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Members of the
Independent Electoral Commission
Technical Committee
The World Trade Center
Kenton Park, Jones Road
Johannesburg
South Africa

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Attention Mr. Dennis Davis or Dr. Ginwala

In response to the request I received from our Embassy today concerning Special Voter ID cards, collection of voter cards and indelible ink, I hope the following will be useful in your deliberations.

1. **Special Voter ID cards**

Before commenting on these, what follows is based on the assumption that any use of Special Voter ID cards would be supplementary to the official South Africa identity documents. Given the extremely limited time remaining between now and April 27th, it would appear impossible to issue Special Voter ID cards to all twenty-two million electors. Therefore, on the assumption that the eighteen or nineteen million South African identity documents issued by the Department of Home Affairs, would be the basic voter identity documents, Special Voter ID cards would apply only to those three or four million individuals who did not already possess South African identity documents. This might comprise two groups: those who might be eligible to obtain these documents, but could not be processed in sufficient time and those who might be legally qualified to vote under the Elections Act but not at this time eligible to receive South African identity documents.

Before addressing the question concerning campaigns mounted in other countries for issuing Special Voter ID cards, I think it is important to mention that the reality of issuing special voter ID cards in a short time frame which are respected as valid and secure documents is dependant on clear, specific, and equitable criteria which can be applied to a registration system in order to minimize bureaucratic delays. For example, the criteria might require a minimum age of 18 years, South African citizenship, or residence in South Africa or a homeland for a minimum of five or ten years. If cards were to be issued rapidly, the system linked to

requirements would not permit extensive investigation of each individual's qualifications but would have to be based on available documentation or vouching by a credible individual at the time of registration. The integrity of the system could be enhanced by providing for a challenge mechanism by candidates registered political parties and/or other eligible electors.

There are two basic ways of mounting campaigns which might be carried out very quickly. The first approach would be to train a large number of registration officials (possibly using non-governmental organizations to assist in this), and to go out on a "house-to-house" basis to seek out the electors who do not possess the official South Africa identity document and issue them Voter ID cards on the spot. The second approach, would be to follow that which was done very successfully over a three-week period in Nicaragua whereby extensive publicity was given to the fact that special registration stations would be established in vast number of locations on Saturdays and Sundays over a three-week period and anyone who wished to register had the responsibility to get to a registration centre. This was extremely successful and also because voting took place in most of the same locations, the identification of a majority of the polling sites was known when the election was held later. Therefore, the added bonus was that electors who had registered under this system knew exactly where the polls were located.

In either case it is critical to a rapid registration process that Voter Identification Cards - preferably with photos on them, are them are issued on the spot. I believe that Home Affairs may already have the Polaroid equipment for issuing these kinds of cards, which of course would be different in design and preferably differently coloured from the official South African identity documents.

In order to conduct an intense and rapid registration exercise under either the first or second scenario, a large number of trained registration officials are required, and a comprehensive programme of identifying the thousands of locations where registration activities will be required and the logistics with respect to transportation, materials, etc., are critical to the success of such a programme, (which is not inexpensive). However, it is possible to carry out such an initiative in a period of about a month or six weeks following planning and preparation time of about an equal length, if sufficient resources are available, longer with fewer resources.

I believe it is essential that (a) the criteria for eligibility to obtain a voter's card; (b) the registration and challenge process; and (c) the measures taken to ensure that individuals are not in possession of both a Voter Identity Card and a South African Identity Document; are comprehensively explained and understood throughout the country and accepted as "fraud-free" to the greatest extent possible.

With respect to the question with respect to collecting voter's cards to avoid fraud, in some countries Voter's Cards are collected for this purpose. In other situations the Voter's Cards are collected where there has been a challenge and the voter has cast a tendered ballot. In these situations following validation of the voter information, the card is normally returned to the elector.

Consideration should be given to the cost of issuing Voter's Cards in relation to the need to collect them in order to avoid accusations of fraud. If, as I believe, the issuance of Voter's Cards will be a costly exercise, and certainly if the photograph of the elector and/or his/her fingerprint is also on the card, it would probably be desirable to let the elector keep the document for future electoral use. In order to avoid fraud, the usefulness of the card at this particular election could be negated by punching a hole in the card after the person has voted, and, of course, if all electors must be marked with a indelible or ultraviolet ink, this will avoid voting more than once by any individual. Finally, following this election, it is possible that some common national status of individuals will evolve, and if this turns out to be the case, the voter ID cards could serve as a basis for the issuance of new South African identity cards to these individuals as well as those already in possession of South African identity cards.

2. Indelible Ink

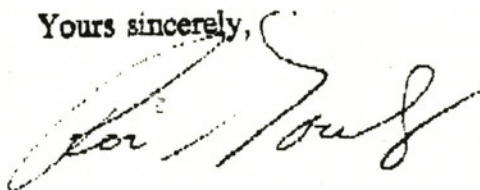
The question was raised concerning experience with indelible ink. Several days ago, I received a telephone call from an individual who mentioned that Dr. Ginwala had asked her to call me about the pros and cons of ultraviolet inks and indelible inks, and whether there had been experience to illustrate whether either or both of these types of inks could last without being removed for up to three days, if the decision was to hold the South African election over a three-day period.

I will not repeat here all of the details which I provided with respect to the strengths and weaknesses of both types of inks, except to say that ultraviolet inks were used in Cambodia where the election took place over six days, and although there were accusations of ink being removed and of double voting, these were not substantiated and the experience there was that the inks remained on the skin throughout the period. I personally have dipped my finger in indelible inks used at a number of elections in several countries, and despite attempts to remove it, the ink remained on my finger for at least several days, and on my cuticle from anywhere from two weeks to one month. I therefore believe that both inks have the potential to mark the skin for at least three days - provided that the correct ink is purchased after being carefully tested for quality and ensuring it cannot be removed by any common chemicals. However, I should stress that no matter how good the inks are, there will always be rumours and accusations concerning how easily they can be removed.

If you would like any further details such as I provided recently to the person who called, please do not hesitate to let me know.

I hope that the above comments will provide the information you desired. As we are now in the final days leading up to Voting Day on Monday, October 25th, I will be in the office during the day on Sunday, October 24th, and on Monday, October 25th, I will be here from early morning through late at night. For the balance of the week of October 25th, I will be here during our normal working hours. If you wish to reach me you can call me here at (613) 993-7333, or at home after working hours, at night or early morning at (613) 820-3732.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ron Gould", written in dark ink.

Ron Gould
Assistant Chief Electoral Officer