



Federal Independent
Democratic Alliance
P.O. Box 10528
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) 834 4027/8

403-4268/9

10th Dec. 1991

Judge Ishmael Mahomet
Supreme Court Building
Van Brandwijk Square
Pretoria Street
JHB 2000.

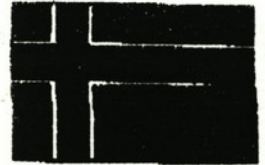
Sir,

Fida wants to participate in the Negotiation Process and to contribute towards the creation of a new South Africa. The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) is a political Organization with a proven card carrying membership of 400,000.

We strongly believe that all political groupings with a proven following must be included in the negotiation process. We also believe that Justice Democracy and fairness must be the chief cornerstone of a new non-racial democratic South Africa.

Sincerely Yours

John Gopha President
John 5040174



Federal Independent
Democratic Alliance
P.O. Box 10628
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) 403-4288/9
Fax: (011) 403-1657

Date: 16.2.92.

OUR REF:

YOUR REF:

(All correspondence address to F.I.D.A.)

TO : ASHLEY , SECRETARIAT, CODESA.

I refer to my telephone conversation and send herewith no. 8 pages sent to dr. Stoffel van der Merwe on 27-2-92. The covering letter is not included since it is in a file not at office. I will send it later since it refers to funding and one or two other items called for. (RECEIVED)

FROM :

PIETER J. PELSER
ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY.
HOUSE FAURE
BRODIE ROAD, WYNBERG 7800
TEL. 7622126 (011).

FOR ATTENTION: ASHLEY.



Federal Independent
Democratic Alliance
P.O. Box 10528
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) 403-4268/9
Fax: (011) 403-1557

OUR REF: P.J.P.

YOUR REF:

(All correspondence address to F.I.D.A.)

Date: 27.2.92.....

Die Sekretariaat
KODESA
Posbus 307
Isando 1600

Geagte dr. van der Merwe

I.S. TOELATING VAN FIDA TOT KODESA

Die meegaande verslag is opgestel voordat u kennisgewing ontvang is, en gevolglik volg die items soos uiteengesit nie u volgorde nie.

Die enigste ontbrekende inligting is die volgende:

1. BEFONDSING. Hierdie vind plaas deur die minimum bedrag van R5 per partylid per jaar, en ook deur groot sakeondernemings se bydraes. Behalwe dit, beskik ons oor 'n Trust wat ons op verlerlei praktiese maniere bystaan.

Met meer as 400,000 lede (waarvan party studente) beloop ons inkomste dus etlike honderde duisende uit daardie bron alleen. Ons is dus lewensvatbaar wat dit betref.

2. DEELNAME IN PLAASLIKE BESTURE. Daar is etlike Plaaslike Besture wat in hul geheel lede is van FIDA. Hierna is verwys in die Verslag sowel as in koerantartikels. Indien u verdere inligting verlang verskaf ons dit graag.
3. PERSONEEL. Ons huidige personeel bestaan uit 9 lede, buiten hulle wat op rade en komitees dien.

Ek vertrou dat die meegaande inligting voldoen aan u vereistes. U is in elk geval welkom by ons Hoofkantoor om ledelyste te ondersoek.

Die uwe

.....
PIETER J. PELSER: WAARNEMENDE ALG. SEKRETARIS



Federal Independent
Democratic Alliance
P.O. Box 10528
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) 403-4268/9
Fax: (011) 403-1557

Date: 27.7.92.....

OUR REF:

YOUR REF:

(All correspondence address to F.I.D.A.)

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (FIDA) SINCE 5 JULY 1987

Following the omission of FIDA from the CODESA talks thus far, the accompanying report demonstrates beyond any doubt that FIDA has as much right to be present at the talks as any party participating at present.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Viljoen, informed me personally that the case for FIDA's inclusion could not be put across strongly due to the lack of information and proof of its political activities. While we believe that the same is patently true of many of the present participants, we are of the opinion that, should this be the perception concerning FIDA, it could only be because FIDA-supporters do not attract the Press precisely because it is a non-violent, anti-sanctions, free-market-orientated party. This does not sell newspapers. It is violence, arson, nationalisation and confiscation of possessions which does.

In spite of the above, FIDA has been reported in numerous newspapers during the past years. Some of these reports have been included in the following Report. This has been done with a view to supplementing previous submissions and reports to the Honourable Minister which may not be readily available to CODESA.

The subject matter has been dealt with under the following headings:

1. FORMATION
2. PREVIOUS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT & PARTICIPATION
3. RALLIES, CONGRESSES & MEETINGS
4. PUBLICATIONS
5. REGIONAL OFFICES
6. HOUSE MEETINGS
7. FUTURE PLANS
8. CONCLUSION

1. FORMATION

On 5 July 1987 the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance was formed in Johannesburg as a Political Party, with 4300 delegates present. The Party, since its inception, has been committed to negotiations, non-violence and the dismantling of apartheid as a system of government. Reference is made to this occurrence in five of the many press articles in our possession enclosed under "A".

This should leave no doubt as to the true nature of FIDA and that we cannot be shunted out of CODESA as merely an "Interest Group". We have as much right to be included - no, more of a right to be included, than many of the parties presently participating.

2. PREVIOUS ACKNOWLEDGMENT & PARTICIPATION

Up until CODESA there was absolutely no indication that there was a chance of FIDA being excluded from the talks.

This is borne out by the following:

2.1 FIDA was included in the initial Peace Talks and delivered a printed Report by our President, Mr John Gogotya. (This Report is already in the Department's possession, but extra copies can be made available on request)

2.2 FIDA was assured by both Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe that we would be included right up until a few days before talks started.

2.3 The enclosed newspaper clipping from a Transvaal newspaper, marked "B", demonstrates that our National Executive met with the State President on 9 October 1990 to discuss proposed participation in the negotiating process." This took place in the presence of Mr Roelf Meyer.

2.4 Business Day's report (marked "C") informs that FIDA had drawn up Constitutional Proposals to which Dr Gerrit Viljoen was to have responded. These proposals represented months of work by our President and leading academics who are part of the FIDA National Executive. (This proposed Constitution is in the hands of Dr Viljoen. Further copies available on request).

3. RALLIES, CONGRESSES & MEETINGS

3.1 The enclosed Update marked "D" makes it clear that soon after its inception in 1987, FIDA held a Rally at Bothaville, a Convention at Kroonstad, and opened offices at Steynsburg, Molteno, Tarkastad and Nouport. In addition, whole black Councils at Welkom, Middelburg, Smithfield and Bloemfontein joined up with FIDA.

3.2 A 1989 Congress in Bloemfontein was attended by 6000 people.

3.3 New Nation's newspaper of 30 November 1990 reports on a Congress held at Nasrec near Soweto where 1500 attended (enclosure marked "E"). A later meeting there drew between 15-20000!

3.4 The Star Review of 2 December 1990 (marked "F") demonstrates that FIDA's 1988 Convention drew 10000 delegates.

3.5 Rallies were held during 1991 at the following towns:

3.5.1	Secunda	- July	- attendance	2500
3.5.2	Ermelo	- April	- "	2000-3000
3.5.3	Aliwal North	- May	- "	800
3.5.4	Steynsburg	- May	- "	2000
3.5.5	Middleburg	- May	- "	2000

The Steynsburg Rally saw the white community hall being filled with blacks for the first time. White businessmen also attended.

