reflecting on the previous party training, Seroke noted that, even though workshops are needed, there is not enough money to transport and house their local leadership for meetings in Johannesburg or Cape Town. Therefore, he suggested that NDI conduct localized training.

Donlan and Keefer met with Thozamile Botha, chairman of the Commission on Provincial Government. Botha was interested in NDI's plans and spoke about possible points of collaboration for NDI and the Commission. In response to his request for information about staffing of legislatures, the NDI staff provided him with a comprehensive briefing book from international sources on parliamentary staffing structures and compensation plans.

Kayes, Melia and Perkins also met with Firoz Cachalia, MPL, with whom NDI worked when providing assistance to the PWV conference on parliamentary rules and procedures in August 1994. They had a broad-ranging discussion about the organizational progress made by the PWV legislature. Cachalia is also on the ANC's national commission to review the Interim Constitution so was also anxious to discuss the governance aspects of the constitution and how to design mechanisms for public participation in the writing of the new constitution.

Because many South African organizations have their national headquarters in PWV, much of the NDI team's time was devoted to meeting with groups like Matla Trust, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALES), the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). These meetings gave the team an opportunity to focus on the broader issues faced by South African NGOs.

Western Cape

The Western Cape ranks the highest of all the provinces in literacy, urbanization and employment. Politically, the National Party has its greatest strength in this province, and is particularly strong among the majority colored population. This is reflected in the election results in which the National Party won 23 of the 42 provincial seats, the ANC has 14, the DP has three, and the Freedom Front and the ACDP each have one. The National Assembly sits in the provincial capital of Cape Town. Hennis Kriel, former NP minister for Law and Order, is the premier.

Senator Gerald Senator Neal and Maura Donlan met with the premier, national and provincial legislators and political parties as well as NGO activists. Andrew Boraine, director of the Institute for Local Government (INLOGOV), briefed the team on the preparations for local government elections. INLOGOV's focus is on electoral systems, research in rural areas, finance policy, and transitional local councils (TLCs). With regard to election regulations, INLOGOV is retraining officers, town clerks, election agents, and voter education organizations within the nine major urban areas of the country. Boraine expressed great concern about the October 1995 date for the local elections. Major problems with voter registration are anticipated in most provinces except for the PWV, Western Cape and Orange Free State. Unless the voter education and registration strategy is finalized by November, Boraine believes substantial numbers of rural people will not vote. (Subsequently, the plans have been finalized.)

IDASA, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, is also involved in local elections, specifically providing research and advice to government agencies. IDASA has a parliamentary project in which it is publishing national/provincial biographical profiles of elected officials with their voting records and positions on issues, to give voters a basis on which to judge elected officials. IDASA anticipates that the local elections will be postponed until February or March 1996.

Bonisle Malindi, the SANCO Western Cape regional secretary, echoed the sentiment expressed by his counterpart in the Eastern Cape. Malindi noted that most of their funding is now being diverted to the national government. This comes at a particularly difficult time as they try to make the shift from the politics of confrontation to the politics of cooperation. Given the diminishing resources, he suggests the establishment of a task force where NGOs, CBOs, and civics would share funding with joint control. This would also prevent redundant programming and encourage coordination and communication between the three entities.

In a subsequent meeting, the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) indicated the need to reach out to CBOs, particularly SANCO. The Institute is trying to be responsive to SANCO in the areas of fundraising, transferring research skills, and overall capacity building.

In many of the meetings, community leaders emphasized that the political climate had not changed on the ground. Many believe that the new officials are trapped in the administrative and political structures of the past, as evidenced by the closed provincial legislative sessions in

the Western Cape Community organizers report hearing a constant refrain in the community "Why is it the same white faces?"

This sentiment was shared by many legislators at both the national and provincial level. For example, the DP Western Cape Provincial Assembly deputy whip indicated that the National Party is still functioning with the old procedures. Unlike other provinces, where the experienced legislators use their expertise to assist their colleagues, in the Western Cape the legislators use their experience as leverage. One provincial ANC leader observed that the NP has not followed the spirit of the government of national unity in the provincial government. The old attitudes and the dishonesty are still there, he asserted. Despite the tension, he notes that "at the end of the day" there has been some progress.

Kriel says that he believes in a government of national unity that negotiates to keep things together. He believes that legislative sessions must be closed, because, if the camera is on, people will be partisan in their negotiations. The press might undermine the process of compromise.

In addition to these meetings, Padraig O'Malley had exploratory meetings with faculty at the School of Government at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) about engaging in a long-term training program for elected officials. This was a follow up to initial discussions in May 1994. The university has positioned itself to support the democratic transition and serve as a resource for ministers and other officials in government on policy and personnel. Presently, its School of Government combines eight disciplines, and includes Public Administration, Political Science, Southern African Studies, along with Social Development and Planning. In spite of the staff limitation and structural research program, UWC is anxious to participate in the NDI training modular for legislators.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary goal for NDI in conducting the survey mission was to refine its political party development program which is geared toward political parties and their members in provincial legislatures

NDI plans to work at some level in all nine provinces, hence the basis for the nine-province survey. All provincial legislatures require assistance and technical support. The legislatures all recognize their needs and most have requested either general or specific assistance from NDI. There is a need, a mandate and an urgency for NDI to assist the political parties as they adjust to their new roles in the GNU structure. Political parties which had heretofore been vehicles of protest must now organize within the legislatures to ensure effective governance. The parties are just beginning to familiarize themselves with this new responsibility and are looking for the tools and resources to make it happen.

