

https://dspace.org/

The prospects for a vigorous parliamentary opposition in a democratic South Africa

Nnadika, Chimezie Amara

2007-03-01T12:14:17Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/2179

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1) Anikpo *Mark, Foundations of social science research: A methodological guide for students*, Enugu, Abia Publishers, 1986.
2) Auret Van Heerden, *Democratic Opposition: The progressive movement in South Africa*, Nusas, Cape Town, 1982.
3) Dahl Robert A., *Polyarchy: Participation and opposition*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.
4) Diamond Larry & Richard Guenther (eds.), *Political Parties and Democracy*, John Hopkins University, London, 1976.
5) Diamond Larry, *Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
6) Diamond Larry (et al) ed., *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
7) Du Fresne C., *A Quantitative Analysis of Opposition Politics*, unpublished work, University of Cape Town, 1994.
8) Feit Edward, *African Opposition in South Africa: The failure of passive resistance*, Stanford: Hoover Institute on war revolution and peace, Stanford University, California, 1967.
9) Frank A.G., 'Revolution in Eastern Europe: Implications for democratic social movements (and socialists)', Third Quarterly. April, 1990.
10) Frost M., 'Constitution Building and Politics in the new South Africa', Paper presented at the xvi World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Berlin, August 1994.
11) Gilliome Herman & Simkins Charles (eds.), *The Awkward Embrace: One party-Domination and Democracy*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999.
12) Heffner Richard D (ed)., *Democracy in America: Alexis De Tocqueville*, New York, Penguin Books, 1984.
13) Held David and Christopher Pollitt (eds.); *New Forms of Democracy*, SAGE Publications, London, 1986.
14) Huntington Samuel P., *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman and London, 1991.

15) Ionescu Ghita (et al), *Opposition: Past and Present of a Political Institution*. C.A Watts and co. Ltd, London, 1968.
16) Johnson R.W., *How Long Will South Africa Survive?,* Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1977.
17) Karpen Ulrich, 'The International Experience of Opposition Politics. Lessons for South Africa?' in Kotze Hennie (ed), *Parliamentary Dynamics: Understanding political life in the South African Parliament*, Centre for International and Comparative Politics, South Africa, 1996.
18) Kotze Hennie (ed.), *Parliamentary Dynamics: Understanding political life in the South African Parliament*, Center for International and Comparative Politics, South Africa, 1996.
19) Linz Juan J. & Alfred Stepan (eds)., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
20) Lodge Tom, *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*, Creda Communications, Cape Town, 2002.
21) Lodge Tom, *Consolidating Democracy: South Africa's second popular election*, Witwatersand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.
22) Marx Anthony W., *Lessons of struggle: South African internal opposition, 1960 – 1990*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992.
23) Mill John Stuart, *Representative Government: Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government*, London: J.M Dent & Sons, 1971.
24) Munck G.L., 'Explaining institutional choices in democratic transitions: Comparative perspectives on the East European and South American cases', Paper presented at the xvi World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Berlin, August 1994.
25) Olukoshi Adebayo (ed.), *The Politics of Opposition in Contemporary Africa*, Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet, Uppsala Sweden, 1998.
26) Pempel T.J (ed.), *Uncommon Democracies: One Party Dominant Regimes*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca New York, 1990.
27) Plattner Marc F. (et al) eds.; *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
28) Rabb Theodore K. & Suleiman Ezra N. (eds.), The Making and Unmaking of Democracy: Lessons from history and world politics, Routledge, U.K, 2002.

29) Rule S.P., 'Decoding South Africa's 1999 Electoral Geography', Third Biennial International Conference of the Society for South African Geographers, Windhoek, Namibia 5-9 July, 1999.
30) Schlemmer Lawrence (et al eds.) 'Policy Options for a new South Africa', Human Sciences Research Council, 1991.
31) Southall Roger (ed) *Opposition in South Africa's New Democracy, Seminar Report 28 – 30 June 2000*, Kariega Game Reserve Eastern Cape, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Johannesburg,2001.
32) Southall Roger, (ed) *Opposition and Democracy in South Africa*, Frank Cass Publishers. London, 2001.
33) Thompson Leonard & Prior Andrew, *South African Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982.
34) Welsh David (ed.), *Hope and Fear: Reflections of a Democrat Tony Leon*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 1998.
35) Zyl Slabbert Frederick V. (et al), *Comrades in Business: Post-liberation politics in South Africa*, Cape Town, Tafelberg Publishers, 1997.