The Middelburg Rally was held in the new Community Hall which was officially opened the next day.

Further meetings were held at:

3.5.6	Jansenville	in 1991
3.5.7	Graaff Reinet	in 1991
3.5.8	Klipplaat	in 1991
3.5.9	de Aar	in 1991 where the local Mayor took part
3.5.10	Numerous meetings were, and are, being held in the Transvaal	

4. PUBLICATIONS

Apart from the mainly Transvaal Press coverage during the past years FIDA produces a newsletter, **THE DEMOCRAT**, with a monthly circulation of 30000. Many Regional Papers have requested publication of its articles. One is included, marked "G" coming Cradock.

5. REGIONAL OFFICES

5.1 A list, marked "H" gives names and addresses of Regional offices in the Orange Free State alone, these being at Harrismith, Welkom, Odendaarsrus, Warden, Heilbron, Reddersburg, Koffiefontein, Petrusburg, Edenburg, Britz and Theunissen. An office is in the process of being formed at Bethlehem.

5.2 The most recent branches to be added to the numerous branches in the Transvaal was for the Vogville/Carltonville area, where 500 people attended the opening.

5.3 The Cape Town Regional Office, which since its start, 8 months ago, has just over 3000 members. Mr Sicelo Ndwanyana and Andile Snidelo man the office at address Private Bag X7 DF Malan Airport, Cape Town 8000

6. HOUSE MEETINGS

These, too numerous to mention, have been held throughout the country almost on a daily basis.

7. FUTURE PLANS FOR NEXT 6 MONTH PERIOD

- 7.1 Extensive membership drive to swell the present more than 400 000 paid-up, card carrying members.
- 7.2 Extensive publicity to new branches to be opened
- 7.3 Regular comments on issues of the day.
- 7.4 Rallies to be held at Soweto
Bethlehem
Steynsburg
Port Elizabeth
Uitenhage
Bothaville
Kimberley
- 7.5 A National Convention is planned for July.

8. CONCLUSION

Should there still be any doubt left in the minds of the Secretariat, a visit to our offices at the address on our letterhead, will be welcomed. With respect, we are of the opinion that should this submission fail to convince the Secretariat of our bona fides, our up to now perplexed members will view the further proceedings of CODESA with no small degree of suspicion. I trust, however, that these profound doubts will soon be a thing of the past and that FIDA will be accorded its rightful place at the CODESA talks.



PJ PELSER
Acting General Secretary

House Faure, Brodie Road, Wynberg 7800

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE FIDA

Mr John Gogotya	:	President
Mr A. Tekwana	:	Deputy President
Mr Mwezi Twala	:	Human Rights
Mr Tom Mashinini	:	National Organizer
Prof. Dr. Dan Kriek (UNISA)	:	Nasional Chairman
Mr Colin Vale (WITS)	:	Internasional Relations
Mr P.J. Pelser	:	Acting General Secretary
Mr David Mokgosi	:	Chairman - Youth
Mrs Ruth Leotlela	:	Chairperson - Women
Mr J. Tshungu	:	Communication
Mr M.B. Mohlahledi	:	Legal Advisor
Mr H. Morobe	:	Legal Advisor
Mr M. Mathee	:	Legal Advisor
Mr K. Moloi	:	Local Government
Mr H. Hlatshwayo	:	Additional Member
Mr V. Thusi	:	" "
Mr W. Bhanisi	:	" "
Mr S. Rantshoereng	:	" "
Mr S. Sibisi	:	" "
Mr W.S. Masango	:	" "
Mr P. Tswagong	:	" "
Mr S. Pule	:	" "

CONSULTANTS - RSA & INTERNATIONAL

Dr Gordon Sibiya, Prof André Thomashausen (UNISA), Prof PJJS Potgieter (Potch. Univ.), Mr MB Mohlahledi (legal), Dr Werner Guyer (Zurich - Economic Reconstr.), Dr Alphonso E Max - Chili, Dr Hans Middleman - Cape Town, Dr Jan Marais & Robert Hall (Cape Town), Reed Irvine - Chairman - Accuracy in Media, USA, Jack Stockdale - Dir. Americans for Biblical Govnt., James J. Beulet - Liberty Alliance, Washington.

NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE

Mr David Mokgosi - director

Assisted by Andile Sicelo, John Maluleke, Reginald Majtokana, S. Hlatshwayo and Mabhoiyi Zondo.

WOMENS DIVISION

Mrs Ruth Leotlela - director

Assisted by S Ngwenta, P Nkosi, V Diwathi, M Mokone and P Ngomane.

ALLIANCES WITH OTHER PARTIES

1. DIKWANKWELA PARTY
2. XIMOKO PARTY
3. SOFASONKE PARTY

REGIONAL OFFICES FIDA

1. ORANGE FREE STATE

Harrismith : Rev. E Tinte, 1928 Phumolong, 42nd Hill, Harrismith.
Welkom : Mr A. Morone, 3509 Moogomo Street, Motse Thabong.
Odendalsrus : Mr N.J. Pina, 1041 Kutloanong 9480.
Warren : Mr M. Nkabinie, 104 Ezenzeieni Township.
Heilbron : Mr S. Mabokoane, 1215 Phiritona Township.
Reddersburg : Mr N. Mothiba, P.O.Box 93, Reddersburg.
Koffiefontein : Mr T.F. Manjies, 104 Boitumelong Township.
Petrusburg : Mr H. Ratsibela, 109 Ikaneng Township.
Edenburg : Mr S. Mofobe, 1510 Harasebei Township.
Reitz : Mr L.A. Moloi, Box 43, Reitz.
Theunissen : Mr C.G. Sibisi, 863 Maliso Township.

2. TRANSVAAL OFFICES

Pretoria: Mr Justice Tshungu (director)

Soweto: Mr Vincent Thusi (director)

There are sub-offices at Dobsonville, Meadowlands, Diepkloof/Jhb.

Johannesburg North, Sandton, Randburg: Mr J.B. Pheiffer (director)

East Rand: K. Moloi (director)

There are sub-offices at Alexandria, Katlehong, Germiston, Tsubisa, Thokoza, Vosloosrus, Springs, Nigel & Brakpan.

West Rand: David Mokgosi (director)

Eastern Tvl. Region: M. Zondo (director)

Western Tvl. Region: P. Tshwagong (director)

There are smaller offices for the Southern Transvaal, Vaal Triangle, Highveld and Northern Tvl.

3. CAPE PROVINCE

Karoo Region: W. Bhanisi (director)

Eastern Cape: R.Z. Kula (organizer)

S.F. Gwebushi "

Ernest T. Lukas "

Alla Stokwe "

France Langboo "

Western Cape: Cape Town

4. NATAL

There are offices at Durban and South Coast.

30/10/90

Fida meets De Klerk for talks

THE national executive committee of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance met President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday to discuss Fida's proposed participation in the negotiation process.

The FIDA delegation was led by its president, Mr John Gogotya, while De Klerk was assisted by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister, Roelf Meyer.