The survey mission concluded that, while there were certain themes that continued to reemerge when assessing the nine provinces, each province has its own challenges, personalities, and political and demographic characteristics. Therefore, NDI will fashion a program that responds to the specific needs of each provincial legislature and the political parties represented therein.

For the sake of program organization and long range planning, the NDI team agreed to proceed as follows: classify NDI assistance into four broad categories, identify the provinces which would fit into these categories, and then customize programs for each province. The categories are a means by which the Institute is able to organize its assistance strategy.

These broad categories are

- 1 *SPECIFIC ASSISTANCE* The PWV, Orange Free State and the Western Cape are the most "advanced" in terms of institutional consolidation and provincial infrastructure. The requests for assistance which emanated from these provinces were relatively specific (i.e. specific materials, targeted training). The provincial leadership of these provinces has a general awareness of its needs and is in a position to make specific requests where feasible. NDI plans to respond to these needs. In order to facilitate these requests, it will be important to keep the lines of communication open with provincial leadership and MPLs.
- 2 *INTENSIVE ASSISTANCE* The Eastern Cape, the Northern Cape and the North-West have all achieved high levels of organizational development, in spite of the formidable challenges facing them. Among other things, the Eastern Cape and the North-West are wrestling with the integration of former homelands, and the Northern Cape has been obliged to literally create itself both physically and institutionally. In spite of this, these three provinces have put together

functioning legislatures The survey team, in consultation with the political leadership in these provinces, concluded that all of them could benefit from assistance in most of NDI's program areas In the initial phase of its program, NDI plans to concentrate much of its resources and attention in these provinces

3 **GENERAL ASSISTANCE** The Eastern Transvaal and the Northern Transvaal require long-term and sustained assistance and the leadership of these provinces recognize this The Deputy Speaker of the Northern Transvaal bluntly states, "We don't know enough to know what we need " The legacy of apartheid, coupled with economic development problems and the poor quality of former homeland leadership, have had an impact on the political development of these legislatures These provinces need assistance at every level and in every area The NDI team, recognizing its own constraints, both human and financial, has devised a strategy to address this overwhelming need NDI plans to first conduct a week-long intensive needs assessment and evaluation, after which a collaborative training and technical assistance program would be fashioned to address the identified needs

4 **TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY** While there is considerable individual and institutional capacity in the KwaZulu/Natal legislature, the political climate in KwaZulu/Natal remains volatile The NDI survey team was unanimous in its conclusion that the programmatic approach that NDI is applying to other provinces would not work in KwaZulu/Natal at this time Instead NDI should address itself to clearly defined projects which focus on multiparty collaboration For example, NDI should accept the invitation of women leaders to provide parliamentary training and assist in forming a women's caucus Another opportunity is to provide technical assistance for staff development NDI will continue to invite members of all parties in the province to participate in NDI's international programs in order to expose them to other democratic experiences

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

NDI has developed expertise worldwide in parliamentary political development and many of the activities refined elsewhere can be applied to the South African situation Similarly, NDI, through its work in the South African Election Support Project and Project Vote, has gained an understanding and a sensitivity to the South African political situation Therefore, the NDI team has identified the following project activities which it plans to implement to assist the parties in provincial legislatures Not every activity is relevant for each province, nor will every activity occur in every province This list is by no means all inclusive and there will certainly be additions and revisions

Technical Assistance. This includes customized workshops and consultations on parliamentary functions essential to political parties operating in a multi-party legislative body

Conference Support As requested by the National Assembly speaker and several speakers of provincial legislatures, NDI will provide substantive assistance to several scheduled conferences on the role of political parties in legislatures, legislative procedures and intergovernmental relations. The assistance will include consultation on the development of agenda, written material, facilitators and international experts. Prior to the survey mission, assistance of this type was provided to a conference in the PWV on rules and procedures. In November, after the completion of the mission, Eastern Cape Speaker Gugile Nkwinti hosted a conference in Bisho for all provincial speakers to discuss separation of powers and intergovernmental relations. NDI staff participated in the conference and provide international experts and materials. NDI staff will seek out and promote similar collaborative programs throughout the duration of the program.

Party Whip Workshops While party whips are critical for the political parties and the legislative process in the parliamentary system, many are unsure of their roles and duties. Workshops for whips from all of the nine provinces and the National Assembly will provide a forum for training and discussion.

➤ **Training for Women Legislators.** During the survey mission, a number of women legislators from several provinces made special requests for a program to train women for their daily functions as legislators, as well as for their responsibilities in their respective party structures and NGOs. NDI will begin this initiative in KwaZulu/Natal and the North West. NDI will pursue discussions with the Center for American Women in Politics in the United States and the Women's Development Foundation in Johannesburg to explore ways to develop a women's program.

➤ **Video Production** A video will be produced to illustrate how legislatures work with an emphasis on political party organization. NDI is considering the Democracy Video Center in Johannesburg as the producer. The Provincial Commission has indicated an interest in possible collaboration. The video will be included in a parliamentary kit for use in training sessions, as well as for South African organizations working with parliamentary organizations and political parties.

Media Assistance. Through workshops and individual consultations, NDI has helped elected officials and parties in other countries develop the skills needed to work effectively with the media. These resources will be drawn upon to help parties in the South African provincial legislatures.

