

Elections 2019

LIP

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Your turn.



Nelson Mandela casts his first vote in South Africa's first democratic elections on 27 April 1994 at Inanda, Kwazulu-Natal, with a young Jacob Zuma in the background. PHOTO: Wikimedia/Paul Weinberg.

LIP 2019 Editorial Team

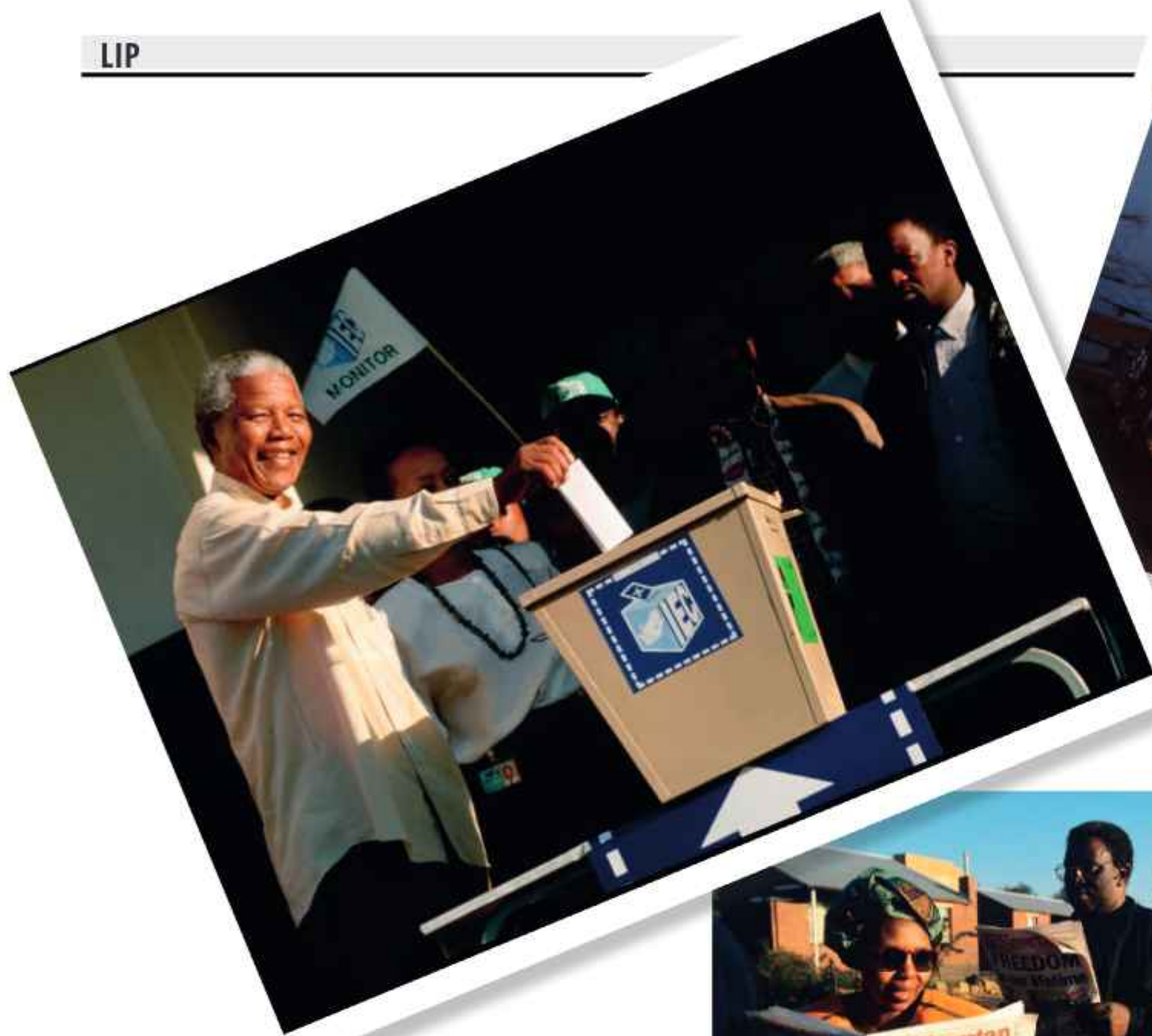


Editor



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LIP provides you as the reader with all the necessary knowledge to make an informed decision come election day. I encourage you to mindfully vote and be proud of this moment, as for many years people of our nation didn't have the opportunity. Enjoy the ride, the class of 2019 worked hard to bring you knowledge through our passion - informed journalism.



TOP LEFT: Nelson Mandela casting his first vote in 1994. PHOTO: Peter Turnley.

ABOVE: Family members are helping an elderly woman walk after she voted for the first time. PHOTO: Susan Winters.

LEFT: A woman stands in line to vote on the first voting day while reading *The Sowetan*. PHOTO: Brooks Kraft.

'I captured a moment of freedom'

Jana Greyling

With the sixth general elections since the end of apartheid in 1994 fast approaching, it seems appropriate to look back on South Africa's first democratic elections, 25 years ago, and relive this historic time through a medium that can convey emotion and meaning like no other – photography.

The year 1994 marks a very turbulent time in South Africa with the first democratic elections taking place, determining the future of the country.

The world's focus was on South Africa and as a result, countless local and international photographers and photojournalists documented the first general elections and the pre-election time through their ever-present lenses.

During the time leading up to the elections, American photojournalist, Susan Winters, was accompanying Smuts Ngonyama, about whom she had previously written a feature, to witness him voting. Ngonyama was the ANC leader of the Eastern Cape at the time.

A staff photographer for the *Philadelphia Daily News* at the time,

Winters spent time in townships and villages producing content from 1988 to 1993 and became especially interested in stories documenting a peaceful reconciliation process in South Africa.

Winters was not on the same page as her editors at the *Philadelphia Daily News* and decided to cover the further reconciliation process independently on a number of trips during the struggle and transition years.

In 1994 Winters was in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape for ten days before the elections and described the general atmosphere as peaceful.

"Although pre-election violence in Natal and [the] Free State was making the headlines, the places where I was were pretty calm."

This state of peacefulness continued into the days of voting, explains Winters.

"[On] the first day I was in a rural village [...]. I didn't know that the whole country had become calm until I returned to East London that night. The quiet of the voting made a statement much greater than the bloodshed. I felt the people who had invested their lives in the pursuit of peace were vindicated."

Winters recalls she was "stunned to see the hundreds of elderly people waiting for hours to vote."

"I will never forget the old people who were voting for the first time in their lives [saying], 'Now I can die, knowing my children will be free.' As an American, I contrasted that to the apathy of American voters."

Winters' photograph, pictured above, shows an elderly woman and three of her family members who are helping her walk after she voted for the first time in her life. The photo was taken in a rural village in the Eastern Cape.

Another photojournalist who covered the elections was Brooks Kraft. At the time Kraft was working as a freelance independent photographer for the picture agency *Sygma* and was sent to South Africa in 1994 to cover the elections.

"I basically moved to South Africa for three and a half months preceding the first democratic elections," explains Kraft.

He describes the period leading up to the elections as very emotional, "It was amazing. It's truly something I'll never forget."

Kraft travelled with Nelson Mandela in the then Northern Transvaal and remembers the tumultuous state of the country.

"I spent a whole week tailing him as he went from small town to small town and I covered big events and rallies."

"It was up and down. There were days where there was violence and shootings and then you'd go to a Mandela rally so full of hope, energy and excitement."

Kraft was one of the photographers injured in pre-election violence alongside the chief photographer of *The Star*, Ken Oosterbroek, who was killed in Thokoza township on the East Rand.

Kraft recalls the voting days as peaceful even though there were concerns of violence breaking out.

"The election days were really exciting and everyone felt like they were part of something special. If

"If you wait a lifetime to vote, who cares if you wait another ten hours"

you wait a lifetime to vote, who cares if you wait another ten hours. There was just a lot of hope and optimism [on the election days]."

His photograph of the woman reading *The Sowetan* while standing in line waiting to vote, pictured above, was taken

on the morning of the first voting day on 26 April 1994.

"The headline is great because it gives you a visual reference [to the context] but I also just remember her thoughtfulness, her calmness and her pride. You could see all those things on her face. So [the photograph] was a little bit personal but it also showed the context of what was happening that day," says Kraft about the photograph.

Also in South Africa during the first democratic elections was the American photojournalist, Peter Turnley.

Turnley was working for the American publication *Newsweek Magazine* at the time and covered big news stories happening around the world for the magazine.

Like Kraft, Turnley followed Mandela during the weeks before the elections and documented his campaign.

"It was an amazing moment of optimism in general," recalls Turnley.

The iconic photograph of Mandela casting his vote at the ballot box, pictured above, was taken by Turnley during the voting days at Ohlange High School.

On the first day of the elections Turnley, his twin brother David who is also a photojournalist, and other journalists flew to different cities in South Africa to document the voting process.

"It was an unbelievable human experience to witness people all across the country, to see the faces and expressions of people who were voting for the first time in their life. It was a truly beautiful day," explains Turnley.

Behind these three photographs are important stories and memories adding to the value of the historical event that was the first democratic election in South Africa. Once again, the saying "a picture speaks a thousand words" proves its point.



Patricia de Lille is the leader of GOOD and former mayor of Cape Town.

PHOTO: Supplied

De Lille: 'When a woman rises, the nation does'

Lia Snijman

On the 8th of May, voters will have 48 political parties to choose from, but only a few female presidential candidates to select from.

Patricia de Lille, the presidential candidate for the new political party GOOD, says: "I am possibly the only female politician leading a political party through the 2019 national election."

While there are some female candidates that are leading political parties, such as the National Freedom Party, Minority Front and Women Forward, they are certainly in the minority.

De Lille claims: "I set out to become the first woman to start a political party in South Africa, which I achieved." De Lille started the Independent Democrats in 2003.

Another woman who started a political party in South Africa, but who has since left politics, is Dr Mamphela Ramphele. When speaking about joining politics by starting her own political party, Agang SA, she says that it was "despite [her] better judgement".

"I think party politics, not just in South Africa, but globally, are a man's world. So, you enter there at your own risk," says Ramphele (right). De Lille echoes this, saying: "Many political parties are still stuck in the old ways of a patriarchal system where it is difficult for women to become the leaders of the parties they belong to."

Ramphele says: "The problem is that our electoral system is tied to a party. So, if you are not

having women making it as leaders of parties, then by definition you are not going to have women who are candidates for the presidency."

De Lille mentions that one of the struggles she faced as a female politician is that she "had to fight to make [her] voice heard against the men around many decision-making tables." Ramphele also speaks of some struggles, explaining that "the women who make it in politics are those that play the male game".

Within the top ten of the ANC's electoral list, as it initially appeared, there are three female politicians. The ANC has had two female deputy presidents, namely speaker Baleka Mbete and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka.

Ramphele acknowledges that "we have a significant amount of women sitting in parliament, in the provincial system, in the local authority system".

Senior lecturer at the Department of Politics at the North West University, Dr Piet Croucamp, seems hopeful, stating that, "the ANC and the DA have made some progress by actually setting targets for female representation in legislatures. The ANC currently has 48% females on its party lists and the DA is at 35%".

He also points out that many important positions are filled by women, such as those of Speakers of both the houses of Parliament, the head of the National Prosecuting

Authority and the Public Protector.

He does mention that women are not as well represented in civil society though and adds that "we have to modernise social life for politics to emancipate". He believes that a female president for South Africa is very possible, seeing as Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was only narrowly defeated by Cyril Ramaphosa for the ANC's leadership.

Croucamp comments: "If political parties peruse the stats for important indicators of voting behaviour they will certainly lower the levels of testosterone in their campaign strategies." He explains that women make up the majority of registered South African voters.

Croucamp says: "It is, for instance, important to note that they are less likely to vote for parties on the extreme left or right than men would." He elaborates: "The EFF has about 36% female support, according to an Ipsos poll, and the Freedom Front Plus approximately 39%." Ipsos is a company that specialises in information gathering and analysis.

Croucamp further explains that, "the centrist parties such as the ANC and the DA draw male and female support in more equal numbers. Gender matters in politics".

De Lille mentions that she and her party will focus on the gender wage gap, domestic violence against women and the prioritisation of disadvantaged girls' education. She claims that, "GOOD believes when a woman rises, the nation does".

According to Ramphele, a type of feminism that is influenced by Ubuntu and focused on the future generations is what is needed now. She concluded her interview by saying: "I hope that your generation will take over, as proper African feminists."



SA is vry, maar...

Hoe vaar die land tot dusver in terme van die regte en vryhede wat in die Grondwet gewaarborg word?

Roxanne Mooneys

Voor 1990 was politieke en burgerregte slegs 'n sekere gedeelte van die Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking beskore.

Volgens die navorsingsorganisasie Freedom House, het die gebruik van 'n tydelike grondwet in 1993 'n tydperk van beduidende verandering ingelui met betrekking tot regte en vryhede in die land.

Heelwat van die veranderinge kan aan die onderhandelinge tussen die destydse regering en die ANC toegeskryf word. Hierdie gesprekke het verseker dat die land struikelblokke soos geweld, bomaanvalle en sluipmoorde kon oorkom.

Freedom House se jaarlikse Freedom in the World-verslag ken tellings tussen een en sewe toe wat dui op die stand van 'n land se politieke en burgerregte. 'n Telling nader aan een beteken 'n land geniet optimale vryheid, terwyl 'n telling nader aan sewe op 'n gebrek aan vryhede dui.

In die tydperk voor 1994 is Suid-Afrika nog beskou as gedeeltelik vry, terwyl dit in die jare daarna as heeltemal vry geklassifiseer is. Die organisasie is ook van mening dat al het die verkiesing in 1994 'n groot verskil teweeggebring het, daar nog veel beperkings in Suid-Afrika is, soos in sommige ander lande.

Freedom House voeg by dat toestande sedertdien grootliks dieselfde gebly het, maar dat die gehalte van politieke regte in die land tot h'einde gekom het tydens Jacob Zuma se termyn.

Freedom House sê ook dat die opmerkings wat gemaak word in die Freedom in the World-verslag, nie slegs 'n maatstaf van huidige regerings is nie, alhoewel daardie regerings grootliks die verantwoordelikheid dra om te sorg dat die toestande vir regte en vryhede van hoë gehalte is.

Die Britse Economist Intelligence Unit stel jaarliks die sogenaamde Democracy Index vry; 'n verslag waarin die stand van demokrasie in 167 lande gemeet word.

Hierdie indeks bestudeer faktore soos die verkiesingsproses en pluralisme, regeringsfunksie, politieke deelname, politieke kultuur en burgerregte.

Lande word dan 'n telling tussen nul en tien toegeken. 'n Telling nader aan tien beteken dat

die land in daardie spesifieke aspek goed vaar, terwyl 'n telling nader aan nul op swak prestasie dui.

Luidens verlede jaar se verslag val Suid-Afrika in die kategorie van 'n gebrekkige demokrasie.

'n Gebrekkige demokrasie verwys na 'n land met swak politieke deelname asook 'n swak politieke kultuur.

Politieke kultuur het betrekking tot die waardes, oortuigings en houdings van die samelewing teenoor politieke instellings.

Wat politieke deelname betref, ken die indeks aan Suid-Afrika 8,33 uit 10 toe, maar vir politieke kultuur slegs 5 uit 10.

Dr Nicola de Jager, dosent in politieke wetenskap aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, beweer Suid-Afrikaners het 'n materialistiese siening van demokrasie.

"Hulle sien demokrasie as die middele waardeur 'n doel bereik kan word, soos om toegang te kry tot 'n huis, kos of 'n werk. Die probleem is dan dat mense die regering [die party wat op daardie stadium aan bewind is] in dieselfde lig sien as die politieke stelsel [demokrasie] en die tekortkominge van die regering word dan as die tekortkominge van die politieke stelsel beskou," sê De Jager.

Sy sê ook dat wanneer daar swak bestuur is, soos oor die afgelope 10 jaar in Suid-Afrika, is mense meer geneig om hulle tot radikale opsies te wend.