According to a Fida Press release, the alliance advocates the formation of joint working groups between Fida and the Government.

Models

Fida said it doubted whether people would learn to elect leaders on political rather than cultural or ethnic grounds.

Under such circumstances, majorities carried the risk of being artificial and ultimately oppressive if the democratic process was to be limited to simplistic models, such as the Westminster system.

According to Fida, national resources should be protected by the state.

Private

It also advocates the right to private economic initiative, the right to private property, and to one's own rewards and fair taxation.

"Special and penalising taxes may be imposed in cases of an under-utilisation of personal resources, capital or land," it said. - Sapa.

'Hervorming geskied met 'n slakkepas

Proses moet aangehelp word - Fida

Deur Ons Politieke Benigewer

DIE Regering is gister daarvan beskuldig dat hy met 'n "slakkepas" beweeg met die hervormingsproses.

Die aantygting kom van die Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), 'n breed politieke alliansie wat daarop aanspraak maak dat hy landwyd tussen 400 000 en 600 000 swartmense verteenwoordig.

'n Alvaardiging van Fida onder leiding van sy leier, mnr. John Gogotya, het gister in die Uniegebou langer as twee uur samesprekinge gevoer met pres. F.W. de Klerk, bygestaan deur mnr. Roelf Meyer, Adjunk-minister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling.

Daar is onder meer ooreengekom dat die Regering en Fida gesamentlike werkgroepe sal vorm met die oog op die versterking van die vreedsame hervormingsproses wanneer die behoefte daaraan ontstaan.

Mnr. Gogotya het ná die ontmoeting gesê dit was 'n openhartige, maar tauit gesprek. Fida het sy waardering uitgespreek vir pres. De Klerk se inisiatiewe en sy verbintenis tot en erns met die skep van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika.

Die alliansie het egter beklemtoon dat daar 'n groeiende aandrang is dat die hervormingsproses aangehelp word sodat die nuwe Suid-Afrika tot stand kan kom en sy regmatige plek in die wêreldgemeenskap kan inneem.

"Ons meen dat die Regering te stadig vorder met die hervormingsproses. Daar word met 'n slakkepas beweeg."

Mnr. Gogotya het gesê die kwessie van die terugkeer van uitgewekenes is deeglik bespreek. "Ons meen nie dis die ANC se voorreg om daaroor met die Regering te onderhandel nie. Daar is baie uitgewekenes wat buite die ANC-strukture na die land wil terugkeer."

Voorts is die destabilisering van swart woonbuurte en selfregerende gebiede deur geweldpleging en intimidasie, en die herstrukturering van die ekonomiese bo-
spreek.

Oor moontlike alliansies met die ANC en/of die Regering het mnr. Gogotya gesê Fida is nie te vinde vir ooreenkomste met die ANC nie as dit beteken dat hy met hoed in die hand na die ANC moet ga.

Insgeelyks beskou Fida die Regering steeds as die verdrukter sodat 'n alliansie in dié stadium buite die kwessie is.

'n Verklaring wat ná die ontmoeting uitgereik is, sê Fida hy aanvaar dat 'n land in baie opsigte verdeeld is, veral tussen "stedelike moderniste" en "plattelandse tradisionalistes", asook tussen "onderskeie kultuur- en taalgroepe."

"Ons twyfel of ons mense eensklaps gaan leer om leiers te verkies in ooreenstemming met politieke voorkeure ple van kulturele of etniese belange." In sulke omstandighede sal verdrukking voorkom as die demokratiese proses beperk word tot simplistiese modelle, soos die Westminster-stelsel.

Lede van die kongres sal verkies word deur universele, gelyke, proporsionele en voorvaste stemreg sonder enige onderskeid. Dit beteken dat die beginsel van een mens, een stem gerespekteer word.

Voorts is Fida onder meer ten gunste van:

- 'n Beheerde en maatskaplik verantwoorde, vryemark-ekonomie waarin private inisiatief en produktiwiteit aangemoedig word;
- 'n Gewaarborgde reg vir gevestigde kulturele gemeenskappe om hul eie onderwysinstellings te skep en private onderwysinstellings om, onderhewig aan die nasionale opvoedingsriglyne en -standaarde, hul eie primêre taalmedium en godsdienslike en filosofiese oriëntasie te bepaal;

- 'n Handves van menseregte waarin nie net voorsiening gemaak word vir die tradisionele individuele "Amerikaanse burgerregte" nie, maar ook vir algemene beginsels, individuele regte, gesamentlike regte, ekonomiese, maatskaplike en kulturele regte en basiese pligte; en
- Gelykheid voor die reg en dat alle vorme van rassediskriminasie onwettig en strafbaar sal wees.

New Black political group wants to work with the govt

By Erik Larsen

A "middle-of-the-road" Black political organisation, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) has advocated the formation of joint working groups between itself and the government.

This follows a meeting between the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and 11 national executive Fida members at the State President's office at Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

The president of Fida, Mr John Gogotya, said afterwards that it had

been a "frank, fruitful, no holds barred" meeting.

The delegation had taken the State President to task over the "snail-pace" of reform.

He said they had discussed the formation of ad hoc committees to deal with specific issues.

Questioned about the African National Congress, Mr Gogotya said his organisation was not in favour of going to the ANC "with cap in hand", but did acknowledge that the ANC was one of the

political organisations which should be involved in negotiating a new constitution for this country.

He did not see Fida forming an alliance with the National Party, which he still regarded as "our oppressors" and that only when a new South Africa was established could they talk of alliances.

Mr Gogotya said the delegation had also discussed the issue of the return of exiles and they had stressed that this should not be reserved

exclusively for ANC supporters, but that other political parties and organisations must also be involved.

Security problems such as intimidation and the destabilisation of homelands and Black townships had come under discussion.

The State President had also shown interest in Fida's proposals for a new constitution and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Ger Viljoen, would respond due course, said Mr Gogotya.

Fida, which boasts membership of between 400 000 and 600 000 paid up members, was in favour of a congress where members would be elected by universal and proportional vote of all adult citizens without any distinction. This meant that the principle of one person one vote would be respected.

Fida felt that the new constitution should provide for a controlled, socially responsible free market economy, where private initiative and productivity would be encouraged.

Mr Gogotya said De Klerk's response to the question of Fida participating in the negotiation process had been "problem". Fida said in a Press release yesterday it doubted whether people would learn to elect leaders political rather than tribal or ethnic groups. Under such circumstances, majorities tried the risk of being official and ultimately oppressive if the democratic process was to be limited to simplistic models, such as the Westminster system.

Business Day 30/10/90

FW sanctions Fida's participation in talks

EDYTH BULBRING

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk yesterday sanctioned the participation by the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance in the negotiation process. Fida president John Gogotya said yesterday.

The Fida national executive met De Klerk and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer in Pretoria yesterday to discuss Fida's proposed participation in the negotiation process.

Gogotya said Fida had a membership of between 400 000 and 600 000 people and would represent a "broad spectrum of ethnic diversity".

At a media briefing after the meeting, Gogotya said De Klerk's attitude to Fida's participation in the negotiation process was "no problem". He described the meeting as "frank, fair

and a bit tough".