➤ **Legislative Kits.** NDI will prepare a kit of materials that will be used in training sessions conducted under the auspices of this project, NDI will also make the material available to other South African organizations working with legislative organizations and

political parties. The materials, which will be adapted to the specific conditions, will include a pamphlet on how a legislature works, emphasizing political party organization, a simple two-page legislative brief, a legislative hotline, and a mock legislative directory. NDI will first adapt the prototype to one province, most likely the Orange Free State. This will be followed by introducing the materials in sequence to the others. Included in the kit will be materials produced by others on governance, the constitution and comparative materials on specific information (i.e., committees, whip system, rules of procedure).

Database. To assist in the dispensing of information and fulfilling of special requests, a catalog of materials categorized by subject matter and cross-referenced by country will be designed. This database will not only allow NDI to react quickly to requests for written material, but will also allow in-country staff to document the number of requests and the timeliness of the response. This resource has already been used by many legislators, after the end of the program, it can be transferred to a library or university in South Africa as a permanent resource.

Special Requests. Aside from the areas of assistance mentioned above, NDI will respond to individual requests by party leadership in each province. Gathered from meetings with political party leaders and legislators during the survey mission and other contacts, these requests for specific materials and other information will be met upon demand.

HBU Seminars for Elected Officials

An integral part of NDI's parliamentary assistance program will be facilitated through South Africa's HBUs. NDI considers its work with the HBUs as one of the most important parts of its program work. This component was put into the original program's design in order to ensure that the program resources would in part be directed toward local institutions that could sustain these activities.

NDI has now identified two HBUs with which it will collaborate to fashion issue-specific seminars and general political training. The survey team concurred that, despite the lack of resources, a few HBUs are prepared to develop training modules for elected officials. The survey mission team identified at least two where programs could be initiated: the University of the Western Cape and the University of the North-West. NDI staff has begun discussing work plans.

The current program of the School of Government of the University of the Western Cape (SOG) is intended to meet the personnel needs of government and administration in the new democratic South Africa through structured degree programs and short courses targeted to requests from specific groups. The SOG recognizes its lack of capacity at this time and wants to access the services of experienced individuals on short-term contracts to facilitate the design and delivery of training modules (ranging from several hours to several weeks) and to provide

in-service training for junior SOG staff. The development of a group of skilled South African trainers is an important component of the program. The SOG has already established working relations with university based programs in other provinces so the NDI-UWC training program could be replicated.

The University of the North-West has presented a program proposal to NDI to train leaders in the provincial legislatures, civic associations, labor and business in collaborative policy making. During a six-week program, the participants will be required to draw up a strategic plan for the implementation of the RDP in their region. In preparation, participants will attend seminars intended to provide the factual background and analytical tools necessary to complete the project. Some aspects of the program will be geographically convenient to participants and part will be in a central location. The exercise will permit members of the legislature to problem solve in collaboration with leaders of various economic and social sectors in the province. The seminar is designed to serve as a prototype that can be replicated in other provinces and be sustained in the North-West.

Political Party Communication Inside and Outside the Legislature

Political parties in the provincial legislatures are seeking ways to facilitate the vital communication link with their party structures outside. They are also examining ways in which party structures outside the national parliament can support and enhance their work in the legislatures. NDI plans to present models and recommendations about how to develop and maintain this flow of communication. For example, NDI plans to organize conferences which include provincial legislators, members of the National Assembly and party leaders to either focus on the development of a party position on an issue or on ways the party structures can best function. In addition to targeted assistance in this respect, the theme will be reinforced in almost every other type of assistance (i.e., media relations, legislative kits, technical assistance and party whip workshops).

Collaboration with NGOs

NDI is pursuing opportunities for collaboration with South African and international NGOs which are working in the same field. Exploratory discussions have taken place with Africare, IDASA, the South African Foundation for Public Management and Development (SAFPUM) and the Women's Development Foundation.

One organization with which NDI is certain that there will be coordination is the NCSL. Survey mission participant state Senator Gerald Senator Neal (KY), chairs NCSL's South African Task Force. Senator Neal has suggested that NCSL and NDI collaborate and look for ways that state legislatures in the United States could be made available to assist political parties in the South African provincial legislatures. For example, the NCSL may be able to support the development of the newly formed Speaker's Forum.

APPENDIX

Program Development: Survey Mission

September 30, 1994

Summary

The International Republican Institute, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs will conduct a joint survey mission in the initial program development period of the South Africa Democracy Support Project (SADSP). The October mission will be conducted by international political and academic experts and staff of each institute. They will travel to all nine provinces and hold extensive interviews with political parties (with emphasis on disadvantaged parties), elected officials, NGOs, public policy institutions, universities, business leaders and other relevant individuals and groups.

While each institute will have their particular goals respective to their own programs, this assessment mission's common purpose is to assess post-election political party structures and capacities, and organizational structures within civil society and their capacities, as they relate to opportunities for building viable democratic institutions and popular participation. The specific areas of inquiry relate to the programmatic interest of the three organizations, i.e. political party organizations, political parties in parliament, civic consensus building, "think tank" development, and public policy formation. Each institute will be guided by their particular terms of reference.

Following the series of meetings in the provinces, the team will have a debriefing session and an internal program design workshop. The team will report orally and in writing to USAID/SA following the mission.