"'n Nie-demokratiese politieke kultuur ontstaan wanneer jy nie-demokratiese politieke stelsels sal oorweeg en ook nie-demokratiese middele [soos geweld] sal oorweeg om jou doel te bereik," sê sy.

De Jager sê dat afwaartse tendense in die doeltreffendheid van die regering 'n negatiewe impak op vertroue in staatsinrigtinge het.

Sy stem ook saam met Freedom House wat betref die tendense wat gesien kan word in Suid-Afrika sedert 1995.

"Ondersteuning vir demokrasie was hoog en stabiel tussen 1995 en 2006, maar tussen 2006 en 2013 was daar 'n afname," sê De Jager.

Sy sê ook dat hierdie bevindinge dui op hoe belangrik dit is dat die kwaliteit van die regering moet verbeter om ten einde die opkoms van radikale denkwyses te bekamp.



Die Suid-Afrikaanse Konstitusionele Hof.

FOTO: Ciaran Ryan



Outgoing Western Cape Premier Helen Zille waves as the doors of an elevator close. PHOTO: facebook.com/pg/HelenZille

Zille says farewell

Helen Zille reflects back on her South African political career while expressing her views on various contemporary issues in the current political sphere in the country.

Mike Wright

The 2019 elections will be a big test. "If we go the populist route in South Africa we are pretty doomed. It is a very strong, new element and we certainly can't do that," are the words of outgoing Premier of the Western Cape, Helen Zille, regarding the DA's opposition as she touched on the political past and the future of the DA, the Western Cape and South Africa.

Zille (68) admits that she never intended to be a politician; however, after working as a journalist at the Rand Daily Mail, she found herself joining the Democratic Party, later known as the DA, where she became a member of Parliament in 2004; the Mayor of Cape Town in 2006; the leader of the DA in 2007; and finally, the Premier of the Western Cape until now. This role has given rise to a mix of challenges and positive outcomes, all of which is now coming to an end.

Labelling herself on Twitter as mother, Makhulu (Xhosa for "gran-ny"), wife and Premier, Zille acknowledges that, "many peo-

ple think that [she is] very hard and very cold," even though she claims that she isn't. She attributes her hard exterior on the tough political climate in South Africa, especially as a woman, and a member of the leading opposition party to the ANC.

At the end of her career, Zille says that she is only now becoming ready for her current job. "I haven't learned quite enough, but I am ready to do it," she comments. She adds that they luckily have term limits and that she is preparing to leave.

However, with the upcoming elections, the fact that her reign is over, and the possible future of the Western Cape if the DA wins the provincial elections, Zille says that the province is in good hands: "[Winde] has been part of my team for ten years, and he is extremely good and he knows what we have done. He doesn't have to be inducted into a new program, he knows how much we have to go, what we have built, and what we have delivered."

"He has got a completely different set of skills. I am very good at building processes, systems, and teams. He is an entrepreneur, so he will take that governance infrastructure that has been built and he will really fly with it. He will be very good at that," she adds.

Moving onto the imminent general elections, Zille believes that these next elections are extremely important with regards to South Africa's future.

The EFF's

support has grown since the last elections in 2014 where they obtained 6% of the vote. This year the Institute of Race Relations' quarterly figures for voting intentions in South Africa predicts that they will achieve 11% of the vote. This means they could find themselves ruling in some parts of South Africa as either outright leaders or part of a coalition government. Additionally, the ANC has failed to eradicate the persistent evidence of corruption within their party, resulting in issues that impact all South Africans, which could affect their support. However, any small decrease in ANC votes will probably not be enough to remove the party from the national government.

This is where Zille says the DA-run Western Cape battles the most, being the only province in South Africa to be run by a political party other than the ANC, that the inability to work properly with a national government is due to inefficiency and incapacity, rather than political malevolence.

"It is very rare indeed to get a reply from a national minister no matter how important the issue is that you're writing to them about. It is rare to work with national government and have consistent attendance at meetings where people actually deliver on commitments," says Zille.

As Zille exits the political scene, a definite new energy is emerging. "Goodness, how time flies!" she exclaims as she looks back at the time COPE and the EFF were formed in their respective years. COPE was established in 2009 where they had the hopes of competing with the ANC. After they didn't achieve the support that they were hoping for, it was the EFF's turn to attempt to challenge the ANC alongside the DA.

"I think the EFF is going to grow, no question about that. I would like there to be a coalition government somewhere, just so that people can see how they govern, because that is a lesson that people are going to have to learn and be chastened by," Zille comments.

When asked about the DA's ability to cope and compete with the ag-

gressive populist rhetoric of the EFF and the Black First Land First (BLF) which is attracting most of the black youth, as well as competing with the historical linkages of the ANC which captures most of the older vote, Zille maintains that politics has to move to an analysis of comparison between how different parties govern, and as of yet, the EFF hasn't been given that opportunity.

"If we are able to remain a party of government until our 20th year, we will see a massive difference. Sometime in that time, the EFF will come to power in some sort of coalition, and only then will we be able to compare who governs better," she adds.

It is the need for people to be able to compare the governance of parties before they can make judgements on them, and as of now, the "EFF hasn't been given the opportunity to prove themselves yet in a ruling sphere at any level. The ANC still wins elections even though they govern atrociously, but they will lose these votes more and more as they lose traction from comparative differences becoming bigger," Zille says.

One of Zille's bigger gripes is that of the DA being portrayed as a "white party", which has to do with labelling, and nothing to do with comparative politics. ten years ago, she was asked her opinion about people perceiving the DA as a white party, of which she refuted the claim strongly, and still does.

"[Portraying the DA as a white party] is the only argument the ANC has left," she says. "I thought that when I left as the DA leader that that argument would end. But the [perpetuation of the] argument that me or James Selfe (the current DA Federal Executive Chairperson),

or others, are manipulative powers behind the throne is complete and utter garbage."

"I'm not on the national executive, not on the federal executive, neither on the structures of the party. I don't try to interfere or pull any strings, but [the opposition] still has to say that 'Zille is in charge,' defaulting to race the whole time; I am sick to death of it."

Looking at the Western Cape's future, the current Premier believes that if the DA can retain good governance and investor confidence, they can turn every crisis into an opportunity, further claiming that

"You've got to be able to take a battering, and if you want to be in politics and want to have a pleasant time with people liking you, then you are in the wrong profession"

"the Western Cape now has the fastest growing green economy in the world as a result of the energy crisis, as well as having a thriving water economy now as a result of the drought. All I can say is that we make progress every day."

South Africa's past, as well as current global gender and identity

politics, has led to rampant racial and gender labelling. When raising this concern about the perception of Winde being a white male in South Africa, and the effect on voting this detail would hold, Zille emphasises that, "we should never ever fall into the trap of our opponents. We don't do identity politics. We believe that if somebody has an identity it is because they chose it, and they weren't put into a box based on their race, their gender, or other attributes that they could do nothing about in life. And so we believe that people should be able to chart their own course in life, determine their own identity, and not have it imposed on them."

"Alan [Winde] will be a damn good premier, and we don't think that his biological characteristics should exclude him from the job."

As for the future of the Western Cape, if the DA wins, Zille's advice to Winde is simple: "Don't fix what isn't broken, build on the platform."

On the point of Zille's future, she smiles and says: "I have absolutely no idea as I sit here."



Western Cape Premier candidate Alan Winde and current Western Cape Premier Helen Zille. PHOTO: facebook.com/pg/HelenZille



Riaan van der Merwe points to unused land in the centre of Pniel. PHOTOS: Courtney Williams

Pniel take back their land

Courtney Williams

The ANC's accelerated land reform mandate is in full swing with its foundation and building blocks fully cemented in the small town of Pniel, situated in the Cape Winelands district.

With the elections fast approaching, local, provincial and national legislature have made significant strides in giving back land across the Western Cape in the so-called "coloured rural areas".

Disgruntled and displeased, the people of Pniel claim that this process is long overdue yet remain positive in the wake of the reclaimed land of their forefathers.

"We don't care why it's happening now, or whether it's the ANC or the DA, or whoever, we just want our land back," said chairman of the Communal Property Association (CPA), Lilburn Cyster, a legal entity recently formed by the community of Pniel to administer the process of reclaiming land in the area.

Pniel is a small town which overlooks the beautiful landscapes and vineyards of the Cape Winelands district. It is situated just off the R310 between Stellenbosch and Franschhoek and was initially established as a missionary station in 1843 by the British.

Pniel is 55 hectares in size of which the municipality had only accounted for 27 hectares of land registered with the department of land reform by 2016. This is according to ward councillor Malcolm Johnson, who is currently in his second term as the councillor of Pniel.

"We asked the department of Rural Development and Land Reform (RDLR) to investigate the other 28 hectares and whether or not that land belongs to the community,"



Lilburn Cyster sits with his wife Patricia in their home. Brandon Robyn shows the TRANCRAA document.

said Johnson. The journey to uncover Pniel's untouched, unused land has been in the process since the government's Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act, 1998 (TRANCRAA).

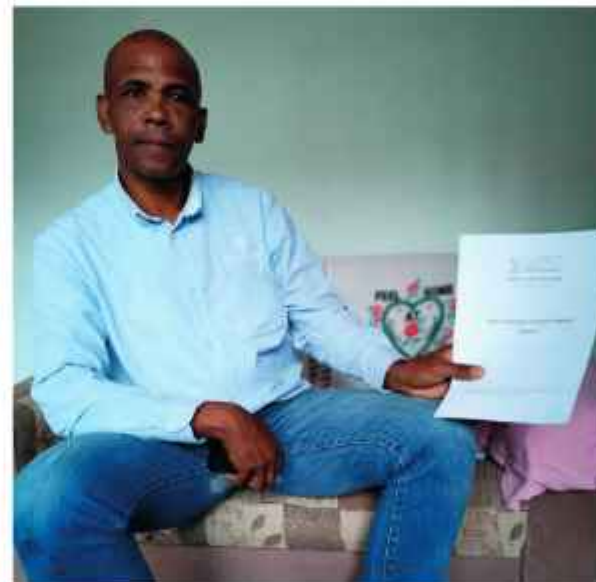
TRANCRAA applies to 23 rural areas in four provinces around South Africa. These areas are dubbed "coloured rural areas" where descendants of various indigenous coloured communities had occupied spaces in the respective regions.

After the Rural Areas act of 1987 (since repealed), the land which was once owned by the forefathers who were dispossessed through forcible removals, is now held in trust with the Minister of RDLR, for the respective communities in the identified rural areas. A procedure of land claims were meant to be filed and processed before entering the new millennium, however, according to Johnson, TRANCRAA meetings were held in isolation from the community, with Pniel unaware of the possibility of claiming back land.

Johnson declined to name the

individuals who allegedly withheld the information from the community but added: "These guys had their own agendas, and when nothing materialised they just left. It wasn't up until recently, say three or four years back, when more information about TRANCRAA surfaced, that's when the community formed a committee."

Concerned resident and member of the former TRANCRAA committee, now the CPA, Brandon Robyn said: "We're not happy! Nothing gets done in Pniel, service delivery is poor and whenever you ask about certain things, like anything, for example our sidewalks, nothing happens. We don't want the same thing to happen with the land, that's why we formed the committee. We've always governed our own town but ever since the town falls under the Stellenbosch municipality, nothing ever gets done."



"We don't care why it's happening now, or whether it's the ANC or the DA, or whoever, we just want our land back!"

The general consensus amongst Pniel residents is dissatisfaction with their ward and specifically the DA.

"Look, this is not a reflection of councillor Johnson, but what has the DA done? Nothing, and it's not just Pniel, it's the whole of the Western Cape," said Cyster.

The community of Pniel formulated the CPA with Cyster elected chair on 17 December 2018.

The CPA established a working relationship with the department of RDLR and the community entity was guided by the department to successfully reclaim land which was held in trust with the Minister.

After establishing and adopting the constitution of the CPA, they now wait for the entity to be legally registered by the department of RDLR.

An investigation into the remain-

ing hectares of land was conducted earlier this year by an independent organisation called Ronewa Consulting which drafted a report identifying the hectares of land that resides in the trust of the Minister, and are therefore the property of the community.

According to the Chair, the report is currently in its evaluation phase whereby the Minister of RDLR needs to assess Ronewa's findings before approving the CPA's land claim.

"It looks promising. Cyril Ramaphosa was just in Ebenhaeser, now, on the 23rd [of March], giving back hectares and hectares of land," said Cyster.

Ebenhaeser, located in the Cape Wineland district like Pniel, is one of the 23 areas which falls under the TRANCRAA Act of '98.

Descendants of the Griqua community in Ebenhaeser had successfully received the title deeds of 3990 hectares of 178 Vanrhynsdorp Beeswater commercial farmland.

Ramaphosa said in his speech when giving out the title deeds: "The settlement of these claims would not have been possible without the close collaboration of local, provincial and national government."

Accompanied by Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, and Western Cape outgoing Premier, Helen Zille, Ramaphosa deemed the ceremony a "triumph of cooperative governance".

The CPA awaits the verdict pending Nkoana-Mashabane's assessment and hopes they too will be triumphant in claiming back the land for Pniel.

"The land belongs to the community of Pniel, therefore the land should be given back to the community," said Cyster.

Following on social media



How social media could influence this election

Cher Petersen

In 2014, the previous elections year, South African politicians like Cyril Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma were still firmly planted on the earth and zero tweets were on Twitter.

This elections year Twitter is buzzing with political presence. Zuma with his tweets pleading for money to assist with his legal fees and Ramaphosa with his videos on trains.

They're both regular commuters on the Twittersphere now and use it to shape the conversation in the elections year. Social media experts say social media won't influence the outcome of the elections but it acts as an echo-chamber where people only hear voices that support their viewpoints, thus reinforcing it.

Social media is becoming an integral tool in promoting social issues, marketing products and ideas. Electoral candidates, politicians and political parties can use social media as a campaign tool, a focus group and an avenue for discussion.

"Only about 30% of South Africans are on Facebook and the numbers go down for all the other platforms. Majority of the voters aren't actually on social media," says communications and media lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Dr Sandra Pitcher.

Social media marketing expert and founder and director of Great Dane Digital (a marketing and communications agency), Sarietha Engelbrecht, says politicians and political parties need to use social media effectively in order to connect with the masses and share pertinent information for an informed vote.

Pitcher says that as a free way of sharing information with voters and newsmakers about their policies and campaigns, political parties and politicians have a responsibility to do so on social media without dark ways to coerce voters or spreading misinformation.

According to the Social Media Landscape 2019 report, released by World Wide Worx, South Africa's leading independent technology market research organisation, and media monitoring organisation, Ornico, there are 21 million Facebook users in South Africa, representing 36% of the population this elections year.

In South Africa, the three biggest political parties – the ANC, the DA and the EFF – all have relatively small followings considering the population of 58 million people. On Facebook the ANC has 500 000 followers, the DA has 530 000 followers and the EFF have 389 000 followers, while on Twitter the numbers stand at 642 000 to the ANC, 547 000 to the DA and 413 000 to the EFF.

Managing director of World Wide Worx, Arthur Goldstuck speaks about possible manipulation using social media: "attempts to manipulate the public, the voter and people's opinions – it's almost certain that we'll see attempts at that. Everyone is looking out for those [attempts]. It's going to be a lot more difficult and where it does happen, it will probably be called out quite quickly."

Goldstuck and Engelbrecht agree that social media is a tool that requires a savvy way with words but also a self-regulated sense of responsibility, which political parties and politicians need to use to inform voters. As a hub of discourse, it is imperative that it is utilised effectively and not to mislead or coerce voters.

"There's so much conversation going on but it's very difficult to monitor and respond to all of that, so you can't control the things that people say. It's kind of a double-edged sword. Social media is great because it gives everyone a voice but it's also terrible because it gives everyone a voice," says Engelbrecht.

Shedding light on party posters

Lucian van Wyk

South African streets are flooded with colourful posters covering lamp poles at the moment. These rainbow colours clearly suggest that the rainbow nation is approaching election time, but is it still relevant to political parties and citizens?

Spokespersons from the so-called 'big three' parties, the ANC, DA and EFF, in the Western Cape gave LIP an in-depth reflection on different campaign posters.