Fida presented its constitutional proposals to De Klerk at the meeting and was told that Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen would respond to these proposals.

Gogotya said government had to be taken to task for moving at a snail's pace in the negotiation process.

He said Fida felt the repatriation of exiles was not the prerogative of only the ANC as many exiles were not members of the ANC.

Other topics discussed were security, the formation of ad hoc discussion groups between Fida and the NP and the restructuring of local government.

Fida was not prepared to form an alliance with the NP as it still saw the NP as the oppressor.

FEDERAL INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

(F.I.D.A.)

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

SUMMARY OF ESSENTIAL POINTS

THE DRAFT

During December 1989, F.I.D.A. started working on the preparation of an actual draft constitution for the new South Africa. The task, similar to that given by the present National Party Government to the South African Law Commission, was completed on 26 October 1990, when F.I.D.A.'s "CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA" was approved by its Central Committee, following months of discussions and meetings with its delegates, office bearers, and members.

We are the first and only organisation to present an actual proposal for our much talked about new South African constitution. As a predominantly African grassroots organisation, we are especially proud of this achievement, seeing that we neither have the manpower and infrastructure at our disposal, which the Government commands, nor the funding and world-wide support which the ANC can rely upon.

ITS ORIGINS

The draft was prepared, essentially, by an internationally renowned constitutional expert, on the basis of F.I.D.A.'s instructions, and in close co-operation with F.I.D.A.'s panel of academic advisors. Academically, the draft was influenced mainly by the new constitutions of Belgium, Brazil, Guatemala, Mozambique, Spain, and Uruguay, as well as the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the constitution of the European Communities as a supra-national organisation.

CONTENTS

The CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA is a detailed draft, article by article, comprising eight parts: I - *Fundamental Principles*; II - *Fundamental Rights and Duties*; III - *System of Government*; IV - *Taxation, Revenue Sharing and Finance*; V - *The Judiciary*; VI - *Public Administration*; VII - *Entrenchment and Amendment Procedures*; and VIII - *Final and Transitional Provisions*. Our proposal envisages a new *Basic Law*, to restore a national sense of justice, and to finally transform our country into an independent, proud, just and free African nation.

NATIONAL DEBATE

The draft is made public now, even though some of its more technical parts have not yet been completed with the same detail as its essential parts, i.e. the Parts I to III, on *Fundamental Principles*, *Fundamental Rights and Duties*, and the *System of Government*. It is our sincere wish to thus provoke a more rational debate on the future constitution, which alone can end the spiral of polarisation, hatred and violence.

We believe that invocations of seemingly "non-negotiable" issues, pronouncements of vague principles, and secretive as well as selective "negotiations" will not restore our People's right to determine their own choices. We wish our future to be democratic, and we believe that the foundation of this future, namely South Africa's new constitution must come about as the result of a truly democratic process.

SYSTEM OF
GOVERNMENT

The proposed system of government has as a basis the acceptance that our country is divided in many respects, but in particular between urban modernists and rural traditionalists, as well as several distinct cultures and language groups. We doubt that our people would, from one day to the other, learn to elect leaders primarily in accordance with political preference instead of cultural or ethnic allegiance. Under such circumstances, majorities risk to be artificial and ultimately oppressive, if the democratic process were to be limited to simplistic models, such as the "Westminster system". Thus, we have decided to combine four types of democratic legitimacies.

Congress

First, we envisage the direct democratic legitimacy of a general Assembly, which we propose to call *Congress*. The members of *Congress* will be elected by universal, equal and proportional vote of all adult citizens, without any distinction whatsoever. This means that the principle of "one person - one vote" is respected.

Senate

Secondly, we propose a *Senate* which will share the legislative responsibility and controlling powers with *Congress*. The *Senate* will give representation to the States comprising the new FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, and consist, furthermore, of the representatives of all legitimate interest groups, including trade unions, employers, professional associations, and our new proposed *Cultural Communities*.

Federalism

The States will be the basis of our third democratic structure: the Federation. By envisaging a federal structure for South Africa, we have opted for more tolerance, scope for diversity, and decentralised politics. As a starting point, we propose five States: The *Cape of Good Hope*; the *Free State*; *Natal*; *Transvaal*; and the *Witwatersrand*.

National
States

The National States would be incorporated in the five States, and thus be dissolved.

TBVC

The Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei would be re-integrated in the new Federal Republic of South Africa, unless their population, in an internationally recognised referendum, would opt otherwise.

Traditional
Leaders

Traditional Leaders and Chiefs will be assured of representation in each State Legislature, with full recognition of their traditional privileges and functions.

Executive
President

Finally, our fourth pillar of democracy will be the provision of an executive *President*, elected by *Congress*, on proposal of the *Senate*, by way of a procedure which will ensure an adequate balance of power between *Congress* and *Senate*.

Checks and
Balances

Our proposed Article 1 (3) declares that *all legislative, executive and judicial powers, at all levels of state organisation, shall be interdependent, and shall be committed to the principles of non-racial democracy, equal Fundamental Rights and Duties of all, and the democratic and socially responsible Rule of the Law of the Constitution*.

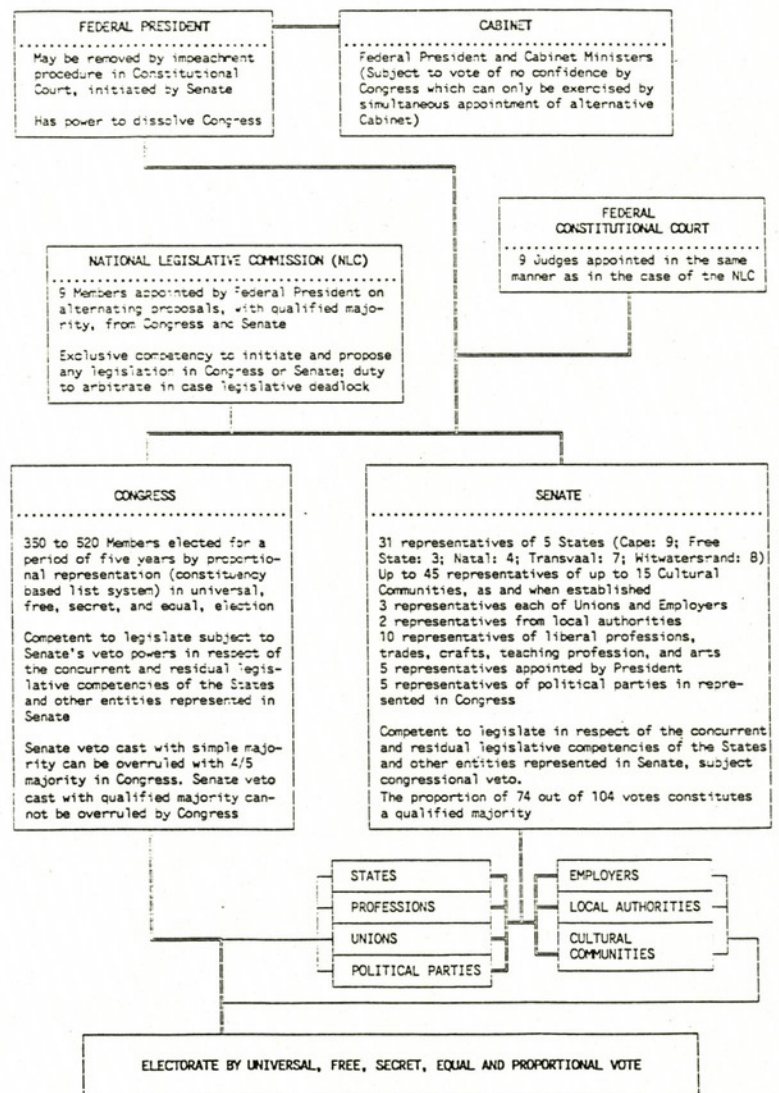
In order to give effect to this principle, and to provide for better and more democratic structures for the selection of leaders, F.I.D.A. envisages original (as opposed to delegated) autonomy of local government (with a uniform and non-racial dispensation for all local governments); five states, each with elected *State Legislatures*, *State Governors* and *State Secretaries*; and, moreover, an important representation of interest groups, including *Cultural Communities*, in the *Senate*. Alongside with this pyramid of leadership, *Congress* would ensure the direct democratic representation of the South African electorate as a whole.

