

FAX TO - Tokyo Sexwale,  
ANC,  
JHB.

Dear Tokyo.

Wayne Mitchell has contacted me re your phone call earlier  
tutswacr1 : This is to confirm our attendance at the  
mngt1(.g r. AH 24'; ;.- "Headay afteLuuuu.

Wayne has aisy asked me to fax you another copy of the  
proposal. T have attached th 3. Bear in mind that we have  
made same adjustments to the original version. The new  
version, I believe, is more sophisticated, clear and  
developed.

Both Wayne and I will attend the Tuesday meeting, as well  
as two possible other gentlemen, Garry Cooney and Ian  
Bentley. Both have had extenSlve experience in fighting  
elections for the DP over several years at local and national  
level.

I might also add that we have been in touch with the  
political organisers of the DP throughout the country and  
they have indicated their support for our project. I believe  
we can rely On their Specialist skills and participation.  
I should also mention that we have sounded out the idea  
with various embassies, all of whom are very enthusiastic  
and will, I am sure, provide the necessary financial backing.  
This morning I will be seeing the British Embassy to discuss  
the project in more detail, with the Americans, Germans  
and Canadians to follow.

Could you please confirm arrangements for the Tuesday by  
fax. My fax number ii 7061623.

Best regards,

Dr Philip Frankel.

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ELE RAL DE P E

A, MQTIVATIQN

South Africa is about to enter the age of mass electoral politics.- Irrespective of the exact

details of a future constitution, elections embracing the entire population will be the norm for political participation in the near future.

These elections will focus not only on central government, but will also take place with regard to whatever institutions are created at regional or local level.

The universal experience of electoral politics clearly indicates that while numbers are important they are by no means decisive.

This means that a political party with majority support measured per head of population is not always able to translate this into proportionate electoral support. A great degree depends on whether a party can get its supporters recognised as voters, i.e. registered, or whether it can physically get its voters to the polls in the right place on the right day.

How they vote at the polls is, in other words, only one factor among many which govern the outcome of democratically conducted elections.

Electoral success, quite simply, depends on organisation: parties with minority support can, with organisation, create electoral support far exceeding actual support among the population. DTA in Namibia is a case in point. Similarly, there are numerous examples from around the world where disorganised majority parties find themselves after elections with minority representation.

These factors are especially pertinent to any future elections held in South Africa for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the great majority of people have no experience in electoral politics. We are dealing with a relatively 'uneducated' electorate, large numbers of whom do not even have identity documents. Political parties who are best placed to exploit this electorate in an organised manner have a decided advantage.

Secondly, great numbers of people called on to vote in future elections will come from deprived socio-economic groups among whom the urge to participate electorally is notoriously weak. This is especially true, in the rural areas where conservative white interests are well placed to manipulate agricultural labour. Yet it is essential for any "winning" party to mobilise these enormous numbers of "marginal" electors.

Thirdly, there are substantial differences in electoral experience between the parties in future South African elections. The National Party has extensive experience in electoral politics backed up by a highly sophisticated organisational network. As the incumbent

political pziny it can also draw on Lhe enormous human and material rescurccs oi the state. This puts omer parties at a decided disadvantage despite the demographic an'thmcnc of South Africa

B. A BE S

The Electoral Development Centre (EDC) aims to provide the Transvaal electorate, particularly parties with limited electoral experience, with the means to address these issues in a manner appropriate to the development of democratic norms in the body politic.

It seeks to do this through a muld-faceted and specialised education and training program aimed at two broad objectives:

i) EDC seeks to build leadership, management and communicative skills in political parties of limited electoral experience who will shortly be called on to participate in the concrete matters of electoral politics.

ii) EDC seeks to raise the level of voter education among people of all political persuasions who will shortly be called upon to make electoral choices which axe crucial to the characrer of a future democratic South Africa.

Electoral Development

Centre (EDC)

Research and Development

Program (RD?)