Purpose

The purpose of the mission is to assist the three organizations in the development of work plans, setting of priorities and identifying realistic opportunities for the SADSP. The team of experts and staff will recommend to the institutes where they should concentrate their initial project offering and the priority for scheduling. The team will consider which areas of complementary project activities suggest collaboration. It will also recommend an organizational mechanism for expeditious transfer of skills from one province to the other. In addition, each institute will also use the mission to identify and assess local non-governmental organizations and research institutes interested and qualified to collaborate with the three institutes in the project.

In making its recommendations, the team will be guided by the following criteria:

- 1 A broad-based invitation for assistance,
- 2 Prospects for multi-faceted program activities,
- 3 Multi-party balance in the project design,
- 4 The capacity of political parties, non-governmental organizations and universities,

- 5 The capacity of program activity in certain provinces to influence and resonate in neighboring provinces,
- 6 Multi-sectoral representation from civil society for civic consensus building

The results of the survey mission will be used in drafting the final Memorandum of Understanding which will specifically outline areas of institutional responsibility for cooperation during the two year grant period

Terms of Reference--IRI

IRI will conduct the assessment mission in conjunction with NDI and the Joint Center to 1) determine appropriate collaborative activities, and 2) to coordinate program activities as and when necessary. IRI's assessment mission team will consist of the Incountry Senior Program Officer, Kathi Walther, a public policy specialist (to be named), and a South African consultant (to be named)

The major purpose of IRI's national survey mission is to assess disadvantaged political parties and selected local organizations and determine those interested in and qualified to include selected members and staff in IRI's two-year "Political Party Training and Local Capacity Building in South Africa" program

IRI is particularly looking at building training capacity in those organizations 1) that could evolve into think tanks to support the policy development efforts of the formerly-disenfranchised political parties, and 2) those which could train local leaders and community activists in a wide range of political skills. IRI also intends to identify 3) those organizations capable of strengthening the ability of constituents to effectively present community needs and priorities to elected leaders at local, provincial and national level

Given funding constraints, IRI does not intend to offer training specifically to institutions, but rather to include their staff in IRI party training activities as appropriate throughout the two-year period. The objective is to identify qualified individuals to participate in the full range of IRI training activities as participants, and then trainers. These individuals will then take their new expertise back to their own organizations

The assessment will be conducted nationally, although IRI's primary areas of focus will be Western Cape, PWV and KwaZulu Natal. IRI will participate in all joint meetings, but its consultants will focus more on the role of community organizations in strengthening political party accountability to constituents than on the political parties themselves because the latter research has been completed

Suggested Questions for IRI Mission Team

1 *Political Parties*

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the party as a campaign organization? What campaign skills would your party be most interested in acquiring at this

time?

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the party as a political organization? What are your short- and long-term goals?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the party as a governing organization? What is happening now and what are your priorities for improvement?
- Describe the relationships, current and planned, of the party leadership with national leaders, provincial leaders, local leaders, party members and grassroots constituencies. How do you plan to encourage dialogue between party members and with constituencies?
- Describe your plans and management structures for coalition building among all parties
- Describe your plans and management structures for issue building and addressing constituency needs and concerns
- Do you plan to develop the technical ability to carry out issue-based development?
- Is your party familiar with survey (polling) research? Has your party ever commissioned a poll or used polling data in campaign planning and issue development? Do you plan to use polling in preparation for your party's participation in the local government elections?
- Do you plan to train your leadership in policy analysis, development and implementation?

2 *Local Non-Governmental Organizations*

- Is your organization non-partisan or affiliated with a political party?
- Is your organization involved with policy development and analysis? If not, would you be interested in acquiring this expertise?
- Is your organization familiar with the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP)? If so, are you interested in working in one or more areas of the RDP?
- Does your organization work at the national, provincial or local level?
- Is your organization interested in developing a capacity to provide training to political parties? If your organization already provides training to political parties, what type of training from IRI would be most useful to your staff?
- Is your organization interested in its staff participating in IRI training programs

on a regular basis?

- What areas of the community do you work with? For example, a cross section of the community or a specific sector, such as women, youth, teachers, labor, farm workers etc ?
- What specific expertise and skills do you feel your organization needs to acquire to contribute effectively to consolidating the new South Africa as a democratic society?

Terms of Reference--JCPES

The Joint Center will conduct a survey mission in conjunction with the IRI and NDI to coordinate program agendas, and plan collaborative activities. The JCPES will conduct a series of meetings (1) to identify two major policy initiatives included in the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) that could benefit from an intensive consensus-building exercise linking independent non-partisan institutions dedicated to policy research with political parties, private sector, and representatives of local, regional, and national government, and (2) to select a core group of non-partisan research organizations to participate in the consensus-building policy project and in a related institutional development and skills transfer project designed to assist these organizations to achieve long-term sustainability.

Specifically, the survey mission will help the Joint Center team structure a series of forum/working groups. In addition, the survey mission will assess the potential establishment of collaborative relationships and sub-contract agreements with a variety of South African policy research institutions who are also interested in acquiring organizational and administrative skills such as the following:

- policy research, public opinion, electronic communication
- development (proposal writing, fundraising, etc)
- finance, accounting, and financial management for donors

RDP/Public Policy Issues

The RDP states that policies will need to be developed which (1) meet basic needs, (2) develop human resources, (3) democratize the state and society, (4) build the economy, and (5) implement the full RDP. The broad areas of focus include:

- Land Reform
- Water and Sanitation
- Energy and Electricity Supply
- Telecommunications
- Transportation

- Nutrition
- Health Care
- Social Security and Welfare

In meetings with civic and business leaders, opinion makers, youth representatives, women's groups, and others within civil society, the Joint Center will address

PRIORITY ISSUES

1 *Identifying Priority Issues*

- Which of the broad areas of focus in the RDP do you think would serve best as a topic around which to organize a consensus-building methodology?
- What are some of the pressing problems in your region/community related to these broad areas?
- About which aspects of the RDP has your community been most vocal?