Opinions differ on whether using posters as a campaigning method during the elections are still relevant in the highly digital era that we live in today. This is because social media is becoming one of the main tools to market one's self, cause, or company.

According to the Chairperson of the ANC's Western Cape Youth League and candidate for provincial parliament, Mohammed Khalid Sayed, campaigning through the use of posters is still the best way to canvass during the election season.

"When you look at the socio-economic conditions in South Africa, there are still so many people who don't have access to the internet and social media. This includes young people. So I think posters are going to stay relevant for a long time," he says.

The EFF's Western Cape Media and Communications Liaison officer, Phiwaba Madokwe, is also of the opinion that using current methods such as social media is not the best way to market your party.

"Using posters to campaign for elections are the methods people respond to and what they expect during election season. They are cost effective and reach a lot of people as opposed to depending on social media," she comments. "How many of those people have data? You are then putting a burden on those very same people you say you want to liberate, by expecting them to buy data to be able to reach you and connect with you," says Phiwaba.

Furthermore, she adds that just by looking at posters, potential voters immediately know the message the EFF wants to communicate with them without having to spend any money. The Councillor of Technical Services of the DA in Stellenbosch, Gideon Carinus, is quick to disagree with both Sayed and Madokwe's statements, urging political parties to campaign through other methods too, instead of simply relying on posters when he encourages people to "make use of the various social media platforms when marketing your campaign. I would get more out of reading a WhatsApp message or Facebook post than looking at a poster."

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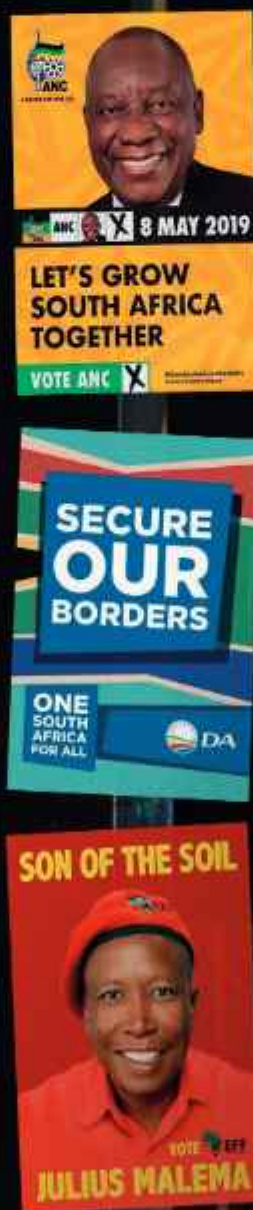
A Marketing Campaign Manager at the Shoprite Group, Josh Raats (24), believes that political parties are missing the mark when choosing a poster over advertising on another digital platform. "Nearly every South African has access to some form of digital media that they engage with regularly, even citizens that find themselves on the lowest end of the income bracket," he says.

However, he does add that, considering how a political campaign is an aggressive, short-lived campaign that requires as much exposure as possible to be successful, posters on a lamp pole would be an additional opportunity for the brand to be recognised.

According to Sayed, Madokwe and Carinus, the hefty amount of money that goes into producing elections posters is a necessity to be recognised during the elections season.

"If a political party is not going to spend a lot on an election campaign, it's going to be difficult for them to get their message across to voters, and thus difficult to transform the lives of people and to ensure wealth is distributed equally in society," says Sayed.

Sayed, Madokwe and Carinus emphasise that the key to a successful poster campaign is to keep the wording on your poster short and to the point, making sure the colour of your poster stands out and to always try to have a relevant image accompanying your message.



GRAPHIC: Lucian van Wyk

The youth's importance

The younger generation of South Africans have an increasingly important role to play in the political landscape, but are proving difficult to be encouraged to participate in the vote.

"Hands down the most important demographic that needs inspiring in this country is the millions of under- and unemployed young people," reiterates Grace Garland, an associate of The Ethics Institute.

Independent Electoral Commission's Chief Electoral Officer, Sy Mamabolo, said that it would be "conversing with young people on social media, and will have voter registration points at some tertiary institutions".

The youth's reluctance to engage in voting is shown by the fact that only 16% of 18 to 19-year-olds eligible to vote, have registered, as well as only 54% of the 20 to 29-year-olds. This falls short of the 33% of 18 to 19-year-olds and 64% of 20 to 29-year-olds who had registered for the 2014 elections.

Litchfield-Tshabalala, a former parliamentary member for the EFF, suggests that the problem lies in education.

"The concern though, is how the ANC has killed education after 1994. We are producing students whose numeric, linguistic and analytical faculties are systematically dumbed down," she says.

She also pinpoints the ANC Youth League's ability to fully use their freedom of expression and association as being a threat to the party capturing the youth.

"SA is a youthful country, therefore, the ANCYL must be given space for articulating its aspirations, and to represent those

2014

16%

18 to 19-year-olds registered

54%

20 to 29-year-olds registered

2019

33%

18 to 19-year-olds registered

64%

20 to 29-year-olds registered

of its constituency.

"The tendency has been to control the ANCYL and shape its agenda, which ultimately led to another ANC offshoot, the EFF," adds Litchfield-Tshabalala.

The rise of opposition parties

The DA and the EFF remain the two closest contenders to the ANC.

Both Garland and Thokozani Chilenga-Butao, a PhD candidate and associate lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, believe the EFF are to be the biggest threat going forward with a message that resonates with the youth.

The DA, however, remain a strong candidate according to Litchfield-Tshabalala.

"This is because one cannot forthrightly say who owns it, unlike many opposition parties where the domination of a figure is quite evident," she says.

In order for the ANC to continue being the dominant force in South African politics, they will have to find solutions to potentially threatening issues that go beyond what the steadfast DA and the charismatically led EFF can provide. A sentiment shared by many political experts is

2014

29

Parties contested 2014 elections

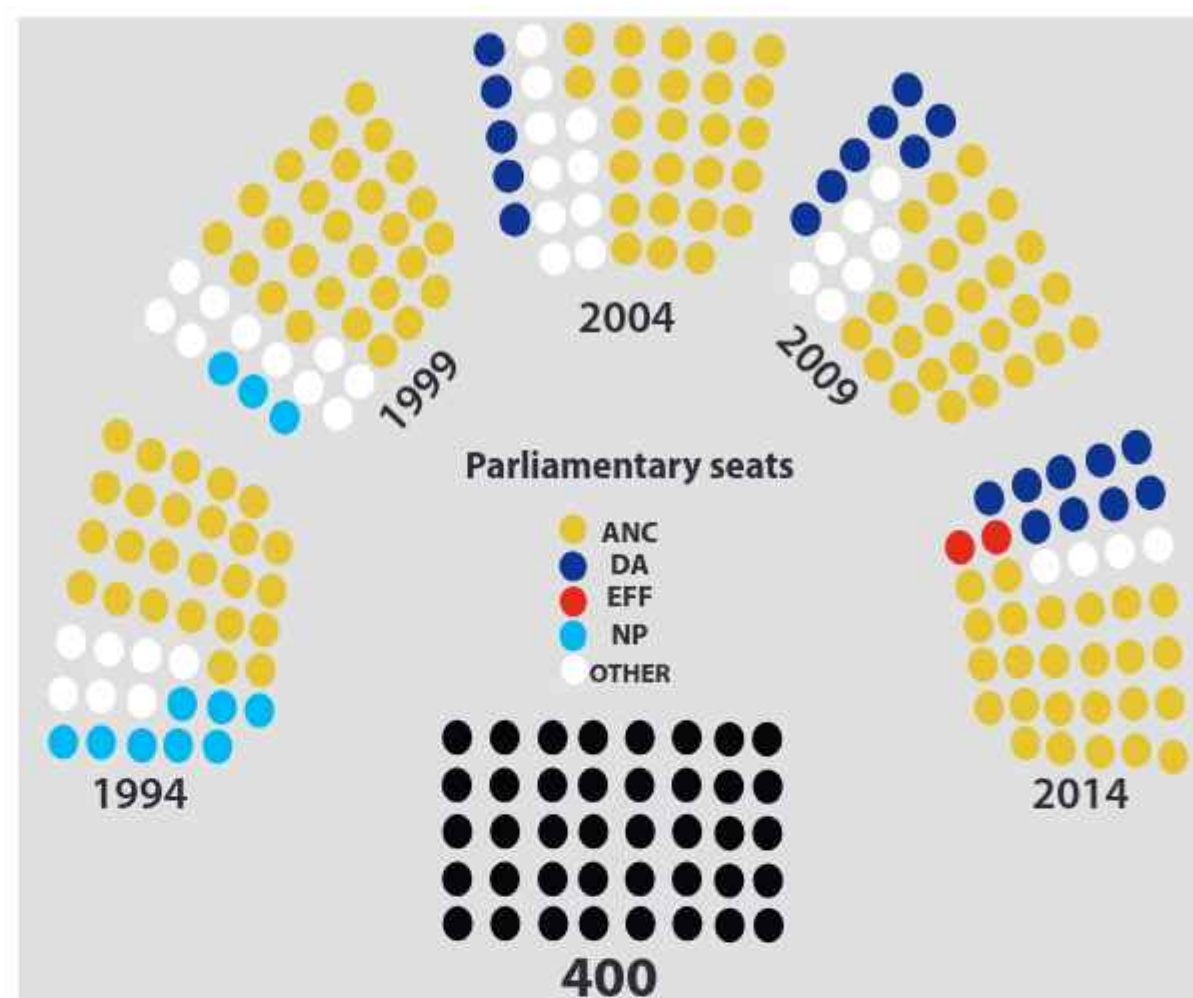
2019

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Parties contesting 2019 elections

that the youth remain a chink in the ANC armour, and the party shooting itself in the foot cannot be discounted.

ANC dominates since '94 but...



ANC votes decline in Zuma reign but can Ramaphosa be ...

Mr Fix-it-all?

Tashin Singh

Heading into South Africa's sixth democratic election, there are doubts as to whether the ANC will be as dominant as in previous years, and whether President Cyril Ramaphosa is the right man to dispel these doubts.

Since South Africa's first democratic election the ANC has seen growth in their parliamentary representation to a point where they received nearly 70% of the votes in the 2004 general elections.

However, the current ruling party suffered some setbacks in the wake of the Jacob Zuma era. The former president, who served in office from 2009 until his resignation in 2018, received 65.9% of the votes in his inaugural year and 62.15% in the subsequent 2014 elections.

Ultimately, it has been up to Ramaphosa to restore the faith in the country's first democratic ruling party, as alluded to by Thokozani Chilenga-Butao, a PhD candidate and associate lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand. She believes that Ramaphosa

is larger than the ANC, and as such, is likely to secure the 2019 general elections for the party.

"It seems that Ramaphosa is more popular than the ANC itself, and seen as quite popular amongst voters who would usually vote for other political parties," she says.

Whilst there are many who believe that Ramaphosa is successfully on his way to righting the ship, Chilenga-Butao believes that there are people in South Africa who are of the opinion that he hasn't quite delivered on the expectations set out for him.

She believes Ramaphosa's failure to remove certain ministers from the Cabinet, not suspending or removing persons linked to corruption allegations and the Eskom crisis, were amongst many of his unpopular decisions.

"Realistically, it may be difficult, legally, for him to summarily dismiss individuals named in alleged acts of corruption but it seems that this is what the public was expecting," comments Chilenga-Butao.

An associate of The Ethics Institute, Grace Garland, says she sees the ANC and South African politics heading in a certain direction should it fail to wipe out widespread corruption.

Garland comments that, "our country's social destiny rides on whether or not the government proves worthy of the trust the majority continues to place in it. If it does not purge itself of corruption, it will fail to do so".

She also believes that the foreseeable future of this will be down to Ramaphosa and the ANC.

"The ANC retains a strong hold on the nation's heart, and rightly so, owing to our history. Yet it has floundered disastrously in terms of actual governance. There will certainly be many people who have lost faith in the party because of the Zuma years, but many more who are eager to give Ramaphosa the benefit of the doubt," says Garland.

A former parliamentary member for the EFF, Dr Khanyisile Litchfield-Tshabalala, counters the disposition that the ANC's slide began with Zuma.

"Firstly, I would like to dispel the notion that the dip in ANC popularity happened in the Zuma years. Granted, the ANC suffered dents during his tenure, it was a matter of time, before the ANC revolutionary rhetoric and its concrete reformationist stance and policies caught up with it," says Litchfield-Tshabalala.

How strong is the voting conversion?



...is dit hoe ons parlement sal lyk in 2019?



Dennis Delpont

Wanneer die uitslag van die verkiesing op 8 Mei bekendgemaak word, sal die ANC weer die land regeer. Hulle gaan egter nie met dieselfde sukses wen as in die verlede nie, sê twee van die land se voorste politieke ontleders, **Theo Venter (onder)** en **Waldimar Pelser (regs)**.

Die rede vir die ANC se voorspelde oorwinning is volgens Venter, verbonde aan die Noordwes-Universiteit (NWU) se politieke departement, eenvoudig: party-identifisering of lojaliteit is baie sterk in SA. "Mense moet baie ver gedruk word om van party te verander. Die proses word verder gekompliseer deur identiteitspolitiek. Die ANC sal baie moeilik die 60%-vlak in die verkiesing bereik en sal tevrede moet wees met waarskynlik 57-58% van die steun."

Pelser, hoofredakteur van *Rapport*, meen egter 60% is haalbaar, maar dat die ANC die meerderheidstem in Gauteng gaan verloor.

"In Gauteng lol E-tol, Esidimeni [die gesondheidsorgskandaal wat 143 lewens geëis het] en die dreigende Nasionale Vervolgingsgesag

(NGV)," sê hy. Dit is juis daarom dat Pelser meen dat die ANC met slegs 48% van die stemme in Gauteng tevrede gaan moet wees.

Die rede vir dalende sukses is volgens Venter oor verskeie kommerwekkende uitlatings en interne blase binne die ANC. "Die oopplekking van groot-skaalse korrupsie, staatskaping en Eskom behoort die ANC ernstig in die voet te skiet," sê hy.

Volgens Venter het na raming 3 miljoen kiesers in 2016 se plaaslike verkiesing hul steun aan die ANC onttrek omdat hulle nie vir Jacob Zuma se ANC wou stem nie. "Nou het ons die Cyril Ramaphosa-ANC en die vraag is of ons weer so 'n wegblystem gaan sien weens Eskom en staatskaping," sê hy.

Pelser benadruk weer die ANC se finansiële probleme. "Die ANC het ernstige geldprobleme, vererger deur die feit dat hulle toegang verloor het tot die geldpote van verskeie groot metro's, veral Johannesburg en Tshwane," sê hy. Hy meen verder dat dit onduidelik is of Ramaphosa in KwaZulu-Natal

'n wenpersentasie sal behaal, wat verdere probleme kan veroorsaak. Die ANC se jarelange bedreiging, die DA, sal ook net dit bly – 'n tandelose bedreiging.

"Interne blase gaan die DA vanjaar duur te staan kom," sê Venter. Hy sê die DA sal moeilik die 23%-stemmersentasie van 2014 kan herhaal en sal tevrede moet wees met slegs 19-20% van die steun by die stembus. Die DA sal egter volgens Venter in die Wes-Kaap aan die bewind bly.

Pelser het effens meer hoop vir die DA. "Die DA gaan wit stemme verloor en aan die marges wen aan swart steun, maar net-net genoeg om vir die klein verlies aan wit stem te vergoed. Ek reken die DA sal baie gelukkig wees met 23-25%," sê hy.

Diegene in hul rooi oorpakke sal ook beter vaar as in 2014, volgens Venter. Julius Malema se EFF maak geen geheim van hul vooruitsig dat hulle beter sal vaar nie. In 2014 het die EFF 6% van die stemme verwerf. Hulle sal volgens Venter vanjaar 9% bekom.

Pelser meen dat die EFF 'n groot "pretbederwer" is in Gauteng, waar die party die beste geposisioneer is om te kapitaliseer op "die gatvolheid van 'n linkse elite" met die uiters

gemiddelde ANC. "Tog sal die EFF sukkel om sy steun in die provinsie bo 14% te lig. Selfs [14%] sal 'n groot prestasie wees," sê hy.