JOURNALS, NEWSPAPERS, INTERNET AND OTHER SOURCES.

1) Adam Habib, 'South Africa needs new left opposition' Mail and Guardian 12-18 June 1998.
2) Adam Habib, 'The Dilemmas of Opposition' ThisDay, 13 August, 2004.
3) Adam Habib, 'South Africa- The rainbow nation and prospects for consolidating democracy', African Journal of Political Science, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1997.
4) Alence R., 'The 2004 Elections and Democratic Governance in South Africa', Election Update, No.7, 2004
5) Africa C. (etal) 'Political Party Support in South Africa: Trends Since 1994', Afrobarometer Briefing Paper, No.6, 2003.
6) Arian A. & Barnes S.H., 'The Dominant Party System: A Neglected Model of Democratic Stability', The Journal of Politics 36 (3), pp.592-614, 1974.

7) Barrel Howard, 'The Race for the Real Second Place' Mail and Guardian 28 Feb- 4 March 1999.
8) BBC News, 'South African Leader sacks deputy', Tuesday, 14 June, 2005. (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4092064.stm)
9) Booysen S., 'Ten Years of Democracy and the State of Opposition Politics in South Africa', *Election Update*, No. 8, 2004.
10) Business Day 1.03.04.
11) Butler Anthony, 'South Africa's Political Futures: The Positive and Negative Implications of One-party Dominance' Paper presented at the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, 7th August 2002.
12) Calland, Richard, 'An incoherent opposition' Mail and Guardian, Tuesday 15 November, 2005.
13) Cherry J., 'Elections 2004: The party lists and issues of identity, Election Synopsis 1 (3): 6-9, 2004.
14) Colin Eglin, remarks at an NDI seminar on 'The Role of the Legislature in consolidating democracy' in Abidjan 1997.
15) 'Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Regional changes' (http://www.colorado.edu/IBS/PEC/johno/pub/Global%20Democratization.pdf.)
16) Constitutional Talk, official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly, working draft edition.
17) Dahl Robert's 'A preface to democratic theory' (http://www.towson.edu/~roberts/339/p339ho04.htm)
18) Daniel J., 'The South African Elections of 1994, 1999 and 2004: The (Non) Issues Then & Now', *Election Synopsis*, Vol.1, No.1, 2004.
19) Daniel J., 'Third Time Lucky: the ANC's victory in KwaZulu-Natal', *Election Synopsis*, Vol.1, No.4, 2004.
20) 'Democracy's Third wave': International Information Programs (www.usinfo.state.gov)
21) Diamond Larry & Plattner Marc (eds.), 'Democratization in Africa', A Journal of Democratic Book (http://www.press.jhu.edu/books/title_pages/1432.html)
22) Don Brash, (Opposition Leader, New Zealand) (http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/guide2003/hgw/oppose.html)

23) Edigheji O., 'Fear Versus Freedom, Minority Parties and the ANC' Election Synopsis 1 (2), 2004.
24) EISA South African National Election Results 1994, 1999, www.eisa.org.za
25) Encyclopedia: Opposition (Parliamentary); http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opposition_(parliamentary)
26) Faull J., 'What is a Manisfesto and What Does it Mean?', Election Synopsis 1 (3), Johannesburg: Center for Policy Studies, 2004.
27) Financial Mail 9:04:04
28) 'Government and Opposition – Roles, Rights and Responsibilities' (A workshop organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, in co-operation with the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago and the Citizens' Agenda Network – Crowne Plaza Hotel, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, 25-27 July 2005).
29) Habib Adam, 'Introduction: Public opinion and the prospects for democratic consolidation in South Africa 1999-2001'. (www.hsrcpress.ac.za)
30) Hassim Shireen (et al) eds., Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.31, No.4, December, 2005.
31) Heat Joseph, 'What is the role of the opposition?, Montreal Gazette, August 20, 2003.
32) Heidi Brooks, 'The Dominant Party System: Challenges for South Africa's Second Decade of Democracy', EISA Occasional Paper Number 25, October, 2004. (http://www.eisa.org.za/EISA/publications/jaec.htm).
33) Hendricks C., 'On the campaign Trail in the Western Cape', Election Update, No.6, 2004.
34) Herzenberg C., 'Party Support in South Africa's Third Democratic Election: Set in Stone for Grabs', Election Synopsis 1 (3), 2004.
35) Hicks J., 'Public participation beyond the election', Election Synopsis 1 (1):8-12, 2004.
36) Hoeana Thabisi, 'Under Strain: The Racial/Ethnic Interpretation of South Africa's 2004 Election', Journal of African Elections, Vol.3, No.2, 2004.
37) Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), National Election Results 2004.
38) Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Provincial Election Results
39) Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Media Release, Floor Crossing Period for Municipal Councillors, September, 2004.
40) Independent Electoral Commission; (http://www.elections.org.za/elections2004_static.asp)