2 *Identifying Constituencies for Issues*

- What organizations, groups and/or individuals in your region/community are currently engaged in work in the areas you have identified as priority issues?
- What segment of your community is most vocal/organized?
- What segment of your community is least vocal/organized?
- Who would benefit most from participating in the consensus-building forums?

3 *Promotability of Issue*

- What unique aspects of your community should be considered in developing strategies for consensus-building in your community around the priority issues that you have identified?
- List the barriers in your community to consensus-building around the priority issues you named, i.e. political divisions, illiteracy, etc?
- In the case of illiteracy, what alternatives to print media are in place in your community for the purpose of information dissemination?
- What programs are in place currently to overcome barriers to consensus-building?
- What is your assessment of how familiar the community is with the details of the RDP?

- What is the community's attitude towards the RDP?

4 *History of Issues*

- Have you already identified strategies for addressing the problems arising under the issues you have identified as priority issues?
- If so, what types of strategies have you identified and have any of them been tested?
- What forums if any have already taken place around consensus-building on the priority issues you've identified and/or other issues?
- What impact did such initiatives have on popular opinion relating to the focus issue?

5 *Existing Mechanisms for Consensus Building Issues*

- Please list the kinds of forums and periodic meetings currently taking place in your community, including creche, women's meetings, i.e. the list should be as exhaustive as possible of any public gatherings that take place in your community on a regular basis
- With respect to the RDP items you named as a priority, what existing organizations or structures would you rely on to form part of a consensus-building campaign in your community?
- To whom or what organizations do most members of the community turn to address various problems?

6 *Capacity Building/Strengthening NGOs*

- (Organizational Capacity) Does the NGO have the organization capacity to function as a "think tank"? Is there sufficient staff and board to handle the general functions of program design, management, implementation, administration, evaluation and support? Is there a clear chain of accountability in the organization?
- (Planning and Evaluation) Does the NGO have a "strategic plan" that lays out its plan of action for at least one year or more? Does the plan clearly state the goals and objectives of the organization? Are the goals attainable? Are the objectives quantifiable? Can the NGO representatives clearly articulate their goals, objectives, and mode of operation? Does the NGO have clearly defined ongoing projects? Does the NGO have clearly defined evaluation criteria for each project? Are relevant data collected and maintained? Is there an on-going feedback/evaluation program?

- (Administration and Management) What is the administrative capacity of the NGO to effectively and efficiently conduct research, advocate for constituents, and manage the day to day operation? Do projects have a plan of operation? Are there complete administrative files? Are financial records secure? Does the NGO have computer facilities? For what primary purposes are they used? What other equipment does the office have? Which staff have access? Are there written rules and regulations governing personnel? Are there job descriptions, grievance procedures, code of conduct, and other personnel guidelines? How are staff trained?
- (Budget and Financial Management) Are there adequate budget, financial administration and accounting procedures for the NGO? Is there a budget? Which staff are responsible for financial management? Who handles bookkeeping and accounting? How are the records maintained? What procedures are in place to accommodate a financial audit?
- (Constituency Served) Who are the potential beneficiaries of the NGO? Does the organization have a clear picture of their information needs? How was this determined? What is the capacity of the organization to conduct research on request by other NGOs? How are research topics selected?
- (Participatory Methodology) Assess the methods used by the NGO to arrive at major program decisions. Is there a consultation process among the staff and board? Who makes the final decision? Are staff members included in problem-solving and decision-making? Who decides the research/policy agenda? What is the capacity of the organization to produce and publish research findings?

These questions will guide the survey mission team of the JCPES. Throughout the mission, the team will maintain openness and flexibility when discussing topics with representatives of civic, business, and other organizations. We will judiciously assess the capacity of organizations committed to public policy research to do so and identify in collaboration with them the specific areas they wish to strengthen.

The JCPES believes that this initiative will serve to help strengthen and deepen the democratic process in South Africa outside the structures of government and within civil society.

Terms of Reference--NDI

Below is an elaboration of topics and questions that will serve as a guideline for the NDI team in the survey mission. The NDI team will focus their inquiry on assessing disadvantaged political parties in parliament with the intent to explore the most viable ways to support the development of parliamentary political parties in their representation and services. In addition, they will identify and evaluate interested and qualified NGOs to collaborate with NDI on this project. The following discussion is not intended as exhaustive and the team should be free to

explore other relevant issues

Disadvantaged Political Parties in Parliament

The parties that have not had experience in governance and parliamentary procedures include the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), African National Congress (ANC), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) In speaking with the premiers, speakers, members of parliament and regional party leaders, issues to be addressed include

1. Party Structure in Parliament

- How do party caucuses support and facilitate their members' role in the parliament?
- Do the members understand the role and function of the speaker, party whips, caucus leaders and other party obligations?
- What has been the experience of party members in the legislature relative to building coalitions, fostering an environment of open debate and supporting a responsible voice of opposition?
- What are the mechanisms for relating and sharing information between the parties?
- Do the parties have parliamentary training programs for the newly elected legislators?