Die kleiner partye soos die VF Plus, ACDP en IFP sal ook beter vaar as gewoonlik, volgens Venter. Pelser plaas ook groot hoop in veral die VF Plus. "Die VF Plus sal groei, redelik skerp, ten koste van die DA, maar natuurlik van 'n baie lae basis af," sê hy.

Cope gaan volgens Venter swakker vaar in die verkiesing. Met die aanloop tot die verkiesing het daar ook verskeie nuwe politieke partye begin kop uitsteek. Een só 'n party is die voormalige DA-lid Patricia de Lille se GOOD. Venter meen hierdie party sal slegs betekenisvolle steun in die Wes-Kaap kry. Die politieke joernalis **Jan-Jan Joubert (regs)** sê dat die teenwoordigheid van nuwe partye soos GOOD en die ATM maak dit moeiliker om vanjaar die uitslag te voorspel as in 2016.

"Dit is omdat die drie grootste partye, die ANC, DA en EFF, wat in die verlede sowat 94% van die stemme tussen die drie van hulle getrek het, elk so intern verdeeld is en sulke oninspirende verkiesingsveldtogte voer," sê

Joubert. Hy stem saam dat die party GOOD glad nie 'n faktor buite die Wes-Kaap en die Noord-Kaap sal wees nie.

Wat egter werklik in die verkiesing gaan gebeur, sal niemand weet nie. Die uitslag word ook deur verskeie ander eksterne faktore bepaal. Só 'n faktor is die stemmersentasies, sê Venter. "Die stemmersentasie is krities in proporsionele verkiesings en die tendens sedert 1994 is 'n dalende stemmersentasie. Dit is daarom dat ons 'n nasionale stemmersentasie van tussen 70-72% kan verwag."

Nog 'n faktor is verstedeliking. "Verstedeliking raak 'n al hoe groter politieke faktor en met 'n verstedelingskoers van tussen 60-70% gaan dit 'n groot rol speel," meen Venter.

As daar dieper na verkiesingsstatistiek gekyk word, sê Venter die volgende: "Indien ons met 'n 70%-stemmersentasie werk, sal ongeveer 19 miljoen Suid-Afrikaners aan die verkiesing deelneem uit die byna 27 miljoen moontlike geregistreerde stemgeregtigdes. Dit beteken dat 'n politieke party ongeveer 48 000 stemme moet kry om een verteenwoordiger in die sesde parlement te kry."



Vyf presidente – vy

Die afgelope 25 jaar se vyf presidente van Suid-A

Anke van der Merwe he

Die 'heilige versoener'

Volgens *The Daily Maverick* se Oponista was Nelson Mandela (presidensie: 10 Mei 1994 – 16 Junie 1999) die "heilige van versoening en kohesie, maar nie die perfekte president nie". Prof. Patrick Bond, 'n spesialis in politieke ekonomie aan die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand (Wits), meen onder sy swakker besluite tel die heraanstelling van Derek Keys en Chris Stals, onderskeidelik die minister van finansies en die president van die Reserwebank uit die apartheids-era, "wat neo-liberale reëls ingestel het".

Bond voeg by: "Mandela het groot klem op eiendomsreg binne die grondwet geplaas, wat die gebruik daarvan vir potensiële restituisie beperk het."

Onder Mandela se goeie punte sonder Bond uit hoe Mandela sy invloed in die samelewing meesterlik gebruik het tydens die verkiesing van 26 tot 29 April 1994.

Daar was verskeie anti-demokratiese bewegings in daardie tyd wat teen Mandela gekant was.

"Tot en met die moord op Chris Hani in April 1993, was dit glad nie vanselfsprekend dat die magstruktuur tot basiese demokrasie sou verander nie," sê Bond.



Die 'vigsontkenner'

Prof. Adam Habib, die visekanselier van Wits en 'n dosent in politieke geografie, sê Thabo Mbeki (presidensie: 16 Junie 1999 – 24 September 2008, bedank) se grootste bydrae tot Suid-Afrika was met betrekking tot ekonomiese groei. "Alles is egter ontrafel deur die Zuma-presidensie," voeg Habib by.

Mbeki het in 1996 die klasprojek op die been gebring en dit het meer neo-liberalisme en nuwe bestuur beteken. Die klasprojek het daarop neergekom dat 'n meer kapitalistiese aanslag op die ekonomie uitgeoefen moes word. Habib sê: "Mbeki se projek was nie gemik op radikale ekonomiese groei nie. Dit was eerder bedoel om swart ekonomiese bemagtiging (SEB) te versterk."

Volgens Habib is Mbeki se grootste tekortkoming die ontkenning van MIV/vigs en dat "dit moontlik die grootste vlek teen sy presidensie is". Mbeki het in 2000 ontken dat MIV uiteindelik vigs veroorsaak en die virus se oorsaak op armoede en rassisme blameer.

"In baie aspekte sou Mbeki as een van die toppresidente beskou kon word, as die MIV-debakel nie sy nalatenskap beklad het nie," sê Habib.

Volgens die emeritusprofessor Hermann Giliomee, voorheen verbonden aan die departement geskiedenis aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, het "n selfversekerde Nelson Mandela nie omgee om homself met intelligente adviseurs te omring nie, maar Mbeki moes 'altyd die slimste in die vertrek wees'. Hy voeg by: "Ramaphosa het gewens dat Mbeki dapper genoeg sou wees om raad te vra van diverse bronne en nie net mense met dieselfde idees nie."

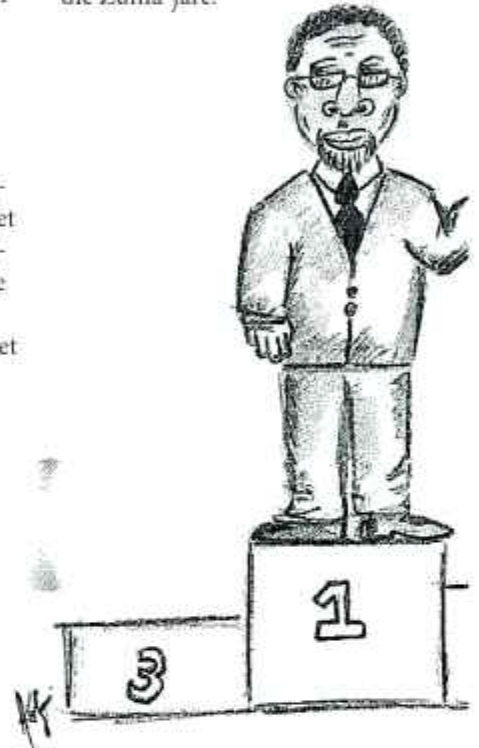


'Zuma se p

Habib sê Kgalema Motlanthe (1 – 9 Mei 2009) se grootste fout Motlanthe was nie eens 'n jaar Habib was sy grootste prestasie dat "hy neer het. Hy het min ruimte gehad om volgens Habib wat Motlanthe kon doen nie."

"Hy het min impak gehad op die reuk bo water laat hou in 'n moeilike tyd."

Habib sê: "Motlanthe was 'n plekho sou kom. Hy was 'n waardige man en die Zuma-jare."



25 years

Ingrid Klückow takes a closer look at the democracy in South Africa's current economic situation

Mandela

According to the previous CEO of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), Paul Graham, Nelson Mandela's term strengthened the independence of the judiciary and legislature. Not only was Mandela's term filled with transformative actions, it also shaped the South African democracy. Graham states: "It was during the Mandela-term that the justice portfolio in Parliament, under the chair of Adv Johnny de Lange, amended or replaced or repealed some 500 laws to bring our legal system into line with the new Constitution."

Mandela's term also set the tone in respect of unity and equality. Graham explains that this was evident in 1998 when the SA Rugby Board, along with the business tycoon and former rugby player, Louis Luyt, opened a civil case against Mandela in which he was subpoenaed to appear. Graham states that Mandela's presidential seat could have created an opportunity for him to refuse to appear. However, this was not the case. Mandela appeared in court to be questioned under oath. This act of responsibility initiated a precedent lacking in today's politics, according to Graham, which is that, "no one is above the law."

Mbeki

Ivor Jenkins, known as a leader in the fields of peacebuilding and democratisation, believes that the highlight of Thabo Mbeki's term is the fact that there was a smooth transition of power from Mandela to Mbeki.

According to Jenkins, the foundation of Mbeki's term was based on the idea that Africa, and in particular South Africa, should take the responsibility to resolve their respective economic and poverty problems. He states that, "although some say the Mbeki administration was too pan-Africanist, I do believe that this was one of Mbeki's highlights of his term".

Jenkins is aware of Mbeki's weaknesses and argues that Mbeki lost touch with the public. This caused a disconnect between the political elitist leaders and the suffering of the South African citizens. Jenkins argues that Mbeki "enclosed himself with intellectual theorists," which contributed to the increased support of Jacob Zuma, and which resulted in Mbeki being deposed as ANC president at the 2007 ANC conference in Polokwane.

Motlanthe

With his term not exceeding Associate Professor of political science at Stellenbosch University, Prof. Heineken, explains that Kgalema Motlanthe, not polarise, he created political stability. Society had a high level of trust and according to Heineken, the high level of trust he enjoyed between the old ANC and the new ANC. Heineken admires Motlanthe's manner in which he held the reins during a very fragile time.



The Union Buildings in Pretoria
ILLUSTRATION: Andrea Mo

vyf dramatiese eras

'-Afrika word hier onder die vergrootglas geplaas.
het ondersoek ingestel.

e plekhouer'

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e fout was om Jacob Zuma te vertrou.
'n jaar amptelik president nie. Volgens
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id om in te beweeg." Daar was dus niks
n doen om langer as president aan te bly

die regering, maar hy het die regering
like tydperk."
plekhouer totdat Zuma aan die bewind
n en daar is na hom terugverlang tydens

'Die groot verdeler'

Giliomee sê: "Jacob Zuma (presidensie: 9 Mei 2009 – 14 Februarie 2018, bedank) het die verkiesingsveldtog in 2009 gebruik om die gees van die Mandela-presidensie te herroep, maar is gekonfronteer met wydverspreide kritiek op dienslewering, korrupsie en die vervreemding van minderheidsgroepe."

Giliomee sê voorts Zuma het 'n spesiale appél gemaak tot Afrikaners en gesê dat "uit al die wit groepe in Suid-Afrika, is die Afrikaners die enigste egte Suid-Afrikaners". "Amper alle Afrikaners wat kommentaar gelewer het, was gekant teen Afrikaners wat so uitgesonder is," sê Giliomee.

"Zuma was die swakste ANC-president van almal," sê die *Daily Maverick* se Opinionista. "Hy was twee keer instrumenteel in die verdeling van die ANC. Sy korrupsieprofiel het die totstandkoming van die Congress of the People (Cope) bevoordeel en sy onverdraagsaamheid van interne verandering en radikalisme het die stigting van die Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) bewerkstellig."

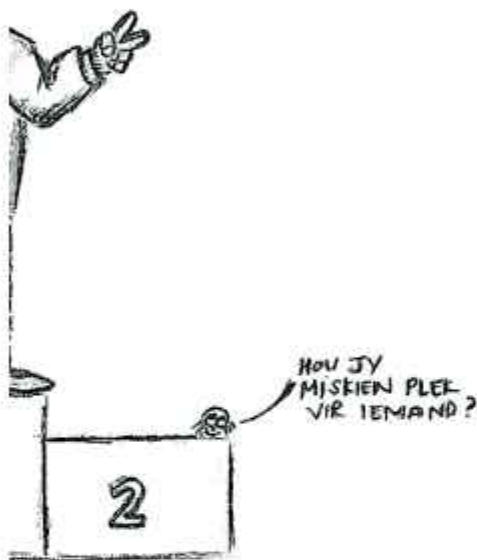
Die 'beleggingsprofeet'

Onder Cyril Ramaphosa (presidensie: 14 Februarie 2018 – hede) se sterkpunte is die feit dat hy sy belofte om investering na Suid-Afrika te lok, kon nakom. Ramaphosa het belowe om \$100 miljard in te samel uit buitelandse beleggings oor 'n tydperk van vyf jaar. "Hy het skeptici verkeerd bewys toe Saudi-Arabië hulle tot 'n belegging van \$10 miljard verbind het, die Verenigde Arabiese Emirate \$10 miljard en China 'n verdere \$14,7 miljard," sê *Timeslive*.

Timeslive identifiseer een van Ramaphosa se slegste besluite as toe hy BTW met 1% laat styg het. "Al is hy deur die regering se sukkelende finansies daartoe genoop, het hy ander opsies gehad, soos om staatsbesteding beter te bestuur en in te kort," sê *Timeslive*.

Bond sê baie mense wat krities was van die aanhoudende korrupsie binne die ANC, word nou reg bewys. "Dit kan gesien word in die verkiesingslys en die mislukking om uiters hoë vlakke van private en openbare korrupsie te pak," sê Bond.

"'n Selfs moeiliker tydperk lê voor, gekenmerk deur die versterking van Ramaphosa se sosiale mag," sê Bond.

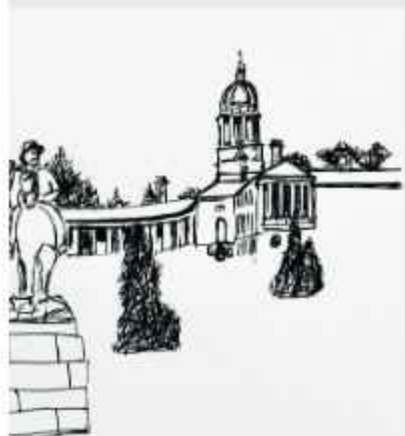


ILLUSTRASIES: Annalise Kotzé

s of power

Democratic presidents and their contributions to economic and political state.

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Zuma



According to a conflict dynamics accredited commercial mediator, Judith February, "there was nothing good about the term Jacob Zuma served and South Africa will take a decade or more to fix what he broke". Her view is supported by President Cyril Ramaphosa, as he declared during his State of the Nation Address earlier this year that Jacob Zuma's term was "nine wasted years".



According to February, South Africa's deficit ballooned as the state was captured by Zuma and his allies. The ongoing Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture are actively discovering more evidence of corruption. February states that poor governance is a label that could be used to describe Zuma's term. "One need only to look at Eskom, SARS, SAA and the SABC to see the extent to which Zuma deployed his cronies to ensure they did his bidding," February says.



Zuma's focus on improving the lives of the poor and marginalised became distorted with the increase of corruption during his term. February ventures further into the South African democratic institution and describes how the "National Prosecuting Authority became an institution stacked with incapable, politically connected individuals."

Ramaphosa



Independent journalist and Africa relations expert, Liesl Louw-Vaudran, delivered some insight as to what President Cyril Ramaphosa has achieved. She declared that Ramaphosa successfully managed to diffuse a "very dangerous situation regarding the redistribution of land."



Louw-Vaudran strongly believes that the Zondo Commission of Inquiry into State Capture, and the employment of Ministers Pravin Gordhan and Tito Mboweni into his cabinet, also strengthened Ramaphosa's term, as it contributed to the exposing of corruption.



However, a point of concern for Louw-Vaudran is the fact that Ramaphosa has not succeeded in eliminating Zuma's cronies from the ANC candidates list, Malusi Gigaba, former Minister of Home Affairs, and Nomvula Mokonyane, Minister of Environmental Affairs, being two of these cronies.



Ultimately, she is very optimistic about Ramaphosa's ability to "build a strong team which will attract international investors."

The origin of voting ink



Election, electoral, indelible or voting ink are all different terms used to refer to the ink used when marking your thumb in elections. But do South Africans know how the marked thumb came about?

by Jessica Josephs

Election time sees countless marked left thumb selfies across social media platforms. An expert on the role of youth and elections, Rabia Abba Omar, says that like the "I voted" stickers in the United States of America (USA), the marked thumb allows all South African voters to show off that they've exercised their democratic right.