The competencies of *Congress* and *Senate* will be divided according to good principles of federalism, with qualified voting being required either in *Senate* or *Congress*, whenever one organ wishes to override the majority vote of the other.

The mathematical formula for the qualified vote in *Senate* ensures that certain interest groups, or coalitions of interest groups represented in *Senate*, cannot impose their wishes without consensus.

Constitutional Court	In order to adjudicate in disputes of competency, an independent <i>Constitutional Court</i> will have to be established. The <i>Constitutional Court</i> would also function as a Guardian of the Constitution in respect of individual and collective fundamental rights and individual fundamental rights' appeals.
HUMAN RIGHTS	<p>The proposed CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA includes a comprehensive Part on the protection of HUMAN RIGHTS, which will not only contain all the necessary and reasonable individual and collective guarantees of freedom and justice, but also constitute a formulation of supreme and universal values and policy directives.</p> <p>Moreover, and following the important African tradition established in the AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS of 1981, the Constitution's 'Bill of Rights' provides not only for the traditional individualistic 'American civil rights', but includes a clear codification of <i>General Principles; Individual Rights; Collective Rights; Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and Fundamental Duties</i>.</p>
"MINORITIES"	The issue of the legal protection and political integration of groups of our population who are likely - at least for some time to come - to remain distinct as minority groups, is highly controversial.
Cultural Communities	F.I.D.A.'s proposal rejects any form of racial distinction or discrimination, but gives recognition to the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of our society. To that end, we foresee the possibility of an establishment of <i>Cultural Communities</i> , whenever at least 60% of the members of such any Cultural Community participate in an election to establish their <i>Community Council</i> and to elect their <i>Community Minister</i> . Any <i>Cultural Communities</i> so established will have personal (as opposed to territorial) jurisdiction over own cultural, educational, religious, social, health, customary law and traditional leadership affairs in respect of its members. <i>Cultural Communities</i> will have representatives in <i>Senate</i> , and thereby participate in the legislative process and control of executive.
Cultural Association	The members of a <i>Cultural Community</i> will be identified according to objective and non-racial criteria, i.e. family name, place of birth and residence, home language and creed. However, the choice of any individual will always be respected, as any person listed as a member of a <i>Cultural Community</i> shall be entitled to change his affiliation, or to opt for no cultural affiliation at all. In this manner, the establishment and policies of a <i>Cultural Community</i> will respect the freedom of choice of the individual, but will also counter the risk of a <i>Cultural Community</i> being 'taken over' by zealots or radical activists, as could be the outcome of an unmitigated application of the principle of free association.
ECONOMY	We accept the principle of free enterprise as a fundamental human right. However, we have also made provision for adequate controls and limitations, in order to ensure the right to development and the protection of the underprivileged.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA AT A GLANCE



ON THE RIGHT TRACK

The 300 000 strong Federal Independent Democratic Alliance has been organising recruiting rallies in the Free State and Transvaal with great success.

Launched on 5 July 1987, Fida followed up by holding a regional convention at Bothaville four days later. The convention was attended by representatives from Viljoenskroon, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom and Parys.

A second regional convention was held in the Kroonstad Town Hall on August 15. This too was a huge success. Said Fida President, Mr. John Gogotya: "The town hall was packed and for the first time a black movement was able to hold a meeting in a white town hall in an Afrikaner dorp, showing that blacks would be an significant entity in a post-apartheid South Africa."

"The convention was more a recruiting exercise because we wanted to increase our members in the region. We succeeded on that occasion in gaining a further 4000 members."

The main theme of the Kroonstad meeting was 'education as a tool of liberation.' Mr Gogotya continued: "We felt our people must use education for liberation and not violence or school boycotts. We see the boycotting of classes as a negative influence in the unique experiment that is the building of a post-apartheid South Africa."

Resolutions taken at the Fida meetings were that:

- Fida condemns violence in any form as a vehicle for achieving political freedom, or as a means of settling disputes either in the workplace, schools or anywhere else.
- Fida should strive for control of all local councils.

- Fida should seek membership or representation in all Regional Services Councils.

- Fida should through peaceful means participate in the National Statutory Council as a means of building a post apartheid South Africa.

Since Fida's official launch entire black town councils in the Free State and Northern Cape have affiliated to, or have sought affiliation with, FIDA. They include Welkom, Bloemfontein, Smithfield, Middelburg and Colesberg.

"Many of these towns were included in the so-called designated liberated zones during the 1983-86 unrest period. During that period many black town council members in these besieged townships resigned because of intimidation and threats to their lives and property by radicals," Mr Gogotya said.

"But we were able to enter these towns and build new political infra-structures by initiating the re-birth of town councils which are now all affiliated to our organisation."

Fida has also opened new branches in the townships at Steynsburg, Molteno, Tarkastad and Noupoot, and is currently training three full time organisers for these regions.

At present Fida is operating in 59 regions and is aiming to have a full-time organiser in each region. Since the launch between 11 000 and 15 000 new members have joined the organisation. Fida's cultural wing, OPERATION ADVANCE AND UPGRADE (OAU) is also spreading into new areas and establishing new branches.

"Since its launch FIDA has been approached by 17 trade unions which are in search of guidance. The requests include help in the provision of a total

"We felt our people must use education for liberation and not violence or school boycotts. We see the boycotting of classes as a negative influence in the unique experiment that is the building of a post apartheid South Africa."

- John Gogotya

NEW NATION 20 NOV 90

Fida president calls for federal government

THE Federal Independent Democratic Alliance has called for a federal system of government as a way of creating more political tolerance and building a multi-party democracy. This emerged during the organisation's third national congress, held at Nasrec near Soweto and attended by 1 500 delegates at the weekend. In his address to the con-

gress Fida's president, John Gogotya, said his organisation believed political intolerance would be overcome through multi-party democracy. "We reject any form of monopolisation of the economy, which we view as an extension of socialism. A socially free market system is the only way in which maximum benefit for all

can be assured," he said. However, he also criticised extra-parliamentary organisations such as the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) for "creating turmoil in the country".