2. Intra-party Relations

- What is the current relationship between the cabinet officials, members of parliament and the political party structure?
- How are members balancing their cabinet, parliamentary and committee responsibilities?
- How do the party caucuses relate to and share information with the party's regional and national structure outside the parliament?

3. Political Party and Their Constituents

- What procedures and methods are in place in the parliamentary rules and orders for constituents to participate in the legislature?

- Do citizens and advocacy groups have access to the legislative process and the party caucuses?
- How does the public receive information on the proceedings of the parliament?
- Do the parties have mechanisms for responding to constituent requests?

4. Political Party and the Media

- How do the parties use the media to inform the public about parliamentary proceedings and their party message, (i.e. press conferences, televised community forums)?
- Do parties have equal access to the media in order to present their positions?
- Is the media balanced in their coverage and presentation?

5. Political Party, Elections and Democratic Transition

- What has been the effect of the April elections and consequently the opening of the new parliament and government on the regional and local party structures?
- Has the transition in the province been smooth? What are some of the problems?
- What party structures are in place to prepare for the local government elections?
- Are there inter-party negotiations underway for the setting up a regional and local election commissions, and other structures to administer the elections?

Non-Governmental Organizations and Universities to Collaborate with NDI

The centerpiece of NDI's work in South Africa continues to be the development of organizations that have a meaningful role and contribution to make to the evolving democratic culture of the country. In this project, NDI has identified a number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), historically Black Universities (HBU), and Civic Groups which could be active participants in the design and implementation of project activities. The purpose of this working collaboration is to create a sustained institution capacity far beyond the life of the project.

This survey mission serves to assess the interest and quality of these organizations, as well as exchange information and ideas on the project. In speaking with leaders of these organizations, issues to be discussed include

- What are their experience in democracy building in the country and specifically in their province?
- Are there programs already in place or planned in support of political parties in parliament or other areas in government and legislatures?
- What kind of relationship does the organization have with the political parties, parliaments, governments and other NGOs?
- What kind of infrastructure does the organization have to support the project?
- Are they partisan or seen as partisan? Does their work reflect such perception?

Mission Design

The assessment mission will be coordinated by IRI, NDI and Joint Center in both Johannesburg and Washington, D C Each organization will sponsor two to four experts and staff to conduct the survey mission After the initial orientation and briefing, they will be divided into three teams While the tripartite team will conduct many meetings together, there will be occasions when members will divide to pursue their own objectives as noted in the individual terms of reference Each team will visit three provinces, spending three days in each province The proposed division of the teams are 1) Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape, 2) KwaZulu/Natal, Orange Free State and Eastern Transvaal, 3) Northwest, Northern Transvaal and PWV They will meet with regional disadvantaged political parties, local NGOs and civic groups, historically black universities, parliamentary leadership, and traditional leaders

The proposed schedule is as follows

October 8	International experts arrive in Johannesburg
October 9	Orientation, briefing, and deployment plan
October 10 - 20	Meetings in the provinces (three days in each three provinces)
October 21	Debriefing in Johannesburg
October 22	Program design workshop
October 23	International experts leave Johannesburg

Upon return from visiting the provinces, international experts and staff will participate in a debriefing session in which the three teams will share their findings On the following day, each institute will organize their own internal program design workshop where the team will discuss priorities for assistance, examine concrete opportunities for programs and draft a program implementation plan

The staff of the three organization will brief USAID/SA on the results of the survey mission in the following week. A final written report will be submitted by November 7.

Maura Donlan is a Resident Program Officer in South Africa. She has been living in Johannesburg since August 1994 and has been with NDI since March 1993 where she has been the Southern African Regional Program officer. Before joining NDI, Ms. Donlan worked for Representative Edward J. Markey (D-MA) in various capacities: Legislative Assistant, Policy Analyst on the Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance, and Campaign Manager for Markey's 1992 re-election campaign. Donlan's other campaign experience includes Campaign Coordinator (MA- CD7) for the Massachusetts 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign, New Hampshire State Scheduler for the 1992 Bob Kerrey for President Campaign 1992, and Field Coordinator for the 1988 Dukakis/Bensten Campaign.

Patricia Keefer is Senior Associate at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). She heads NDI's worldwide program initiatives in the areas of political party training and civic education. In addition, she is Regional Director for Southern Africa projects. She has worked in South Africa for NDI since 1990 following her activities in Namibia's independence elections. Ms. Keefer served as Director of Field Operations and Vice President of Common Cause. She headed the successful national coalition to lower the voting age in the U.S. to 18 years and has been active in the Democratic Party's national, regional and local structures. Ms. Keefer chairs Harvard University's Institute of Politics' task force on women in politics. She has conducted seminar programs at the IOP on the role of interest groups in the political process.

Kevin Kayes is the Assistant Parliamentarian of the United States Senate and has worked in the Office of the Parliamentarian since 1987. From 1983 to 1987 he did legislative work for the National Railroad Passenger Corporation and prior to that was a legislative assistant for a member of the House of Representatives. He participated in the NDI Namibia program in which he conducted various workshops for political party members in their National Parliament. Mr. Kayes received a B.A. in both Political Science and Sociology from Indiana University in 1978, a law degree in 1985 from DePaul College of Law in Chicago and is a member of the District of Columbia Bar.