The first electoral ink

The first time electoral ink was used was in India's 1962 general elections. India was having trouble with identity theft and double votes. A team of scientists led by Dr ML Goel were appointed to find a solution to the problem and soon developed indelible ink which is now used in over 50 countries during election time across the globe.

Indelible ink consists of silver nitrate, several dyes and aromatic materials, and when applied on the left thumb and exposed to light, becomes impossible to remove. The ink can only be removed once the external skin cells renew itself – which can take up to four weeks. The indelible ink also contains biocide – a chemical used to ensure that bacteria are not transferred from one voter to the next.

1994 Elections

Historically in South Africa, voting ink was not initially used as a solution to identity theft or double votes, but rather as a form of identification.

"The issuing of identification cards was hampered in some areas by violence; in others by the difficulty of reading fingerprints from rural blacks who had laboured so hard they had literally worn their fingers

smooth," discusses American journalist, Bill Keller, on South Africa's 1994 elections.

During the apartheid regime, black South Africans were forced to carry a form of identification called a "dompas". This was a tool used to control their movements. A trend soon evolved concerning the burning of the "dompas" as a form of protest, which eventually became a problem for the electoral commission after the apartheid regime fell – causing there to be no way to identify those voters, explains Keller.

The lack of a voters' roll was another problem the 1994 elections faced. There simply was not enough time to compile a list of voters. Although the Electoral Act allowed for the issuing of temporary voter cards where possible, the distribution took too much time and resources.

With no formal voters' roll, the only other way to keep a record of who voted was to mark the voter's left thumbs with voting ink.

According to Amy Mawson's essay, entitled *Organising the First Post-Apartheid Election: South Africa, 1994*, officials decided that voters' thumbs would be marked with ink that only became visible under ultraviolet light.

Election officials were concerned that using visible ink on KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) voters would make them vulnerable to be confronted by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) – due to the tension caused by the IFP boycotting the elections.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) leader of 1994 and advocate, Johann Kriegler, stated that on the election day of 1994, the ultraviolet ink ran out and they did not have access to more in South Africa, as the ink was supplied through ships from the USA. Soon enough

a team of forensic police members managed to duplicate the ink within a few hours, regardless of its top-secret formula.

2019 Elections

This year's elections will see 167 000 voting ink pens across the country. Marketing Director of Voting Ink explains that each pen can mark between 350-400 people.

Voting Ink is the leading manufacturer of indelible ink for the African continent. They have managed to manufacture and supply to 15 African markets – including South Africa's neighbouring countries, Zimbabwe and Mozambique – and have more than 40 customers worldwide.

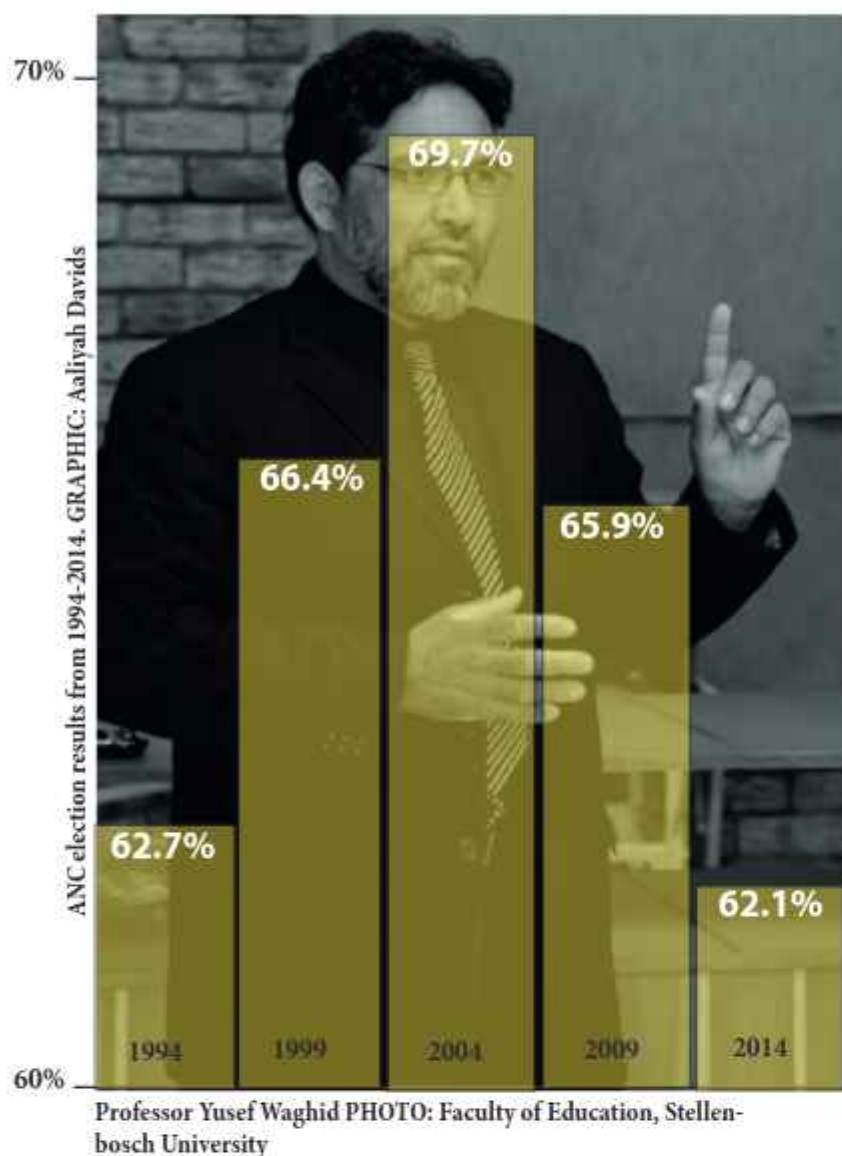
"The prime challenge is to make sure that it is correctly applied on both the cuticle and the fingernail. The pens must also not be freely available and open to abuse by nefarious groups who could mark ignorant voters, prior to voting," explains Howard when asked on the challenges of Voting Ink during an election period.

Media Liaison Officer of IEC, Trevor Davids, explains what happens when voters do not have a nail or thumb on the left hand: "When a voter has no nail or thumb, the voting officer then needs to use the next available finger – the index and so on. If the voter has no left hand, we then make use of the right hand. If the voter has neither their left or right hand available, the voting officer makes a copy of your ID, a form needs to be filled out and then you are able to vote."

Indelible ink has managed to make a big return. It is now being used in five additional states in the USA – the first time in the last 20 years.

The honeymoon that never began

On the brink of democracy, many South Africans had high expectations of the ANC.



Aaliyah Davids

The ANC made various promises to right the wrongs of the previous government. Twenty-five years later, the ruling political party is still making such promises to right the wrongs of both the previous government and their own governing. But, is it too late?

More than nine million out of the potential 35.9 million eligible voters are not registered for South Africa's 2019 elections. For many, this apparent voter apathy has existed since the first democratic elections. 1994 promised a honeymoon period that never quite started.

Like many others, school teacher Faghme Gabier (55), was what can be described as politically active prior to '94. He was involved in several political protest actions. "I was even locked up for one night, for throwing stones and things like that," he says. So ready were people to fight for transformation, alongside the ANC, that a night in jail could not deter them. The ANC, both then and now, is associated with the struggle for liberation and so many continue to vote for the party despite its shortcomings.

Simply living under apartheid rule meant being politically active, says fashion de-

signer Nazlie Mohedee (58). Regardless, some saw the shortcomings of the ANC and took a step back. The elections of 1999 saw internal resistance among people as they watched the political party they once believed would change everything, become corrupt. "Who does one vote for if you don't know who to trust?" questions Mohedee.

A distinguished professor at Stellenbosch University, Yusef Waghid (60), did not vote as he felt that he could not vote for any other party but the ANC. "I was politically conscientised [made aware] to support the liberation movement. I felt that the ruling party abandoned the transformation struggle but that being said, I could not see myself voting for any other political party that I invariably associated with racial oppression and exclusion," he says.

The ANC had not risen to the high expectations for them, post '94. Gabier admits to expecting change to happen overnight and

being disappointed when it didn't. Repeatedly over the past twenty-five years, he has not voted because he feels that the government has failed.

Mohedee takes it one step further, stating that "the quality of government participation, human rights, safety, rule of law and health-care, is worse than that provided by the apartheid government."

Waghid too believes that the ruling party, as well as many other political parties, have not fulfilled their pre-election promises.

Gabier and Waghid feel strongly about the corruption within South Africa, but both still believe that voting can bring about change under the right circumstances.

Considering that the 'right' circumstances seem to be far off, Mohedee is less optimistic. "I feel by voting now, you are willingly supporting a broken system."

Voting can only change South Africa's situation if there is an accountable party willing to listen to its people. Government needs a cleanup, says Mohedee, and it is only then that change will come about.



Nazlie Mohedee PHOTO: Facebook



Hester Witbooi PHOTO: Marcia Damons

'I vote every time because it's my right to do so'

Marcia Damons

South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 enabled its citizens to form part of what is considered today as one of the most significant moments in South Africa's history. Client services officer at the Department of Labour in George, 43-year-old Hester Witbooi, has voted during every election since 1994 and believes each moment is an opportunity to be an advocate for change.

In her sun-lit living room, a South African flag is proudly displayed on a brick wall. Above it, hangs a portrait of the late former South African President Nelson Mandela. With a cold glass of water upon her wooden coffee table, Witbooi takes a seat on her sofa and begins to share the story of a long-awaited

journey to vote on 27 April 1994: "I voted at the George Municipality Civic Centre, but we were actually supposed to vote in Parkdene. "We were registered in the Parkdene ward, but it was too crowded. Because of the long queues they took some of us with busses to different voting stations," Witbooi explains how she and her parents stood in the queue for nearly four hours despite the African sun beating down on the masses: "It was an important moment. We didn't mind the weather. It was a very sunny and hot day, but people still came out in numbers."

Witbooi's eyes gradually light up and a smile creeps upon her brown skin as she remembers making history in 1994: "All the non-whites were eager to vote because we knew change was

coming. It was an exciting time. That time you didn't register; you just got up and went and took your ID. I remember we went at 12pm. It was just a buzz of excitement. Everyone was just excited to go vote."

The buzz continued long after the ballot had been cast. "It was so energetic and alive! The excitement lasted the whole day! When I made my mark, it was a 'wow' moment because I did something that could change my life. And it did."

Witbooi proudly adds that her eagerness to vote came from a deeper place than being denied that right before: "At the time, I was part of the SRC at our school, Hillcrest Secondary in Mossel Bay, and we were one of the groups that were against paying exam fees. We had a march at school, and you know what? Exam fees were

banned! We didn't pay for what we stood for." Her enthusiasm is suddenly brought to a halt as she looks to the ground and despondently shakes her head. "It's just so sad to see that the youngsters don't want to vote."

"[My daughter] said that she's not going to vote. I said to her she must understand this is not like that time. It's not just for me, it's for everyone. When I voted, my sisters were still in school. And I thought I'm not doing this just for myself, I'm doing it for my sisters as well." She takes a few sips of water before sharing her thoughts on young South Africans who aren't voting.

"Some of them seem so ignorant as to why it is so important. Why do you think we have this democracy that we currently do? Because people died for this! And [they] think 'Ag it's

just one of those! It's not! It's your future that you're deciding on and we must take our future seriously because tomorrow things can change."

"I feel like [voting] is my right. 1994 changed our lives in South Africa for the better. There were more opportunities for everyone. I'm a true citizen of SA - that's why I vote," she adds unwaveringly.

With the 2019 general elections fast approaching, Witbooi explains that although she has voted for the same political party each year, she might have a change of heart this time: "Every time I go, I always ask myself: Who am I going to vote for? Am I still going to vote for who I believe in? Then [I] stand there and decide [I'll] rather vote for the same one. "This time around I've got a different view. But I'm still deciding."

The ABCs of education in the manifestos

ANC: Since the election in 1994, the national matric pass rate has seen growth, increasing from 50% in 1994 to 78% in 2018. The ANC suggests this is due to the major shift in the balance of high performers to schools with students from financially disadvantaged backgrounds.

What is not mentioned, as EFF Provincial media and communications liaison, Phiwaba Madokwe, suggests, is the ever decreasing matric pass rate.

"30% is an insult and

an indication that the government not only lacks innovative ideas, but does not know the role of education in society," says Madokwe.

She goes on to say: "There is such a huge disjuncture between basic education and higher education that no university considers 30% as a pass rate, and these children are doomed and forced to study in these badly managed TVETs, these unaccredited and expensive private colleges or sit at home with their useless passes."

DA: The DA suggests that the current quality of higher education has been tainted – quality has been sacrificed by the ANC in the pursuit of numbers and as a result corruption has found its way into tertiary education.

The DA critiques the current system's inability to encourage adaptability.

The DA manifesto speaks of high failure rates at universities and colleges saying "many [students] are left stranded after spending time and money

studying."

Furthermore, when students obtain a qualification, there is an increasing struggle to find a job.

The party aims at expanding access to and improvement of higher education and training.

This would involve more comprehensive bursary packages, scrapping the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) and channeling funding into the Khuphuka Opportunity Centres (Khuphuka meaning 'go upwards'), a centre for entrepreneurial training and career advice.

EFF: Madokwe believes in the EFF's dedication to education. She says: "The role of education in a young democracy like ours, or even beyond, cannot just be for getting as many learners as possible to pass." One of the major goals for the EFF is free decolonised education for all.

The EFF suggests "One education system, one country" and for this reason they aim to abolish the Independent Examination Board (IEB). All South African matriculants will be required to write the same examinations.

Paulette Preyser, an educator at IEB private school, Reddam House Waterfall, has been teaching for over 20 years with six of those at government schools. She disagrees with the EFF's desire to eliminate IEB education, saying: "At this point national education is not at a standard that we can be properly internationally recognised in terms of education, in terms of medicine, in terms of law. It's a problem. The system is unfortunately flawed currently."

FF Plus:

The FF Plus identifies the need for quality teachers at less affluent schools in order to battle the gap between financial instability and quality education. They suggest these teachers receive higher remuneration, as well as performance bonuses.

The FF Plus wishes to prohibit all forms of protest action and marches near schools while abolishing trade unions and tackling "undisciplined teachers". Instead they wish to implement a system

of conciliation and arbitration.

"There must be other mechanisms where we can address a teacher's concerns other than striking. Striking is also a very dangerous thing. Strikes tend to be hijacked by vigilantes and turn very dangerous in many cases with looting and destruction of property and the endangerment of people and even learners at schools. We've seen that before," suggests the chairperson of the FF Plus, Adv Anton Alberts.

by Zoë Human

Can your Vote help SA grow?

by Kara van der Berg

South Africans may not be voting on economic policies in the upcoming general elections, but their vote on 8 May might determine the prospects of the country's economic growth.

"It is hoped that the elections will prove to be a turning point for South Africa and that the country can leave the recent years of low growth and corruption behind," says economics lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. Kenneth Creamer.

South Africa's economy has struggled in recent years. A short-lived recession last year meant 2018 had only 0.8% economic growth compared to 1.4% growth in 2017, according to Statistics South Africa.

FocusEconomics, a provider of economic analysis and forecasts in 130 countries, has predicted a growth of 1.6% in 2019.

A professor of politics at the University of Cape Town, Anthony Butler, sees slow growth and high unemployment rates as the challenges still facing South Africa's political economy.

"Gross domestic product (GDP) per person has been declining over the past four years where 37% of the labour force does not have work," states Butler.

Currently, the political economy is in a state of flux due to the impending elections.

"[South Africa's current political economy is] fluid and uncertain, given the factionalism within the ANC and the other minor parties vying for additional shares in the coming elections," says the head of the eco-

nomics division at Wits's School of Economic and Business Sciences, Prof Uma Kollamparambil.

According to Kollamparambil, the extent to which the elections will impact the economy depends on its outcome, as she comments: "A significant decline in ANC vote share is required to bring about sustained change in governance."

The factions within the ANC also play a role in economic decisions, which the elections will not be able to influence.