Electoral Training

Program (ETP)

Voter Education

Leadership Administration

Electoral Support

Service (ESS)

Electoral Management

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Electoral experience throughout the world clearly indicates that various skills associated

with electoral management and voter awareness are essential for the democratic conduct of elections. and, in the longer-term, the creation of a democratic political culture.

(a) Electoral Management

The management of democratic elections requires three inter-connected skills which we need to impregnate in the electoral politics of the future South Africa.

(i) Electoral Leadership

The management of an election requires highly sophisticated personnel which can work at the grassroots to mobilise people for the actual task of voting in a particular way.

While much of electoral politics in the industrial world focusses on how people vote, in developing societies the key problem is to get people to vote according to the principles of a party and administrative/constitutional procedures in force at any point in time.

This task of electoral - as opposed to diffuse or sentimental - mobilisation requires the development of a cadre of people with extensive administrative and leadership skills apart from their dedication to a particular political party. For this task we need professional leadership at local level honed to the exact tasks of what elections require.

(ii) Electoral Administration

The task agenda for elections is highly technical but of crucial importance to the organisational capacity of any party.

Winning parties must, for example, develop access to the voter, especially the sympathetic voter. In any given area or region, data must be developed to allow a party to profile its support. This data must then be deployed to shape the registration strategy of the party. In the electoral run-up, registered voters must also be canvassed: future supporters must be consolidated in order to prevent defection, doubtful supporters must be convened. This requires, once again, detailed information on voter profiles built into a strategy - or a number of strategies - to address different constituencies within the broad framework of the principles of the party.

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The political education of the voter encompasses, among other matters:

' An awareness of the technical aspects of vote-casting, i.e. how to cast a ballot, when and where.

' An appreciation of the range of political choice to him or her as a legitimate member of the political community.

group) interest.

' A generalised understanding of how the political system has evolved, its contemporary character and the role of elections as a form of political participation.

' His or her civic responsibilities and obligations.

. ' The overall constitutional context within which political choices are being exercised.

In the last analysis, it is the combination between the educated voter and those who organise the vote which determines whether an election represents the real balance of power among the electorate of a particular country.

D. S I MTEGY

Within this context EDC envisions:

(a) A Research and development Program (BQE)

Which will develop a detailed electoral manual and training program to which the organisers/members of "underprivileged" political parties can be exposed.

This manual/training program will draw upon, inter alia:

' The electoral experiences of industrial democracies insofar as these are pertinent to local conditions.

' The electoral experiences of African states, particularly other recently independent states in the Southern African sub-continent.

' Local electoral information drawn from the experiences of South African political organisations who have fought elections under local conditions, e.g. the Democratic Party.

' Specialist opinion in South Africa and abroad. e.g. IDASA, the National Endowment for Democracy and various other consultative bodies/individuals

(13)

At the election itself, turnout factors are of critical importance. Effective electoral administration requires, among other matters, an efficient transport network, facilities to trace voters with speed and accuracy and a whole series of support services which diminish the personal and social "costs" of voting for each voter.

Electioneering also implies financial management. Funds need to be raised and allocated between the various Sectors of electoral activity - transport, advertising and personnel, among others. Budgetary failure through the irrational distribution of financial resources is frequently behind the inability of political parties to effectively mobilise voter power.

These functions require trained personnel. Given the gravity of the choices which will face our future electorate they cannot be left to experiment or improvisation.

( i ii) Electoral Administration

Successful electoral activity requires ongoing political communication between party and people - for an extended period prior to the physical act of voting, as well as in the immediate time-frame surrounding the actual election.

In any society this places those with access to the state media at a distinct advantage. In a developing society, such as South Africa, there are added problems of communication reflecting the political education of the electorate and its relative unfamiliarity to electoral appeals and messages.