41) International Conference on Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Trends and Challenges: Conference Report (www.inpr.org.tw/publish/abstract)
42) Interview with Rev. KRJ Meshoe, MP; Leader of ACDP.
43) Interview with Mr. Sabina Richmond, the Parliamentary Media Liaison Officer for ACDP.
44) Interview with Tony Leon (DA Leader).
45) Interview with Mpho Shule, Spokesperson for AZAPO.
46) Interview with Monique Scharffenorth, PA to Leader of the ID (Patricia De Lille.)
47) Interview with Protas Mdlala, (an independent political analyst)
48) Journal of Democracy, (http://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy)
49) Kane-Berman John, 'South Africa's future and the role of opposition parties' (http://www.fnst.org/webcom/show_article)
50) Kiiza Julius, 'The Role of Opposition Parties in a Democracy', A paper presented at the Regional Conference on Political Parties and Democratization in East Africa, Impala Hotel, Arusha, 25-27 August 2005.
51) Klosko George, 'Democracy and Liberty: Extending the paradigm in the Review of Politics, vol.67, winter 2005, No.1
52) Landsberg C., 'Democratization, Dominant Parties and Weak Opposition: The Southern African Project', EISA Occasional Paper, 22, 2004.
53) Landsberg C. & Mackay S., 'South Africa's decade of democracy, inequality and impoverishment', Election Synopsis 1 (1):3-5, 2004.
54) Letsholo Sydney, 'How the ANC won the 2004 Elections: Perspectives on voting behaviour in South Africa' in EISA Occasional paper, Number 31, April 2005.
55) Lodge Tom, 'The Context: How the System Works', Election Update, No. 1, 2004.
56) Lodge Tom, 'Which criteria are most important in choosing an electoral institute for post-1999 South Africa?' Paper presented to Electoral Systems Roundtable, Electoral Institute of South Africa, 14-15 Aug. 1998, Cape Town, South Africa.
57) Mail and Guardian, 28 May- 3 June 1999.
58) Mail and Guardian, September 9 – 15, 2005.
59) Mattes R., Paper presented to the Research Colloquium of the South African Political Sciences Association North-West, 6-7 October, 1994.

60) Matlosa K. & Karume S., 'Ten Years of Democracy and the Dominant Party System in South Africa' Election Update, No.5, 2004.
61) Mbeki Thabo, 'We salute all South Africans on a decade of freedom, ANC Today 4,16, April 23-29, 2004.
62) Mbeki Thabo, address, Closing the debate at the opening of Parliament, 30th June 1999
63) Myburg J., 'Floor Crossing adds new muscle to ANC', Focus 30, June, Johannesburg: Helen Suzman Foundation, 2003.
64) Opposition parties in a democratic South Africa (http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo13i.html)
65) Piombo, Jessica; 'Politics in a stabilizing democracy: South Africa's 2004 Elections', Strategic Insights, volume 3, issue 5, May 2004.
66) Piper Lawrence, 'The Election result and its implications for political party configuration', Journal of African Elections, Vol. 3, Issue 2, Dec. 2004.
67) Pippa N. & Mattes R., 'Does Ethnicity Determine Support for the governing Party?' CSSR Working Paper, No. 36. 2004.
68) Ramutsindela M., 'Identity and Voting Trends in South Africa' in Public Attitudes in Contemporary South Africa, HSRC, 2002.
69) Rapoo T., 'Election 2004: Party Campaign Strategies and Tactics' Election Synopsis 1 (3), 2004.
70) Richard Rose and Doh Chullshin, 'Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third Wave Democracies'(http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk/index.html?abs314.html).
71) Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor and Cherrel Africa, 'Party Support and voting intention (11)' Press Release, 8 Dec. 1998, in http: www.idasa.org.za
72) Roefs M., 'One-party dominance, racial cleavages and deceasing voter turnout', Election Synopsis 1 (1):17-19, 2004.
73) Report of a workshop on the rights and responsibilities of the opposition, Marlborough House, London, 8-10 June 1998.
74) Sachs Michael, 'Voting Patterns in the 1999 and 2004 elections compared' in Election Synopsis.
75) Schedler A., 'What is Democratic Consolidation?' Journal of Democracy, Vol.9