"Substantially reduced national government majority of the ANC will necessitate a re-assessment by the government and focus on continuing with the clean-up of corruption. Change in government at the provincial level, especially in Gauteng, will be a major wake-up call for the ANC," she adds.

FocusEconomics have noted that the government bailout of Eskom could push the fiscal deficit beyond 4.0% of output in 2019.

"Policy certainty is paramount. Restructuring of Eskom and other

public sector entities, that drain the coffers of the government, is vital [for economic growth]," Kollamparambil says with regards to the policies needed to sustain economic growth.



Dr. Kenneth Creamer



Prof. Anthony Butler

Butler also points to the role of the "state-owned enterprises crisis", especially operational problems at Eskom, in hindering the political economy.

The World Inequality Report 2018 found that South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world and is classified as "extreme inequality" along with the Middle East and Brazil.

"Given the high levels of inequality in South Africa it is imperative that we are led by ethical politicians committed to putting in place policies that will foster inclusive growth," says Creamer.

"While the DA stands out with its liberal policy agenda, it is unclear how the EFF and other parties differ from the ANC on the policy front," Kollamparambil says.

The DA has had economic success in the Western Cape, which it is using to help drive support. "The DA-led Western Cape created 75% of South Africa's new jobs in the past

year!" states one of the statistics displayed on the party's website.

Butler does not believe the economy will be greatly affected by the elections. "None of the parties have a persuasive economic policy reform programme," says Butler.

"[The elections] may provide Ramaphosa with an opportunity to introduce a coherent reform programme," adds Butler.

"Governance and infrastructure required for reigniting investments and employment generation" are highlighted by Kollamparambil as challenges for South Africa's political economy.

Both Creamer and Kollamparambil acknowledge that corruption must be curbed if South Africa wants to see economic growth, regardless of the upcoming elections.

The scholars point out corruption at state level's role in furthering inequality and economic problems in the country.

"Clean government," as Creamer calls it, as well as "effective service delivery and developmental programmes are all essential if South Africa is to achieve higher rates of economic growth, investment and job creation after the 8 May elections."

Butler stresses that the types of policies needed are ones that will attract investment from the private sector.

"Growth is driven primarily by private firms. Government must create an environment in which firms are willing to invest, so generating growth and employment."

Levelling party playing field

Byron Mühlberg

The Political Party Funding Bill was signed into law by President Cyril Ramaphosa in Parliament on 28 January, bringing with it new checks and balances on South African political parties. The move was made in an effort to bring greater transparency to party funding.

The Bill, which is now an Act, took effect on 1 April 2019 and requires political parties to disclose the source of their donations, as well as prohibit government institutions from making donations to political parties.

The signing-in of the Act has been well-received by both civil society and political parties due to its aims to mitigate clandestine sources of party funding.

"This is a victory for transparency and a victory for our democracy," says Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) chief whip, Narend Singh. "The IFP has championed alongside civil society organizations the drafting of this legislation which has now become an Act of parliament."

"This Act will see for the first time the levelling of the playing field and halt the abuse of state resources for party-political purposes."

The Act is said to benefit smaller political parties in particular.

According to the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) spokesperson, Keeno Peterson, the Act "will increase the level of transparency and create a more balanced playing field for smaller parties."

A further provision put in place by the Political Party Funding Act is the establishment of a 'Multi-Party Democracy Fund'. The Fund, which will be overseen by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), will ensure that donations are split equally among the political parties which are represented in Parliament.

This is a considerable change from the previous method of fund distribution, in which donations are handed out proportionally to the number of seats represented by each party in Parliament.

According to IEC representative Tsile Maswanganyi, although the Act came into effect as of 1 April, "the allocation [of funds] to political parties will come into effect the day when

the money in this Fund reaches a total of one million rand."

"A Multi-Party Democracy Fund will receive money from donors and allocate it to represented political parties in accordance with the prescribed formula. The Act also stipulates the purposes for which money allocated from the Fund may be used."

For the large part, smaller parties—who will benefit the most from the Multi-Party Democracy Fund—have reacted favourably to the signing in of the Act due to the checks and balances it will place on their much larger political rivals. Large-scale corruption is directly targeted by the Act's provisions, and as a result, smaller parties—in theory—stand to gain more.

Despite this, the ruling party and the opposition both expressed support for the Act and its provisions of funding disclosure.

"In welcoming the Political Party Funding Act, we have no doubt that we have taken a bold step that seeks to protect and defend our young democracy," reads the official statement released by the ANC.

"The ANC has consistently supported the principle of regulating funding for political parties. We view this as an important milestone in strengthening our democracy and enhancing transparency as a cornerstone of our democracy."

On the other hand, while the DA has indicated that it will abide by the provisions of the Act; it has nevertheless expressed some degree of scepticism over the Act's usefulness in tackling corruption.

According to DA spokesperson and MP Solly Malatsi: "The DA's attitude to party political funding has been consistent. We have given our donors the assurance that their donations would remain confidential, if that is what they wished. This is because many donors believe, rightly or wrongly, that they will be disadvantaged or intimidated were the fact that they donated to an opposition party to become public."

The DA's sentiment does not represent the only source of doubt surrounding the Act's practicality.

According to GOOD spokesperson, Cameron Arendse, while the party supports the Political Party Funding Bill, they will, however, "await to see how the legislation will be implemented and that it is applicable to all political parties."

The trouble, at present, seems to rest in the Act's implementation. While the Act, on paper, came into effect on 1 April — along with its provision for the establishment of the Multi-Party Democracy Fund — there has been no enforcement or implementation as of yet.

Another point of scepticism is the timing of the Act. Despite that fact that it has already come into effect, there is no means by which political parties running for election in May can disclose their funding in time in the manner required by the Act, rendering it currently applicable.

“We have taken a bold step that seeks to protect and defend our young democracy”

Concerns over voter turnout

Dominique Jeththa

Parents and grandparents influence to a large extent how the youth vote, experts say.

"While it makes voters look more at ideology and policies which moves them beyond sentiment, people still vote based on who their grandparents and parents vote/voted for because they are trained in the ideologies of those parties from a young age.

Turning eighteen does not make all the influences of parents disappear," says special reporting lecturer at Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), Asanda Ngoasheng.

South Africa's 25-year-old democracy is at a defining moment in time. People are disillusioned with the parties and there seems to be a lot of uncertainty regarding who to vote for.

Political parties have a much bigger worry on their hands, and that is voter turnout. Parties cannot win if their support base doesn't show up or vote.

The eligible voters in South Africa don't all cast their votes. 86% of eligible voters voted in 1994, and 20 years later, in 2014, only 73.48 % of eligible voters actually voted. According to senior lecturer in the department of Political Studies and Governance at the

University

of the Free State (UFS), Dr Ina Gouws the fact that fewer young people than ever registered for the 2019 elections, show a bleak future ahead when it comes to turnout. Political parties are failing to convince a very significant portion of the eligible population to go to the voting booths," says Gouws.

Gouws believes that voter participation in South Africa is complicated.

"Political participation for South Africans seems to be driven by fear and/or anger and that informs who they vote for. South Africans decide who to vote for because of the influence of their past socialisation, the media, personal lived experiences and perceptions

around the possibility of a better future," says Gouws.

"Most South Africans vote based on historical memory and intergenerational trauma. Those who were victims of apartheid vote to ensure apartheid never happens again. Those who were beneficiaries vote for the party that is most capable of ensuring they continue to hold on to the unearned privileges from apartheid. Youth, who didn't live through apartheid but are affected by its legacies are also influenced by their parents voting patterns," says Ngoasheng.

Gouws believes that "voting still takes place mostly along racial lines. The DA did make inroads in changing their voters' profile and managed to get significant support from black voters and most especially coloured voters. But I believe that up to 2014, race became less important and issues of service delivery became more important. This changed since then and now here in 2019, race has become a factor at the insistence of certain political parties and their leaders."

Photo: Deon Raath



Youth vote may strengthen democracy

Liezl Human

Low voting numbers amongst young people may have contributed to the ANC remaining in power for so long. The lack of democratic participation by our nation's youth in the upcoming elections will have decisive effects on the political environment of our country.

A study by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) indicates that since 1994 the youth voting registration numbers amongst 18 to 19 year-olds dwindled to 33% in the last general elections in 2014. People aged 20 to 29 years

old showed better results, with 64% registered voters.

Chairman of the Board and Head of African Futures & Innovation at the ISS, Dr Jakkie Cilliers, says: "Our impression is that there is an increase in voter registration at [young] ages, but the first-time voters are not registering – and that's the main concern."

Cilliers says that voter apathy amongst our youth adversely affects opposition parties. "Your older voter tends to vote for the ANC. They follow the traditional 'what my parents voted for', while your born-free voters definitely are more flexible in their votes and don't necessarily follow the voting pattern of their parents," he comments. Cilliers further says: "The essence of democracy is voting, so it is hugely important that every South African registers and votes. There is almost nothing that is more important in terms of exercising our democratic right. I think many people feel disillusioned and that the vote is not making much of a difference, in terms of outcomes."

“There is almost nothing that is more important in terms of exercising our democratic right.”

A recent statement by the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) showed results of a 47% decrease in registrations by people between the ages of 18 and 19, in comparison with the same age demographic in 2014. Those aged 20 to 29 similarly saw a 9% decrease in registration.

The study by the ISS shows that young voters constitute a considerable portion of South Africa's voting age population and low youth voting numbers would, as such, have an impact on the outcome of the upcoming elections.

A professor of sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Roger Southall, says that it is not necessarily voter "apathy" that demotivates young people, but rather "alienation".

"I don't think the political parties are really addressing young people's concerns," says Southall. "It is important to get young people involved in elections, for reasons of the legitimacy of the democratic system. Large numbers of the youth feel our democracy is failing them," he adds.

The PMG statement which showed dwindling youth registration numbers came as a shock, as the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) recently released a report indicating that 81% of the new registrations in March 2018 and January 2019 were by people under the age of 30.

"[The IEC has] purposefully ran a youthful campaign to attract young persons," says IEC spokesperson, Kate Bapela. She explains that, "X'sè is part of the drive to talk to young South Africans in their everyday parlance." X'sè is an IEC campaign that implemented initiatives primarily targeting young people to encourage them to vote.

Chief Survey Statistician at Statistics South Africa, Dr Mosidi Nhlapo, says the reasons for young people not voting are "more complex than just apathy".

"Support and, by extension, voting will depend on the ability of political parties to articulate youth concerns. For instance, issues around the demand for free higher education and decolonisation that emerged during the Fees Must Fall movement are a case in point," says Nhlapo.

ANC support amongst the born-free generation is likely to decline further, yet this is not reflected in voting outcomes as many young people become more politically withdrawn and alienated.

"Commentators have predicted that support for ANC among young people – mainly young Africans – will decline as those born after the end of apartheid, or who were very young at the end of apartheid, reach voting age," says Nhlapo.

The upcoming elections may also show growing EFF support amongst young people.

"The emergence of the EFF in the political space should not be taken lightly," Nhlapo says. "The number of Student Representative Councils in institutions of higher learning under the control of the EFF has increased in recent times – this might influence the youth vote going into the 2019 elections."

In the same vein, Southall says: "The EFF is aiming for the youth vote, but a lot of its constituency is not registered. We may overestimate the effect of the EFF having captured SRCs. Most young people are not in higher education."

'And united we shall stand'

Graphic:
Elri Voigt

Elri Voigt

Two parties stand on either side of a table, a contract placed between them, then with just a lick of ink, the partnership is official. They have just entered into a coalition.

The criteria

"A coalition is a marriage of convenience, not of love," states freelance journalist and political analyst, Jan-Jan Joubert.

This has proven to be an appropriate metaphor for the complicated partnership, as a coalition is built on a similar premise to marrying someone for the sake of convenience, or necessity.

Former ANC MP and South Africa ambassador, Melanie Verwoerd, provides a definition of this term. "This [a coalition] is when one party doesn't get an outright majority [in an election], so they don't get above 50%, and therefore have to work in a formal arrangement with another party in order to get the majority," she explains.

According to Verwoerd, it is vital that voters are aware of coalitions and what they are, especially in an elections year. "It is very important that voters educate themselves properly so that they don't fall for fearmongering," she says.

South African voters have become familiar with coalitions within provincial or local government. According to political analyst and senior researcher at the Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), Ralph Matheka, there are coalitions in Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane and the City of Johannesburg.

"The idea is that coalitions bring about checks and balances on the exercise of power," he explains.

The courtship

The inner workings of a coalition do resemble a marriage arrangement, as it does have to undergo a courtship process. The advances can begin before or after the election results have been announced, but Matheka remarks that pre-election coalitions are rare, because parties would have to admit they have failed before the results are in.

"Once all parties fail to attain an outright majority, parties can always negotiate and constitute the necessary majority (51%). It's all about the proportional majority," Matheka explains.

The groom thus starts looking for a partner who is able to increase his voting percentage, so that when combined, the

two should have 51% or more.

The advances from the courting party can be refused. When this happens, the party will have to try elsewhere or face another election.

"If you can't form a coalition in a certain period of time, you are forced to have another election," Verwoerd explains.

If this courtship does advance, they enter a unique partnership, as no coalition works in exactly the same way. Joubert provides insight into this next phase. "There are no set rules in a coalition. Each one is a work in progress," he explains.

The divorce

What most coalitions do have in common though, is that there is often no love lost between the parties.

"Coalitions, because of the fact that they are a negotiated settlement between opposing parties, become very unstable," Verwoerd describes.

"They lengthen the process of decision making as negotiations drag. They can hamper service delivery," comments Matheka.

However, he's optimistic that parties can make this arrangement work, and

that it can have a positive outcome. "Parties exercise accountability on each other, reducing chances of wrongdoing," says Matheka.

The relationship will have to overcome the inequality in terms of power in the arrangement. This can be seen in the coalition in Nelson Mandela Bay which formed after the 2016 local government elections. It consists of the DA and four other parties. According to News24, the DA had 46.7% of the vote, making it the majority party, while the other parties are in the minority.

According to Joubert, "the junior party always suffers." While they do gain some power, Verwoerd comments that it is disruptive and the minority party also tends to lose the support of their own voters.

The rising tension can result in the relationship coming undone.

"Often the minority party withdraws because they are annoyed with the majority party in the coalition, then you get to the situation where you have political paralysis," Verwoerd says.

When a coalition government fails, the consequences are not just a broken

partnership, but a broken system.

"It's disastrous at local government level when it doesn't work, but if you get that at a provincial and national level the chaos and fallout would be far bigger," Verwoerd predicts. "Your government could grind to a halt," she adds.

Despite the unstable nature of these partnerships, they are likely to remain as part of the political system, although Verwoerd is of the opinion that it will remain at provincial level.

"I don't see it easily coming to a national level for the next decade," she concludes.

Vibe to vote

Scan the QR code with QRbot to listen to ANC Election Album 2019



Soundtracks to the struggle - How music has played and continues to play a significant role in inspiring hope and sending a political message to the masses.

ANC Election Album

Catherine Del Monte

Former ANC trade unionist, activist and senior shop steward at a chemical manufacturing company in Markman Township in Port Elizabeth during the apartheid struggle, Phil Goduka, conjures up the memory of the moment F.W. de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990.

"On the 2nd of February, it was very emotional the songs you were singing. We didn't know what they [the songs] meant but we could hear and feel your anger, your joy; the voices got louder; the intensity was there... What was it all about?"

The corner of Goduka's mouth curls into a slight smile as he recounts these words uttered by white women working in the factory at the time who expressed their wonderment in the evocative ability of the struggle songs, even when they did not understand the meaning.

"You see, the songs carry something to someone who doesn't even understand the words," Goduka says. Goduka adds that, because the ANC was banned, written literature of the political leaders' messages was few and far between. A song was often the only effective way to send

these messages during apartheid.

From "Wathint' abafazi Strijdom, wathint' imbokodo, uza kufa" meaning "you strike a woman Strijdom, you strike a rock, you will be crushed, you will die" sung during the 1956 Women's March to Parliament; to "Oliver Tambo bamb'isandla sam" meaning Oliver Tambo please hold my hand", amagwijo, or "election songs", are an African form of satire through which very serious and very contextual issues are expressed.