Thomas Melia is the Senior Associate for Programs in Democratic Governance at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. He is responsible for NDI programs to strengthen legislative and municipal processes worldwide. He has developed and implemented programs to support newly democratic parliamentary bodies in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Hungary, Romania, Niger and the Central African Republic, among others. Previously, Mr. Melia was Associate Director of the Free Trade Union Institute of the AFL-CIO, the American trade union federation (1986-1988). He served as Legislative Assistant for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1980-1986) on foreign and defense policy. He has published several dozen articles on international affairs, American history and politics. He received his B.A. from The Johns Hopkins University and his M.A. from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

Senator Gerald Neal represents the 33rd Senatorial District, Louisville in the Kentucky State Senate. He is Chairman of the Kentucky Senate Budget Resources Subcommittee on General Government, Finance and Education, Vice-Chairman of the Appropriations and Revenue Committee, and a member of the Health and Welfare Committee, the Education Committee,

the Fire Protection Task Force and the Water Quality Task Force. Senator Neal served as a United Nations observer in the 1994 national elections in South Africa and is a member of the National Conference of State Legislatures' South African Task Force. He is currently organizing a delegation of Louisvillians to visit Ghana, Benin and Senegal to encourage trade and commercial activities and to explore education and cultural exchanges.

Padraig O'Malley is a Dublin-born political scientist and currently Senior Fellow at the John W. McCormick Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Massachusetts-Boston. Mr. O'Malley is Editor of the New England Journal of Public Policy and Lecturer in the Irish Studies Program at the University of Massachusetts-Boston. Mr. O'Malley is currently under contract to Viking/Penguin to write a book on the transition in South Africa.

Anne Perkins was a member of her state legislature, the Maryland House of Delegates, for 14 years. She represented 100,000 people living in the city of Baltimore. A lawyer, Ms. Perkins served on the House Judiciary Committee and then as chair of the Constitutional and Administrative Law Committee, one of six standing committees in the House. As a committee chair, Ms. Perkins had an important policy-making role in education, personnel, individual rights, utilities, elections and ethics issues. Ms. Perkins resigned from her elective position in 1992 to teach English in the People's Republic of China and has taught political science at Goucher College. She has participated in an NDI Parliamentary Training Program in Namibia.

Province Appointments

Eastern Cape

Office of the Premier

The Honourable Raymond Mhlaba

Office of the Speaker

Gugile Nkwinti, Speaker

Provincial Legislature

Billy Nel, Chief Whip, National Party

A Nash, Deputy Speaker

Balindwela, Deputy Whip, ANC

Mhlawe, MPL, Chairperson of Committees

Madlingozi, MPL, Chairperson Public Works Committee

Mangcotywa, MPL, Chairperson Safety and Security Committee

Jajuca, MPL, Chairperson Health and Welfare Committee

Xego, MPL, Chairperson RDP Committee

De Wet, MPL, Chairperson ANC Caucus

Smith, MPL, Chairperson Finance Committee, Constitution Committee

Connie De Beer, Secretary

Eddie Trent, MPL, Provincial Leader

Helen Smith, director of legislative support service

Minister for Housing and Local Government

Max Mamase (ANC)

Minister for Agriculture

Dr Tertius Delpont (NP)

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

T T Letlaka, MPL

Portia Husasein, Member

Pumza Dontsa, Member

Monica Mbusi, Member

Pumelile Saka, Member

Zimele Tame, Member

Dalakutitwa Wskem, Member

University of Fort Hare, Political Science Department

Prof P Brouwer

Mark Donaldson

Ciskeian Small Business Corporation
Lizzie Rancwane, Deputy Director

Institute for a Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)
Sandy Wren

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)
D Manentsa, Regional Chair

African National Congress (ANC)
Judy Chalmers, MP
Danny Jordaan, MP
Buyewwa Sonjica, MP
N E Lamani, Senator
Linda Mti, Regional Chair

South African National Civic Organization (SANCO)
Dan Sendi, President
Harrison Mamgeamgata, Associate
T C Magqabi, Treasurer
D P Beja, Human Resources
A Mali, Information
M Tofile, General Secretary
F T Kobese, Vice President
A Jack, Economic Development

Institute for the Study and Resolution of Conflict (ISRC)
Peter Du Toit, Associate

Eastern Transvaal

Provincial Legislature
E N Ginidiza, Speaker

African National Congress (ANC)
Solly Zwane, Coordinator

Kangwane Economic Development Company
Des de Fortier, General Housing Manager

Regional Youth Development Forum
Nick Elliot, Coordinator

Ministry for Local Government
E Morgan, Assistant to the Minister
Awie Willimse, Assistant Director

KwaZulu/Natal

Office of the Premier
The Honourable Frank Mdlalose

Provincial Legislature
G Mdlalose, Speaker
Willies Mchunu, Deputy Speaker
Mike Tarr, Chief Whip, Inkatha Freedom Party
Harry Gwala, Chief Whip, ANC
Dr A Luthuli, MPL, ANC

Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD)
Joe Matuna, National Director
Eric Apelgreen, Program Officer

Azaman People's Organization (AZAPO)
Srinivasa Moodley, Personal Secretary to the President

National Party (NP)
Cliff Matthee, General Secretary
Cyril Genge, Member
Dan Makhanya, Member

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
Arthur Konigkramer, MPL
Faith Gasas, MP