76) Schire Robert, 'The Realities of Opposition in South Africa: Legitimacy, Strategies and Consequences', Democratization, Vol.8, No.1, 2001.
77) Schmitter, P.C and Terry L. Karl, Journal of Democracy, Vol.2, No. 3.,p.76.
78) Schmitz Gerald, 'The Opposition in a Parliamentary System' Paper submitted to Political and Social Affairs Division, Canada, December, 1988.
79) Slabbert F. Van Zyl, 'Comments on current Parliamentary politics in South Africa' (http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo13j.html)
80) See, the DP's document 'The Politics of Intolerance: How the ANC attempts to de-legitimize its opponents'.
81) Southall Roger, 'Small Parties to face oblivion', The Citizen, 14 January, 2004.
82) Southall Roger, 'To Vote or not to Vote', ThisDay, 10 February, 2004.
83) Southall Roger, 'Voters will vote: Whatever the Logic' Business Day, 6 February, 2004.
84) Southall Roger, 'Containing accountability, Election Synopsis 1 (1): 6-8, 2004.
85) Southall R. & Daniel J., 'The State of Parties Post-Election 2004: ANC Dominance and Opposition Enfeeblement' in State of the Nation, 2005.
86) Speech by the CPA Secretary General at a joint CPA/Commonwealth Secretariat Workshop on 'The Role of Opposition', London, 1998.
87) Speech by the Commonwealth Secretary General to the CPA annual conference, Bangladesh 2003.
88) Speech by the (then) Commonwealth Secretary General at the preparatory meeting of the roundtable of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Africa on Democracy and Good Governance in Africa; Botswana, 1997.
89) Suttner Raymond, 'Democratic transition and consolidation in South Africa: The advise of 'the experts', Current Sociology, vol.52 (5): 755-773, SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, C.A and New Delhi, 2004.
90) Sunday Independent 16:05:04.
91) Sunday Times 11:04:04
92) Taylor Rupert & Hoeane T., 'Interpreting the South African Election of June 1999', Politikon, Vol. 26, No.1, 1999.
93) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa', 1996; Act 108 of 1996.
94) The 2004 South African general elections (http://www.saweb.co.za/elections/default.asp)

95) The Democracy Encyclopaedia, 1995.

96) The Star, 6 November'93.

97) 'The Third Wave: New Democracies in the 1990's an Beyond' (http://www.ccd21.org/library_thirdwave.htm)

98) Tony Leon, 'There is a hopeful future for opposition politics', (http://www.suntimes.co.za/2004/05/02/insight/in06.asp)

99) Tony Leon's speech to the JHB Press Club; Thursday 10th June 2004.

100) UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), Human Development Report 2002, 'Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World, New York University Press, 2002.

101) United Kingdom Parliament 'Government and Opposition' (http://www.parliament.uk/works/pagovopp.cfm)

102) Vicki Robinson (etal) 'The ANC Monolith starts to crack' Mail & Guardian 24th February, 2006. (On-Line)

103) Wray Quentin, 'For the sake of democracy, opposition to the ANC must come from the Left', Business Report, April 18, 2004. (http://www.businessreport.co.za/index.php?fsectionid=552&fArticle1d=406662)

104) http://www.idasa.org.za/

105) http://www.hsrc.ac.za/

106) www.elections.org

107) http://www.ifp.org.za

108) http://www.hsf.org.za/focus34

109) http:www.sabcnews.com/feature/elections_2004

110) http://www.anc.org.za/anctoday (Vol.4, No.5)

111) http://www.saweb.co.za/elections/default.asp

112) http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/guide2003/hgw/oppose.html

113) http://www.parliament.uk/works/pagovopp.cfm

114) http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/bp47-e.htm

115) http://canadaonline.about.com/cs/parliament/g/oppositionparty.htm

116) http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4092064.stm

117) http://www.info.gov.za

118) http://www.comms.dcu.ie/sheehanh/za/cronin02.htm

119) http://www.uct.ac.za/depts/cssr/pubs.html