On the 22nd of February, just over a month after the release of their 2019 manifesto, the ANC released its first studio album entitled, *ANC Election Album 2019*.

The gold and green album with President Cyril Ramaphosa donning a happy, hopeful smile on the cover was produced under the Johannesburg-based music label, "Next Music".

With a foundation in jazz, the 15-track album consists of an eclectic mix of genres from kwaito to gospel. Many of the songs are sung in Nguni - a cluster of Bantu languages including isiXhosa, isiZulu, siSwati and Ndebele.

Music journalist and author of *Born to Kwaito: Reflections on the Kwaito Generation*, Sihle Mthembu, says that, contextually, the music genres chosen for the album are very important.

"Kwaito is a music genre that is now 25 years old and would appeal to a lot of the working-class voters and that is an important part of the black base," Mthembu says.

He adds that, "kwaito is also able to connect middle-class, black

communities with their experiences in the township".

Mthembu expresses that, "gwijo is interesting because it is functional music. It is like a war cry that people can sing in rallies and branch meetings, so the party uses these albums to circulate the message of the party through song because people don't have the time or patience to read manifestos".

"Phakama Ramaphosa" meaning "get up Ramaphosa" is Ramaphosa's presidential song. In a more idiomatic sense, the song acts as a call for Ramaphosa to fill the presidential position. Sung mainly during his campaign, the song is considerably less politically inflammatory than former president, Jacob Zuma's campaign song, "uMshini Wam" meaning "bring me my machine gun".

Another fond favourite that features on the album is "Thuma Mina" meaning "Send Me". Originally composed by the late South African jazz legend, Hugh Masekela as well as Sello Twala and gospel giant, Peter Mokoena.

With "Thuma Mina" often being referenced by Ramaphosa at events such as at the release of the ANC manifesto and the 2019 State of the Nation Address, the song has become the ANC's election theme, sending a message of inclusivity, community, hope and change.

UCT SASCO (the South African Students Congress) branch secretary and student in his final year of BCom (Economics and Finance), Yonela Mathiso, says that, "the message is clear that the ANC is the only registered political party on the ballot that is capable of transforming the society in general. This is well captured by the song entitled

"Thuma Mina".

"Thuma Mina" is also Mathiso's favourite track from the album because it "gives a sense of hope to the society not to panic as things will be turning around soon for the better".

The EFF also boasts a collection of tunes from their most recent election album entitled, *EFF Jazz Hour Vol. 3*. This 12-track album is the third album in their arsenal of struggle songs following the release of their manifesto on the 2nd of February.

Many of the songs on the album feature EFF spokesperson, Dr Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, including "uPhephela" - track 8 on the album, "uMalema Lo" - track 9 on the album, and "Zizojika izinto" which features on both the ANC and EFF albums meaning "things will turn around, things will change".

"uPhephela" is Cayla Zukiswa Jack's (22) personal favourite on the album. Jack served as the EFFSC (the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command) campaign manager for the EFFSC candidates while completing her honours degree in financial analysis and portfolio management at UCT in 2018. She explains that the song "uPhephela" is usually sung during tertiary institution elections and is a way of saying that the EFF will "land safely" at these institutions.

As Jack reminisces about the EFF's SRC election victory in 2018 she says:

"uPhephela" is my favourite song on the album because it was the song that branch members sang when we won the SRC election at UCT [in 2018] and then at various tertiary institutions. Branch members met in the early hours to celebrate together and that song felt so vibrant."

Vice-chair of DASO (Democratic Alliance Student Organisation) at Stellenbosch, Yanga Keva, explains that, while the DA cannot brag as wide a collection of songs as the ANC or the EFF, they do have two main election songs.

"DA ayilalanga, iguqe ngamadolo" meaning, "the DA is not asleep, it is on its knees, hard at work", and "Sikhokhele Maimane, yimbi lendawo" meaning, "this is a bad place, we are afraid of this place, lead us Maimane, lead us out of the darkness".

Keva adds that, "amagwijo or 'election songs' are an intrinsic part of South African culture that is very crucial to our way of life. They express our joys, our sadness, our beliefs and our plans for the future - they [election songs] are the oil that keeps the engine running during an election."



Scan the QR code with QRbot to listen to EFF Jazz Hour Vol. 3

EFF Election Album

JAZZ
HOUR
VOLUME 3

Só stem res van Afrika in 2019

SZ Minnaar

Suid-Afrika is nie die enigste Afrikaland wat vanjaar stem-bus toe gaan nie. Altesaam 23 Afrikalande hou vanjaar verkiesings op nasionale vlak. Kiesstelsels verskil van land tot land en die verskillende stelsels stem nie noodwendig ooreen met die stelsel in Suid-Afrika nie. Sommige lande stem byvoorbeeld direk vir 'n president en nie vir 'n party soos in Suid-Afrika nie.

Sommige lande hou vanjaar meer as een verkiesing, soos Madagaskar wat na verwagting gaan stem vir 'n Nasionale Vergadering én provinsiale, streeks- en plaaslike verkiesings hou. Drie van Suid-Afrika se buurlande hou ook vanjaar presidiële of algemene verkiesings. Namibië, Botswana en Mosambiek gaan na verwagting in Oktober hul kruisies by die stembus trek.

Namibië

Namibië het 'n tweekamerparlement wat bestaan uit die Nasionale Vergadering (laerhuis) en die Nasionale Raad (hoërhuis).

In Namibië stem kiesers afsonderlik vir die president en die Nasionale Vergadering. Namibië is die eerste Afrikaland wat 'n elektroniese stemstelsel gebruik het met die algemene verkiesing in 2014. Vanjaar sal dit die tweede keer wees wat 'n elektroniese stemstelsel in Namibië en Afrika gebruik word.

Hage Geingob is in die vorige verkiesing as Namibië se derde president verkies sedert die land se onafhanklikheidswording in 1989.

Geingob se party, die South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), het 'n oorweldigende 80,01% van die stemme op hom verenig. Die Popular Democratic Movement (PDM), wat in die vorige verkiesing as Democratic Turnhalle Alliance bekendgestaan het, maar sedertdien 'n naamsverandering ondergaan het, het die naamsmeeste persentasie stemme behaal: 4,8%.

Ronelle Rademeyer, nuusredakteur van die Namibiese dagblad *Republiein*, voorspel dat Swapo sy meerderheid gaan behou, maar

twyfel of Swapo 'n tweederdemeerderheid gaan behaal. Sy voer aan dat vanjaar waarskynlik een van die moeilikste verkiesingsjare vir Swapo gaan wees. "Tye is moeilik en Swapo gaan kiesers moet oorreed dat hy uitdagings reg gaan bestuur," sê sy.

"Namibië se ekonomie beleef sy ergste krisis sedert onafhanklikwording. Werkloosheid is hoog. Kommer heers oor korrupsie, met veral die toekenning van tenders. Swapo se toegeneentheid tot die groeiende getal Chinese in die land, aan wie baie van die groot konstruksietenders toegeken word, ontstel kiesers. Om alles te kroon,

beleef Namibië

die ergste droogte sedert die 1800's. Dit is weliswaar nie Swapo se skuld nie, maar dit dra by tot 'n algemene gees van moedeloosheid in die land," sê Rademeyer. Aangesien Swapo so 'n groot persentasie stemme tydens die vorige verkiesing behaal het, sukkel kleiner partye om hul stem te laat hoor. Rademeyer beweer ander partye kon nog nie as opposisieparty die mas opkom nie.

"Die enigste opposisieparty wat hom aktief beywer om die nodige wigte en teenwigte te bied deur kabinetslede in die Nasionale Vergadering oor klippies in die nasionale skoen uit te daag, is die PDM," sê sy.

Botswana

In Botswana word die president nie direk deur kiesers aangewys nie, maar deur die Nasionale Vergadering, soos in Suid-Afrika. Maar anders as in Suid-Afrika, word die Nasionale Vergadering deur middel van 'n meerderheidstelsel gekies.

Innocent Selatlhwa, senior verslaggewer van die Botswana-dagblad *Mmegi*, voer aan dat die huidige regerende party, Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), die gunsteling is om te wen. Die BDP het in die vorige verkiesing 46,45% van die stemme behaal. Die BDP kraai koning in die parlement aangesien die persentasie stemme nie direk verband hou met die persentasie stoele nie.

"Al het die regerende party minder as 50% van die algemene stemme gekry, het hulle byna 60% van die stoele in die parlement behaal weens

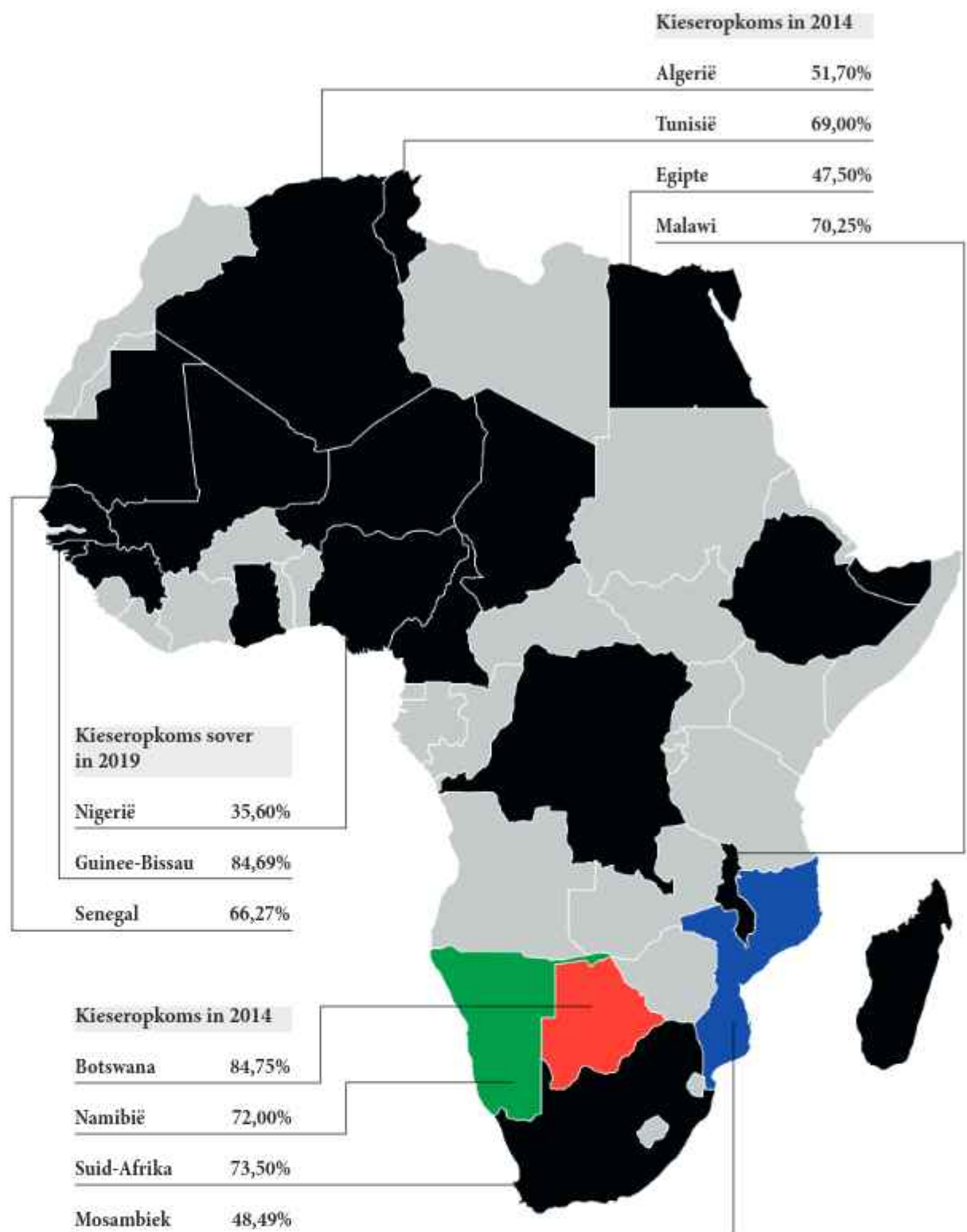
die manier waarop die stemme toegeken word," sê Grant Masterson, senior programbestuurder van die Verkiesingskommissie vir Volhoubare Demokrasie in Afrika (Eisa).

Selatlhwa sê die BDP se grootste mededinger is die Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC).

Die UDC is 'n koalisie tussen die Botswana National Front, Botswana Congress Party en die Botswana People's Party. Daar was 'n moontlikheid dat Botswana vanjaar geskiedenis sou maak en die tweede Afrikaland wees om van 'n elektroniese stemstelsel gebruik te maak.

Selatlhwa sê in 2017 het 'n wet in die Botswana-parlement geslaag om 'n elektroniese stemstelsel in te stel met die algemene verkiesing vanjaar.

Die wet is egter herroep ná grootskaalse ongelukkigheid.



Dié 23 Afrikalande (in donker kleure) hou vanjaar een of meer nasionale verkiesings: Algerië, Botswana, Kameroen, Tsjad, die Kongo, Egipte, Etiopië, Ghana, Guinee, Guinee-Bissau, Libië, Madagaskar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritanië, Mosambiek, Namibië, Niger, Nigerië, Senegal, Somaliland (selfregerende gebied), Suid-Afrika en Tunisië. Guinee-Bissau, Nigerië en Senegal het reeds vanjaar gestem. INFOGRAFIKA: SZ Minnaar

Mosambiek

In Mosambiek gaan kiesers twee kruisies trek: een vir 'n president en een vir 'n wetgewende liggaam, die Assembleia da República. Om as president verkies te word, moet die kandidaat ten minste 50% van die stemme behaal. Indien geen kandidaat 50% van die stemme behaal nie, word daar 'n tweede keer gestem vir die twee kandidate wat die grootste persentasie stemme in die eerste ronde behaal het.

In die vorige algemene verkiesing in 2014 is Filipe Nyusi as president verkies en sy party, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo), het 57,03% van die stemme behaal.

"Sedert die burgeroorlog in 1992 is Frelimo die oorheersende party in die verkiesings en ek voorsien nie dat dit veel gaan verander nie," sê Thulani Maphasa, MA-student by Wits en verbonde aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut vir Internasionale Betrekkinge (SAIIA).

Die vernaamste opposisie, Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Renamo), het in die vorige verkies-

ing 36,61% van die stemme behaal.

Renamo het in 2013 die plaaslike verkiesings geboikot en verlede jaar se plaaslike verkiesings betwis.

"Renamo se betwissing van verlede jaar se plaaslike verkiesing en die opgang wat hulle gemaak het, is dalk 'n aanduiding van 'n effense verandering in stempatrone," voeg Maphasa by.

Die impak van die sikloon Idai, wat in Maart groot skade in Mosambiek en ander Oos-Afrikalande aangerig het, op die verkiesing moet ook nie buite rekening gelaat word nie. Masterson lê veral klem op die opvallende hoeveelheid infrastruktuur wat deur sikloon Idai vernietig is en die gemeenskappe wat daardeur verplaas is.

"Vir die verkiesingskommissie

is dit belangrik om te bepaal waar gemeenskappe is om die verkiesing te kan administreer. Daar moet nou

voorsiening gemaak word vir mense om te stem waar hulle bly," sê Masterson.

"Die ander probleem is dat Idai maar net een sikloon was. Die sikloonseisoen is egter nog nie verby nie. Mosambiek ervaar periodiek verskillende siklone. Dit is nie te sê dat daar nog 'n groot sikloon gaan wees nie, maar indien dit gebeur, kan die skade ernstig ophoop," waarsku hy.

"Mosambiek is 'n arm land en minder ontwikkel as meeste lande en selfs minder ontwikkel as die omliggende lande in die streek. Daar is ook nie baie hulp wat inkom om te help met die skade wat Idai aangerig het nie," beweer Masterson.

Agter die skerm van verkiesings

Die werk wat deur die onafhanklike verkiesingskommissie (OVK) verrig word, strek verder as om bloot stembriewe te voorsien. Dit verg maande lange voorbereiding en duisende personele om sake glad te laat verloop op 8 Mei.