It is essential that electoral participants undertake a detailed analysis of the communication opportunities and constraints with particular reference to the task of maximising their electoral success. More importantly, each needs to train its electoral staff in a manner which enables it to use the available networks to its best advantage.

Voter Education

No election can be fair unless voters base their choices on some minimum level of political education. Where this does not exist, elections are susceptible to political manipulation by the more organised of groupings. In the last analysis, elections of this type are neither democratic, representative, nor long-standing in their effects.

in the USA Europe and elsewhere with practical experience in "transitions to democracy".

- ' Technical information on voter registration and contact. electoral administration, Structures and management.

- ' Opinion surveys of specifically targeted constituencies, by region or social grouping, to generate a data base for planning, educative and strategic purposes.

RDP will be concentrated in the first six months of the initiative, and periodically updated thereafter.

Extending over the run-up period to a future election which will project the data generated by the R&D at two levels:

- ' Among organisers and electoral personnel of political parties.

- ' Among the general electorate with particular reference to its members who have no previous electoral experience.

It is envisioned that the Program operate from a central venue in Johannesburg -

- ' 4 Johannesburg Electoral Training Centre - with activities radiated-out to various other regions of the Transvaal.

The Johannesburg Training Centre may offer, inter alia:

- ' Intensive two or three-week programs to be attended by electoral officials/party organisers with an emphasis on electoral management embracing the various skills of leadership, administration and communication essential to the running of elections.

- ' Specialised workshops on political leadership, administration and/or communication.

- ' Voter education seminars and follow-up services addressed to opinion formers at community level. These may, for example, focus on the business sector in black communities, teachers, labour or cultural opinion-formers.

- ' Various "roving" services of the voter-education type which disseminate the program to the corporate environment, the workshop floor and other locations appropriate to capturing voter attention.

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This would come into operation as an election becomes imminent.

Its purpose would be to reinforce the training program on a ongoing basis in the run-up to elections and in the election setting. through Such mediums as issue-related meetings, seminars and workshops.

In the run-up period, 555 would also monitor election-related activities, individually and in conjunction with other compatible organisations in the held. At the point or points of election the support service would constitute a team to act in an on-line consultative capacity.

STRUCTURE AND A G

. It is envisioned that EDC be strucmred/staffed as follows:

(see over page)



Executive Directors  
Electoral Voter  
Management Education  
Advisory Board  
Planning Board Subscribers  
Specialist  
Consultants  
Research and Administrative  
Training Director  
Political  
Representatives  
Director  
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Executive Directors x 2  
Research and Training Director x 1  
Administrative Director x 1  
Research and Training staff x 4  
Administrative staff x 2

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Total Staff Complement

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Dr Philip Frankel

Wayne M itchell

holds two Mmtcr of Arts degrees, in international relations from Wits University and in political science from Princeton. In 1981 he obtained a Doctorate in politics from Princeton and he has since worked as Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Smdies at Wits. He is the author of innumerable articles and reports on South African politics as well as two books - 'Preton'a's Praetorians: Civil-Military Relations in South" (Cambridge 1984) and (with kind: Swilling and Noam Pines), "State, Resistance and Change in South Africa (London 1987). He has worked extensively as a political and social investment consultant to the private sector, both locally and abroad. He is currently worh'ng on a book on political leadership.

has a Bachelor of Arts (HonOurs) in Politiatl Science from the University of Port Elizabeth. He has been active in the Progressive Federal Party as Youth Chairman for the Eastern Cape. a constituency Chairman, and member of the PFP National Federal Cauncx'l. After lighting various low! and general elections as a regional organiser, he became Senior Personnel Ofticer at General Motors involved with corporate responsibility programs. In 1986 he became National Director of IDASA with the role of organising its regional, national and international programs. He was present at the Dakar meeting as well as others involving talks between the ANC and the private sector in Lusaka. He is a former Executive Director of thc Ameriam Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

. PROJECT D

Eighteen months (or longer if circumstances warrant).

Ref: EDC.PF/nc