Community Law Center
Bongani Khumalo, Assistant Director

***Enjabulwemi* (Place of Joy)**
Nomcembo Nkosi, Chairperson

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)
Jack Stagman, Provincial Committee Chairman
Alex Fakude, Deputy President
Evan Lewis, Member

Northern Cape

Office of the Speaker
Ethne Papenfus, Speaker
G G Mokgoro, Deputy Speaker

Office of the Whip

D M Kgware, Chief Whip ANC
Louise Boezak, Deputy Whip ANC

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

Bohokwane, Regional Organizer

National Union of Mine Workers (NUM)

Isaac Mayoyo, Regional Organizer
Archie Nuhcabo, vice Chairman
Joseph Le Buru, Regional Secretary
Justice Manuno, Branch Secretary

National Party (NP)

P M Hollander, MEC Public Works

South African National Civic Organization (SANCO)

Kenny Jacobs, Regional Organizer
A Pienaar Douglas, President

Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC)

John Phillips, Manager

Northern Transvaal

Office of the Speaker

Mr P R Malavi, Speaker

Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)

Rev K Leputu, Spokesman

South African Civic Association (SANCO)

J M Motinele, Secretary General
J M Nkuma, Deputy President
Kgotsapo Leputa, Secretary
Paul Mogano, Fundraising

Evangelical Church of Southern Africa

Bishop S M Molefe

National Party (NP)

M Wolmarans, Deputy Leader

Old Community Development

Grace Sekhu, Director

University of the North, Political Development Studies Department
Prof Harold

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)
Neels Roelofse, Leader

North-West

Office of the Premier
The Honourable Popo Molefe
Paul Daphne, Advisor to the Premier on Intergovernmental Relations

Office of the Speaker
J D Thibedi, Speaker

Provincial Legislature
L S D van Deventer, MPL, Freedom Front
P A Malan, MPL, NP
R Motsepe, MPL, African National Congress

Department of Government Services
Joe Mokgoro, Director General

University of the North-West
Dr E T Hedding, Head of Political Science

Directorate of Rural Development
Joe Kgobokoe

Gender Commission/Women's Coalition
Kelepi Kgobokoe
Connie Muvunyi-Guyll
Thembi Burhali
Flora Lobelo
Grace Sebotha
Anastasia Morolong

Black Lawyers Association
Boogie Khutsone

Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC)
Sakie Koekmer, Manager

Democratic Party (DP)
A R Brady, Leader

SS

Orange Free State

Office of the Premier
The Honourable Patrick Lekota

Office of the Speaker
M Chabuku, Speaker

Provincial Legislature
Anna Buthelezu, Deputy Whip, African National Congress
Inus Aucamp, Chief Whip, National Party

South African National Civic Organization (SANCO)
John Makalesane, Regional Director

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)
Fabrice Compere, Leader

Democratic Party (DP)
David Jones, Leader

PWV

Office of the Speaker
Trevor Fowler, Speaker

Provincial Legislature
Firoz Cachalia, ANC MPL, Chair Rules Committee
Jack Bloom, Chief Whip, Democratic Party

Minister for Local Government and Housing
Dan Mofokeng

Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALES)
ndou, Executive Director
E Ndou, Administrator
Ephriam Butsingi, Organizer
R Ratshitang, Assistant General Secretary

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)
Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, Vice President

Development Bank of Southern Africa
Johan T Koorts, Special Adviser
J Koster, Senior Policy Analyst

Matla Trust

Barry Gilder, Deputy President
Mohomed Ghatham, CCEP Manager
Reggie Motjope, Administrative Manager

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

Johnson Mlambo, Deputy President
'Khoisan X, MPL
Gora Ibrahim, National MP
Jakı Seroke, Member

South-Western Joint Civic Association (SOWEJOCA)

Basil Douglas, Chairman

Sowetan

Mathatha Tsedu, Political Editor

Christian Women Enrichment Program

Fikile Mlotshwa, Chairperson
Aubrey Matshiqi, Teacher

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

Abraham Mzizi, MP

Safety and Security Department

Ian Robertson, Strategic Management Team

Military Research Group

Dr Jackie Cocks, Coordinator
Gavin Cawthra, Member

South African Institute of Race Relations

Paul Perreira, Public Affairs Spokesperson

National Union of Mine Workers

Jesse Maluleka, International

UWUSA: United Workers Union of South Africa

Regional Secretary

Urban Foundation

D L van Coller, Chief Executive Director

Commission on Provincial Administration

Thozamile Botha, Chairman

Western Cape

Office of the Premier

The Honourable Hernus Kriel

National Assembly

Dr Frene Ginwale, Speaker

University of the Western Cape, School of Government

Prof Tap Scott, Director

Enayet Hamza, Administrator

Institute for Small Business

D J Visser, Director

Institute for Local Government (INLOGOV)

Andrew Borain, Executive Director

Democratic Party (DP)

Hennie Bester, Chief Whip, Provincial Leader

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)

Wilmot James, Executive Director

David Screen, Director

Lawyers for Human Rights

Riaz Salojee, Director

Environmental Monitoring Group

Stephan Law, Coordinator

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)

Michael Louis, MPL

South African National Civic Organization (SANCO)

Bonisila Malinda, General Secretary

Hennie Van Wyk, Local Government

Thozama Mlanjeni, Campaigns

Black Sash

Mary Burton

Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD)

Thaabit Albertus, Director

Robbie Mopp, Program Officer

Glenn Pratt, Program Officer

African National Congress (ANC)
Vincent Diba, MPL