Cast's call to councillors to resign was a communist-inspired, revolutionary tactic to intimidate them, and could even lead to their being murdered,

Cast was an organisation spearheaded by communists, he said.

"The call for the destruction of government structures and the creation of organs of people's rule will result in the necklacing and murder of innocent people who are opposed to the use of violence to solve the country's problems."

Gogotya pointed out that in recent months 20 councillors, one of them a Fida regional director, had been murdered and 120 homes belonging to councillors had been destroyed. The boycott of businesses owned by councillors was "in itself a potential for conflict and bloodshed, which cannot be underestimated".

He also criticised the Groote Schuur and the Pretoria Minutes, saying they had rapidly become irrelevant documents on account of the mudslinging and accusations by the signatories.



John Gogotya: "We reject any form of monopolisation, including nationalisation of the economy."

The parties to the agreement were each following their own interpretation of the original agreement and were adapting it as the need arose, he added. Most of Gogotya's speech was adopted by the congress in the form of resolutions. Fida did not unveil its own programme of action, but adopted the presidential address as a policy document.

Plea for black political organisations in proposed National Council

Give us more say, urges new alliance

JOHANNESBURG: Black political organisations should take part in the proposed National Council in order to change the system, the leader of a new black political alliance said yesterday.

Mr John Gogotya, president of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, told 400 delegates at the launching here that the organisation would take part in the council to "liberate" blacks from "oppressive apartheid laws" and to secure better jobs, education and housing for blacks.

"We will seize the opportunity to articulate the political, economic and social aspirations of our people," Mr Gogotya said.

But Fida's participation did not mean that it condoned apartheid or a government based on colour, he added.

"It is our aim to avail ourselves of all peaceful reforms," he said.

Fida is a national alliance of "moderate" blacks. It is opposed to apartheid but also takes a strong line against socialism and violence.

The political arm of the Chris-

tian self-help organisation, Operation Advance and Upgrade, Fida has been operating underground for some time and has built up its membership in several towns in all provinces except Natal.

Mr Gogotya, who is the founder Fida, said that Fida believed that "all races must, through consensus, honest dealings and negotiation, build a new South Africa without apartheid, neck-licing and petrol bombs."

Another speaker was the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton.

Mr Sutton said blacks should be brought into the system while their numbers were not yet "overpowering". If white participation was to be ensured.

"I do not believe that there will be found to be more than two or three million blacks who would qualify as voters in the urban areas at this time," he said.

Mr Sutton said after the launching that the National Council presented "the last chance for meaningful negotiation between blacks and whites at the statutory level."—Sapa

Petition opened to protest against family evictions from white areas

Daily News Reporter

A PETITION was launched at the weekend to enable people to protest against the evictions of Indian, coloured and mixed families from white residential areas in Durban.

The president of the

brow.

"We need to meet them and exchange ideas on our strategies in fighting the evictions," said Mr Mohamed. "The people in Johannesburg have been successful in their campaign to some ex-



NEW YORK: A twin-engine plane has crashed and burned near a resort in western Montana, killing all 10 people on board including the members of a popular band.

All six members of the Montana Band died when the Beechcraft plane went down on Saturday night, along with the group's tour manager, the plane pilot and a woman

Parents to form campus committee

Daily News Reporter

A COMMITTEE representing parents of students attending the University of Durban-Westville is due to be launched on campus on Sunday afternoon.

Dr K. Ramish, chairman of an ad-hoc committee representing parents, said the formation of an official organisation which would be recognised by the student body and the university authorities was now necessary.

He said it would support the students' struggle on campus.

The university has a history over the years of student body-administration clashes which resulted in boycotts, mass meetings and disruptions of the annual academic calendar.

Now for the first time parents will be taking an active role as part of an official organisation on campus.

... last October's crash were unambiguous. In the words of the chairman, Supreme Court Judge Cecil Margo: "This was a below par crew."

He said the six-member commission, appointed by the South African Minister of Transport Affairs, found there was "no evidence of sabotage or outside interference" in the crash and there was "no substance in the theory that the aircraft was lured off course by means of a false beacon or any other device".

But the central dispute between the

by JO-AMH BERKEN

commission and the Mozambican and Soviet governments — which refused to participate in a commission they called one-sided but issued reports commending on Margo's draft report — still concerns the plane's misguided 37 degree turn to the right.

Margo's report states that had the Soviet Tupolev jet not executed the premature turn, but continued on its course for a further eight minutes, it would have beamed into Maputo's navigational beacon.

The report found the most probable explanation was that the aircraft had

beamed into a directional beacon beamed from Matsapa, Swaziland.

He said the beacon was not a magnet, and while the crew could read their direction from the beacon, they would have realised they were off course had they checked other functioning instruments, on-board radar and the Maputo broadcast station.

Margo said the reading from Matsapa's beacon (112.3 Megahertz) differed by only four points from that of Maputo (112.7 Megahertz).

He said Mozambique's oblique accusations that the South African Defence Force had erected a false navigation beacon to lure the plane to dis-

sapa's beacon should not affect the Tupolev's flight, because the direct line of sight would be blocked by mountainous terrain.

Margo said the commission had conducted flight tests, using regular flight services, which had established that planes following the same route could pick up the Matsapa navigational reading "loud and clear". He said he did not know if the Mozambicans and Soviets were aware of these tests.

Summing up the cause of the crash, Margo's report stated: "The flight crew failed to follow procedural requirements for an instrument let-down approach, but continued to descend under visual flight rules in darkness and some cloud, ie without having visual contact with the ground, below minimum safe altitude and minimum assigned altitude, and in addition ignored the Ground Proximity Warning System alarm."

The report found the flight crew were qualified, licensed and experienced, the aircraft was airworthy and did not experience technical failure or malfunction. The radio navigational aids on the ground and in the aircraft were adequate to allow an instrument landing descent.

However, having studied a transcript of the cockpit voice recorder, the commission of inquiry noted the crew did not file a flight plan as required by Mozambique regulations, was unaware of the correct number of passengers on board and had miscalculated the aircraft's endurance.

participation and arrive at a democratic decision.

Guimede has acknowledged that the sentiments he expressed were his and not necessarily those of the UDF.

Morobe reiterated the resolution taken at the UDF's recent national conference which called for members of the houses of delegates and representatives to resign and for the Progressive Federal Party to withdraw from the "racist parliament".

He also said there was no prospect of "us participating in PW Botha's latest toy telephone, the National Statutory Council".

After studying the various newspaper reports the UDF was satisfied that "Guimede has, as far as discernable, at no stage said the UDF is going to participate in government created structures, let alone the elections".

Morobe said it was only after "discussion and debate that we finally arrived at the conclusion that the only way we can effectively challenge this racist government is through mass extra-parliamentary struggles".

Morobe said the UDF was just one component of the liberation movement. A decision as far reaching as that of deciding to participate could not be that the UDF alone. "It must be that of the whole democratic movement including the African National Congress and other banned organisations and our imprisoned leaders."

The UDF said it would boycott "government-created puppet structures like community councils".

Down under, but thriving moderately

THE president and founder of the newly-launched Federal Independent Democratic Alliance would rather not name the other 12 executive members.