Annerine Snyman

27
miljoen kiesers
landwyd

3,2
miljoen kiesers in die
Wes-Kaap

60%
van hierdie kiesers
woon in die Kaapse
metro

1 578
stemlokale in die Wes-
Kaap

803
daarvan is in die
Kaapse metro

Volgens Courtney Sampson, die OVK se Wes-Kaapse provinsiale verkiesingsbeampte, het die OVK na afloop van 2016 se plaaslike verkiesing onmiddellik begin om voorbereidings te tref vir vanjaar se algemene verkiesing.

"Die kiesersrol is 'n deurlopende ding. Dit moet gedurig aangepas word. Ons praat dus van maklik 18 maande se voorbereiding vir 'n verkiesing," verduidelik Sampson.

Trevor Davids, die OVK se Wes-Kaapse mediaskakelbeampte, wat al by elke verkiesing sedert 1994 betrokke is, verduidelik dat stembriewe vir tot ses maande ná die verkiesing bewaar word, indien daar enige geregtelike stryd oor die uitslag van die verkiesing mag opduik.

"Slegs ná ses maande, indien daar geen hofstryd oor die verkiesingsuitslag is nie, of indien die dispuut opgelos is, word die stembriewe vernietig," sê Davids. Elke politieke party het volgens Davids die reg om twee party-agente na elke stemlokaal te stuur.

"Alle party-agente moet op die uitslagbrief teken om te bevestig dat dit outentiek is en dat hulle dit gesien het en dat hulle daarmee saamstem. Dit is dus feitlik onmoontlik dat bedrog tydens hierdie proses plaasvind, siende dit die samewerking van tot 30 mense sal vereis," verduidelik Davids.

Daar is sowat 12 OVK-beamptes per stasie, met bystandpersoneel in gevalle waar die verkose personeel nie op die dag opdaag nie.

Dié bykomende personeel is volgens Davids ook van uiterste belang siende dat dit 'n lang en uitdagende dag is en gewoonlik word sommige van die personeel vervang om foute te voorkom.

Die OVK poog ook om so veel as moontlik van hierdie personeel vir enige opkomende verkiesings te behou om sodoende die institusionele kennis te bewaar. Die OVK is verder daarop gefokus om werklose mense in diens te neem as hulle verkiesingspersoneel. In 2016 se provinsiale verkiesing was 76% van die sowat 18 000 OVK-beamptes werkloos.

Dit is 'n redelike veeleisende dag vir hierdie beamptes. Stemlokale open om 07:00. Dit vereis dat OVK-beamptes om 06:00 reeds op hul pos moet wees. Davids verduidelik dat die streeksbestuurders, wat verantwoordelik is vir stemlokale, reeds omstreeks 04:00 op die paaie is om seker te maak dat die lokaal al sy benodighede het.

Dit sluit onder meer in dat die nodige hoeveelheid stembriewe afgelewer is, wat volgens Sampson uitgewerk word as 100% plus 25% van die stembriewe wat benodig word.

Aktiewe politieke veldtogte moet volgens Davids die dag voor 'n verkiesing om middernag gestaak word. Digitale advertensies of veldtogte moet die laaste Sondag voor 'n verkiesing om middernag reeds stop.

Davids meen dat die reëls vir aktiewe politieke veldtogte waarskynlik aangepas sal word om in lyn te wees met die digitale veldtogte, aangesien spesiale stemme op die twee dae voor 8 Mei plaasvind.

"Geen veldtog-aktiwiteite is veronderstel om op 8 Mei plaas te vind nie. Die OVK het al die gedrag van politieke partye, wat buite die grense van stemlokale kiesers nader, veroordeel," sê Davids.

Suid-Afrikaanse burgers in die buiteland sal by hulle spesifieke land se Suid-Afrikaanse konsulaat kan stem, net soos in SA. Hulle stem egter op 27 April, heelwat vroeër as SA se stemdag, sodat die stemme van die sowat 122 internasionale stasies betyds na Pretoria gestuur kan word. Alle stemme word saam op 8 Mei getel. Davids sê dat daar na beraming sowat 36 000 SA burgers oorsee gaan stem.

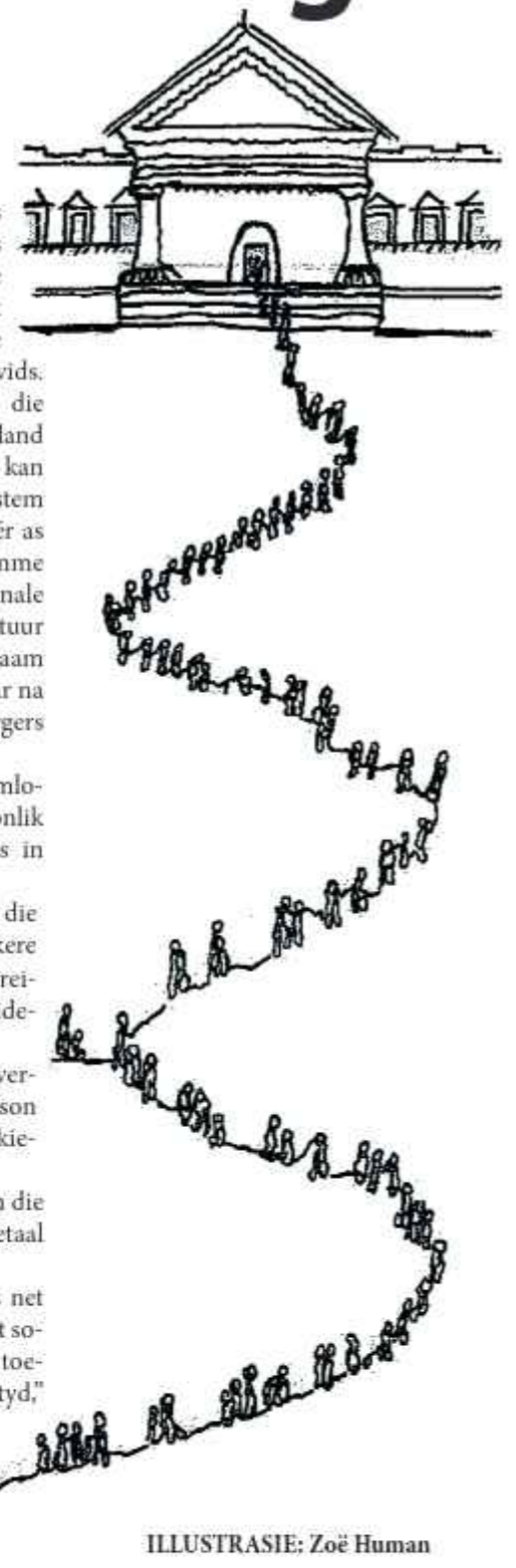
Sampson verduidelik dat stemlokale in landelike gebiede gewoonlik verder uitmekaar versprei is as in stedelike gebiede.

"Stemlokale word regoor die provinsie versprei en daar is sekere riglyne wat bepaal hoe die verspreiding daarvan moet werk," verduidelik Sampson.

Wat die finansiering van die verkiesing betref, verduidelik Sampson dat die staat die geld wat vir verkiesings benodig word, voorsien.

Hierdie geld word gebruik om die OVK-beamptes se toelae te betaal asook om stemlokale te huur.

"Die koste van verkiesings is net onder R1 miljard. In 1999 was dit sowat R500 000. Daar was dus 'n toename [in verkiesingskoste] oor tyd," verduidelik Davids.



ILLUSTRASIE: Zoë Human

Independent candidates fight to be recognised

Sethu Mbuli

Bulelani Mkhohliswa looks attentive and fully present, despite being in a noisy restaurant and his phone going off intermittently during our conversation. He has a lot to say and the media is already starting to pick up on the steam of his campaign.

It is a Wednesday afternoon, 27 March, and Mkhohliswa is currently on a lunch break from court proceedings at the Western Cape High Court, where Judge Siraj Desai is hearing his case. He doesn't seem to be in the mood to eat, ordering pink lemonade and nothing else. "I need to be drinking more water," he briefly says.

Mkhohliswa heads the New Nation Movement, a nonpartisan collective founded in 2017, seeking – along with others – to challenge Electoral Act 76 of 1988 that says only citizens part of a political party or a cause may stand to be elected for provincial and national legislature.

But in 2013, when he was part of another collective, the Kingdom Governance Movement, that wanted to contest the elections as a cause, the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC) refused.

"The IEC said they have no systems in place to have an expression for that cause, so we had to register as a political party," he says emphatically. The collective obliged, registering as a political party but later failed, something Mkhohliswa views as a "blessing in disguise".

Since then, as the leader of the New Nation Movement, he has been back and forth with the IEC, but says they were met with arrogance.

According to his research, leading up to the 1994 elections, South Africa was meant to have a constituency-based system (where voters could decide to elect a political party or a single representative), but government shot these suggestions down, as the constituency-based system would not work. It would disadvantage many, so a transitional system (to last until the 1999 election) was implemented. The system ensured that all active political parties would have a good chance of getting seats in Parliament.

Another person challenging the Electoral Act, and hoping the court rules in their favour, is Princess Chantal Revell of Korona Royal Household (part of the Royal Priesthoods of the Khoi and San First Na-



New Nation Movement leader Bulelani Mkhohliswa. PHOTO: Supplied

tions). Revell has been exploring solutions to become an independent candidate for the past 20 years, saying, "I am serving on a body that has been negotiating with government since the dawn of democracy to recognise my people as the First

Indigenous peoples of Southern Africa and give us constitutional recognition".

In the case that was before Desai the group asked the court to rule that independent candidates be constitutionally allowed to stand for

elections.

Adv Steven Budlender, representing the IEC in the court case, cautioned against the postponement of the upcoming elections, as this would cause a lot of issues and panic amongst citizens. He also noted that Mkhohliswa's court application was not made timeously enough for the commission to prepare itself.

"Desai has dismissed the case on 17 April. In his judgement, he gave several reasons for doing so, including questioning why the applicants do not want to stand for elections as part of a political party.

Citing a Constitutional Court ruling by Chief Judge Mogoeng Mogoeng about the My Vote Counts movement, in which Mogoeng (in passing) noted that independent candidates should be constitutionally allowed to stand for elections, Desai says Mkhohliswa and the others use that judgement to substantiate why the Electoral Act in question is unconstitutional.

Mkhohliswa in response commented that Desai's ruling does not surprise him. He and the others are planning to appeal to the Constitutional Court, hoping the court overturns Desai's judgement.

The Evolution of the ANC, DA and EFF

A meeting of chiefs, churchmen and lawyers in Bloemfontein on 8 January produced the South African Native National Congress.



The SANNK is renamed the African National Congress (ANC).

ANC Youth league founded with leaders including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo.

Freedom Charter adopted



Police opened fire on unarmed crowd of protestors, killing 69. The ANC banned.

ANC launches its armed struggle with its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Mandela released from prison and ban on ANC lifted.

ANC wins South Africa's first democratic elections with 63% and 262 seats in Parliament.



Mandela steps down after one term and ANC wins second democratic elections with Thabo Mbeki as president.

ANC re-elected with 70% of the vote. The New National Party (NNP) dissolved.

Kgalema Motlanthe acts as caretaker president after Mbeki's resignation. His decision came as a result of the ANC National Executive Committee's decision to no longer to support him in Parliament.



Corruption allegations against Jacob Zuma dropped. ANC re-elected with 66% with Zuma as president.

A report by the Public Protector finds Zuma guilty of acting unconstitutionally for using millions of public funds to upgrade his home in Nkandla.



Zuma steps down as president since facing internal and external pressure to resign. Cyril Ramaphosa is inaugurated.

The Zondo Commission of Inquiry into allegations of State Capture is still ongoing and is exposing corrupt ANC members.

Wianda Gilliland

Survival of the fittest. Eat or be eaten. Adapt and overcome. The three biggest political parties in the upcoming elections had to do more than just campaign to get where they are today. They had to evolve in order to survive the often brutal political environment of South Africa.



The United Party splinters and the Progressive Party is formed.

The Democratic Party is formed by the merging of splinter groups. Zach de Beer is elected as leader of the DP.



The DP wins 1,7% of the first democratic vote and acquires 7 seats in Parliament. Tony Leon is elected leader of the party.

The DP wins an increased 9,6% of the vote with 38 seats in parliament.



The DP merged with the NNP and Federal Alliance to form the Democratic Alliance (DA).

DA becomes dominant in the Western Cape. Helen Zille is elected as the new leader.



The DA increased its support and won 16,7% of the vote, and control of the Western Cape. Zille becomes the Premier. They unveil their new logo.



Patricia de Lille's Independent Democrats party merges with the DA.

The DA increases its support again and won 22% of the general election vote.

Mmusi Maimane is elected as the new leader of the DA.



The DA receives criticism following controversial tweets by Zille regarding colonialism.

De Lille resigns as mayor of the City of Cape town. She splinters from the DA and forms a new party called GOOD.

African National Congress

The ANC has been around the longest as its predecessor, the South African Native Council (SANNK) was established in 1912. In 1923 the name changed to the ANC.

According to a senior history lecturer at Stellenbosch University, Prof. Wessel Visser, a pivotal moment for the ANC was the establishment of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944.

"The first leaders of the Youth League included the individuals who had a massive influence on ANC and South African history - Tambo, Sisulu and Mandela - because they took a more urgent and radical stance on apartheid in comparison to the older ANC leaders," he explains.

Visser also highlighted the importance of 1955, when the Freedom Charter was adopted.

The ANC and some of its most prominent leaders were then banned by the apartheid government in 1960 following the Sharpeville Massacre. The ANC had to evolve in order to survive as an underground organisation.

"The ANC could keep growing with the help of strategic alliances with trade unions like COSATU," Visser says.

In 1990 the ANC was unbanned and in 1994 they won the majority vote in South Africa's first democratic elections.

According to Visser, the ANC has

Julius Malema, leader of the ANCYL, is suspended from the ANC following a series of controversial claims.



Malema announces the Economic Freedom Fighters party with the support of a 1000 members.

The EFF wins 6,4% of the vote and acquires 25 seats in parliament.

The EFF announced that it secured a Constitutional court case for its Jacob Zuma campaign of "#PayBack-TheMoney".



The EFF accused for racism and inciting violence on white people at a 2016 rally when Malema made controversial statements.

brought in the coloured vote with the help of [Patricia] De Lille, and the same goes for Mmusi Maimane who is mobilising the black voter," De Jager comments.

The DA has showcased a constant increase regarding voters and seats in Parliament, but this positive evolution has come at a cost. De Jager expressed that the DA has been giving up some of its core liberal values in order to broaden its support base even further, and has also been facing serious internal conflicts.

Economic Freedom Fighters

The EFF has only been around since 2013, but they have grown considerably since then.

The EFF's roots lie in the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), as Julius Malema was its leader before his expulsion from the ANC in 2012 following various controversial statements. According to Tasneem Essop from the University of the Witwatersrand, a master's student studying the EFF, part of the EFF's success initially was their ability to leverage their support and popularity from within youth league structures to establish the EFF on the ground together with using the public profiles of some of their top leaders.

In April 2013 Malema announced the formation of the EFF with a clear centre-left political position.

Malema also used the Marikana Massacre in 2012 where police officers opened fire on protesting mine workers to broaden his support base which eventually followed him to the EFF, according to De Jager.

The EFF managed to acquire 25 seats in parliament in the 2014 elections after only one year of existence. "The EFF has come to occupy a particular space in South African politics, intervening in public debates often and vociferously," says Essop.

However, the EFF has had its ups and downs. "The EFF's credibility as pro-poor party suffered a massive blow when the VBS mutual bank scandal was made public," says Essop. The scandal involved illicit funds allegedly being paid out to EFF leaders, including Malema.

The EFF's following has also evolved from predominantly black youths. "The EFF has been touted as having a large youth constituency. However, many disillusioned ANC-supporters are considering the EFF as an alternative over the DA," Essop says.

The EFF successfully tabled a motion in The National Assembly to amend the Constitution so as to allow for the expropriation of land without compensation.

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