Fida, the political arm of the Christian self-help organisation Operation Advance and Upgrade, was launched in Crown Mines, Johannesburg, at the weekend. More than 4 000 delegates from all provinces except Natal are said to have attended.

The organisation was formed "by using almost identical methods to that used by radical organisations. By stealth we formed cells and committees, spreading our tentacles throughout the country," a Fida document said.

Asked what his attitude was to the United Democratic Front, Gogotya,

By YUSI GUNENE

49, said "the UDF had high on its agenda plans to necklace black moderates like us".

He said even if the Freedom Charter was adopted by a large spectrum of organisations it was "a document of ideals and can't run the country".

Gogotya wrote off the visit by 50 prominent South Africans to the African National Congress this week as "meaningless".

He said the fact that the delegation went to Senegal to meet the African National Congress and ignored the Pan Africanist Congress was like "the Verwoerd government of apartheid".

The former churchman said the ANC was only interested in the trans-

fer of power. "The ANC is not the sole representative of the people in South Africa. It cannot articulate the needs and aspirations of the people within the country."

On the question of jailed leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, Gogotya believes "he is in prison by his own choice ... He has been told if he renounces violence he will be free".

Gogotya said black moderates welcomed the State of Emergency with a "big sigh of relief" because before then they couldn't "sleep peacefully" as they were targets of several organisations.

He further accused black journalists of being biased. "I know that our black journalists fear the comrades. They fear the necklacing. I have a very low respect for them."

Wally Mac
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de Rijk, The Argus
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as he receives
Mr Billy Davis
rt, page 16.

• An Estcourt man was stabbed to death at the weekend — apparently because thieves wanted his new shoes.
Police said the body of Mr Dharamja Ajudeha, 40, who lived alone in a room behind the Marion Cash and Carry Store, was found outside the store early on Saturday morning.
He had been stabbed many times in the body and neck and his body was mutilated. Friends said the new shoes Mr Ajudeha was wearing were missing.
No arrests have been made.

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EXTRA CHARGES FOR BAD CASINGS!

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BALANCING & ALIGNMENT EXPERTS

New black body backs National Council

JOHANNESBURG. — Black political organisations should take part in the proposed National Council in order to change the system, the leader of a new black political alliance said.
Mr John Gogotya, president of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), told 4 300 delegates at Fida's launch yesterday that the organisation would take part in the council to liberate blacks from "oppressive apartheid laws" and to secure better jobs, education and housing for blacks.
Fida's participation did not mean that it condoned apartheid or a government based on colour.
"We will seize every opportunity of articulating the political, economic and social aspirations of our people," Mr Gogotya said.
Fida, a national alliance of moderate blacks, is opposed to apartheid but also takes a strong line against socialism and violence.
It believed that "all races must, through consensus, honest dealings and negotiation, build a new South Africa without apartheid, 'neck-laces' or petrol bombs".
"It is our aim to avail ourselves of all peaceful reforms," he said.
Another speaker was the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton. — Sapa.

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• Die steeds h.o. verskewendheids, veral onder swart-
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land en h.c. ten nouste verband met die politieke onrus
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• Die inflasiekoers van meer as 17 persent is onaan-
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• Die groot belastinglas wat ondanks onlangse verlig-
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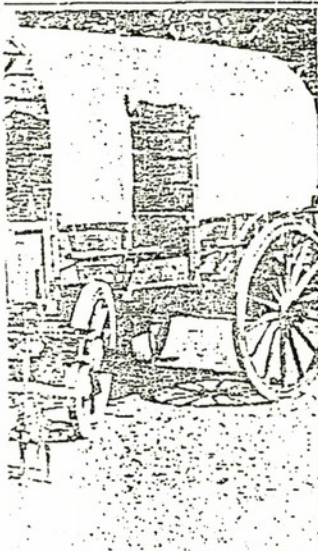
Hoewel die positiewe ontwikkelings dus ver in die
meerderheid is en hoewel die ekonomie vinniger groei, is
daar nogtans kommer oor die steeds use verloop van die
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BELEIDMAKERS BEKOMMERD

Dit het baie te doen met 'n gebrek aan vertroue onder
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krediet gebruik te maak, ondanks die huidige lae rente-
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Die ekonomiese beleidmakers is bekommerd hieroor,
want dit is van kritieke belang om nou meer geld in die
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JOHANNESBURG.

Swart politieke organisasies
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Mnr. John Gogotya,
voorsitter van die Federale
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huising te bekom.

"Ons sal die geleentheid
aangryp om die politieke,
ekonomiese en gemeen-
skapsaspirasies van ons
mense uit te druk," het
mnr. Gogotya gesê.

Dat sy alliansie aan die
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Ramp-verslag Donderdag

JOHANNESBURG.

Die Margo-Kommissie
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THE CAPE TIMES

Talking to the ANC

90° B

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ABOUT 4000 delegates gathered in Johannesburg yesterday for the low-key formation of a new black political party committed to taking part in President P. W. Botha's National Statutory Council (NSC).

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) would be prepared to take its place on any platform "to improve the lot of the black man", the party's first president John Gogotya said yesterday.

Fida's stance towards the NSC appears to be the most enthusiastic to date and will boost Botha's plans for drafting urban blacks into government-initiated political structures.

The Urban Councils Association of SA has already given the NSC the nod. The opposition United Municipalities of SA has been less positive but has not entirely ruled out participation in the NSC.

Gogotya said Fida would join the NSC provided it was "not just a talking shop". Negotiations within the body would have to be open-ended and no one political grouping should dominate another.

Gogotya said Fida had been formed from a group known as Operation Advance and Upgrade. This, he said, was a "cultural organisation on the lines of Inkatha". The decision to form a political party had been taken to express

Black party's yes to NSC

PATRICK JOLGER

black political aspirations "in more clear terms".

He said Fida supported initiatives like the Natal Indaba, and felt the armed struggle policy of the ANC and PAC was "unfortunate". Fida would limit itself to non-violent action.

"Fida is first and foremost against apartheid and discrimination on the basis of colour. The black man has been given a raw deal. There must be redress," he said.

Fida was committed to having laws like the Land Act and the Group Areas Act repealed.

He said the founding congress had been low-key because "as moderates we have to look at the intimidation factor".

Gogotya said Fida would be funded by donations which would be put into a trust fund during the week. Donations had been received from a wide range of businessmen, black and white.

The joint authors of the idea of the multi-party talks — the National Party government and the ANC — are coy about the issue.

Government spokesmen insist any group which has proven support should be invited. Like the ANC, they are reluctant to say who, exactly, they mean. Otherwise, they suggest between 12 and 15 participants.

ANC spokesmen say it should not be the right of any one organization to decide who should, or should not, be there. But some participants are clearly more acceptable than others.

Here follows a brief checklist of who would qualify to come — and those who are likely to decline.

● First up, obviously, is the ruling National Party which, despite all appearances to the contrary, still holds military, economic and political power firmly in its hands.

Recent opinion polls suggest it enjoys the support of more than

half the white population and nearly 17 percent of the entire South African community.

President F.W. de Klerk personally enjoys the support of 26.6 percent of all South Africans, and some polls put his support among blacks at a surprising 22 percent.

The National Party government has an obvious interest in getting negotiations under way. The delays over the transitional issues — such as prisoner releases, exile returns and domestic violence — has taken the steam out of the reform process.

Keen

The idea of an all-party conference, in fact, arose in private discussions between President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as a way of negotiating settlements to violent options.

● The ANC is equally keen on an all-party conference and is a major player. Just over half of all South Africans support the ANC.

A poll in August last year suggested. Earlier polls showed the ANC enjoyed 28 percent of support in the black community, although this had dropped to 25 percent by late last year.

Nelson Mandela's personal popularity soared above all rivals, although the return of ANC president Oliver Tambo the only had one percent support of all South Africans late last year) is likely to raise some interesting questions as to who, in the future, is the most popular of the ANC leaders.

● The NP and the ANC, in pointing for a negotiated settlement, are tapping into a mainstream of South African sentiment. Well over three-quarters of South Africans, black and white, prefer negotiated settlements to violent options.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important element. A slick public relations operation and claims of membership running into the millions is, however, generally belied by the opinion polls.

● The PAC, which was the voice in the Transvaal between ANC-aligned and Inkatha-aligned supporters, showed a drastic drop of support for Inkatha in areas outside Natal.

The same poll showed half the black sample regarded Inkatha as a negative influence on the negotiations process and only the AWB piped Inkatha as the most negative influence.

● Next in line on popular support scales is the Democratic Party. Polls in August last year gave the party 7.8 percent of overall support among all South Africans. The party, regarded as representing classically liberal values, has welcomed the idea of an all-party conference.

● The Pan Africanist Congress remains enigmatic. The polls show consistently low support for this organization, although its growth capacity in the event of a

failure of a negotiated settlement is great.

● An August poll by the Institute of Black Research (IBR) gave the PAC 1.1 percent of support among all South Africans.

As part of the "alliance" it, too, will be at the table — and if the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings are anything to go by, doing much of the talking.

● Ironically, the Conservative Party's real strength, like the

sides of the field

Such divided loyalties have not yet been put to the test, but a poll in September last year of black opinion showed that 19 percent of blacks regarded Conas as a more genuine representation of black opinion than the ANC.

Conas, as part of the alliance of ANC-SACP, is also likely to be at the table.

● The PAC is dead against the all-party conference, for two reasons: It believes the black resistance group should first unite against the government,

and, secondly, that the government should commit itself to a constituent assembly and interim government before any negotiations begin.

It is 50-50 right now whether the PAC will stick to its guns or join the round-table.

● The SA Communist Party also enjoys an anomalous position. Its overall support is low — just over one percent of the total population. But its influence is much greater — in the trade unions, "revos", top echelons of the ANC and cultural quarters in the resistance groupings.

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Dr Nkrumah's advice has been followed by virtually every African liberation organization of the past 40 years down to the African National Congress today.

The results of placing political priorities ahead of economic ones have been disastrous. With the shining exceptions of Botswana, the Ivory Coast and, until recently, Malawi, most African countries have retrogressed alarmingly since independence. Their poverty seems insublime.

Citing the World Bank, the Bank of London reports this week that sub-Saharan Africa's debt has grown from \$6-billion in 1970 to \$136-billion "at the end of 1988. Africa's debt came to 160 percent of its annual exports. Interest obligations on this debt — not fully met — were 50 percent of total exports.

Plight

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Still, with the ANC pushing determinedly in the direction of other post-apartheid economies, there is no room for complacency.

Every day more babies are being born. More young people are looking for jobs and not finding them. Hunger, poverty and anger intensify, to nobody's comfort.

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economic growth in 1988 from a possible 4 percent to 5 percent, in 1989 from a possible 5 percent to 2 percent and in 1990 from a possible 2 percent to zero.

That represented lost production of goods and services totaling something like \$20-billion or R1 000 per man woman and child during those three years. Meanwhile, the population grew by 7 percent.

Whatever politicians say or do, a harsh fundamental rule of economics remains in play — in the world that the Japanese run a society can consume what it produces. Production is at the heart of economic life. Politicians talk about money but money is not what matters. Goods and services do.

For years socialists have held that profit is the residue left over from production after the capitalist has paid his exploited labour.

They have tended to assume that production takes place automatically. It takes place either in pursuit of profit or by dictat. The world has been a place where production takes place inefficiently and reluctantly. If at all, but that has yet to dawn on the ANC.

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While we in SA and in the West are in favour of greater wealth for all, they just have different ideas on how to achieve it. "The government at the 11th hour of its 12-year reign has opted

for free-market, supply-side economics while the ANC still favours statism. But they do have economic goals in common. They both wish to reduce inequality, eliminate poverty, make the economy less import-dependent, reduce reliance on raw material exports and increase the export of industrial goods.

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The ANC seems to be realising that the time has come to drop its call for sanctions. The challenge today is to establish peace between the ANC, Inkatha and the government, which will give us a stable economy against which to discuss constitutional options.

If foreigners see that SA is stabilising investment funds will flow back, particularly if the three mainstream political players are seen to be co-operating.

Respond

First prize would be for President F.W. de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthe to join hands and appeal for help. The world would respond.

We have too much that they want and they have too much that we want for them to ignore us and now we would be 10-15 billion do not — to split more people.

If we seek the economic kingdom and achieve the growth of 10 percent a year that is possible in the high road is a sanctions-free environment, we'll double our wealth over eight years and the political kingdom will pretty well work after that.

The dollar traded at R2.58 this week.

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Other conservative groups can be found in churches (the Zionist Church for example) and at local government level. Some of the veteran Sotho-Sonke Party.

The exact size of this group is difficult to determine, but if one takes all the support for the ANC, PAC and Inkatha together, it still leaves roughly 40 percent of black opinion unaccounted for. Perhaps they are with the "silent sector".

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● The last category, the black "silent sector". All sorts of players lay claim to the allegiance of this element. In the bad old days of apartheid, the "leaders" who pushed themselves forward to represent this "moderate" community were always regarded as the puppets of the apartheid system.

● The question is now how to represent this "moderate" community. One of the largest conservative black political groupings — the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, headed by John Gopota — does not yet register on the opinion polls, but its members are on the growing.

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29 January 1992

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2000

Sirs

MONTHLY PUBLICATION

Thank you for the monthly circular you send to us. It makes interesting reading. We would like to publish certain parts of this circular in our local newspaper so that more people can read it if you will allow us to. We will state that the article was extracted from your circular.

We wish to know if you will grant us permission to publish certain extracts.

Yours faithfully

R.D. Gower
R.D. GOWER

"G"

Review

Are we seeing the emergence of the great silent majority?

Voices we should hear

TRADITIONALLY, when a new black conservative outfit cropped up, the thing to do was to pillory it.

These organisations asked for it, often. They'd claim membership figures that belonged in the Land of Nod. They'd be hopelessly coy about their funding, which people suspected came from a government department of dirty tricks. The black front men frequently had track records that would be death to a used car salesman, and half the time there'd be a mysterious white character in dark glasses and grey suit answering questions for them and all but guiding their hands across the pages of their statements.

So partly these outfits had themselves to blame for the derision they met. But then again there was another factor, which was that the press on the whole was attuned to deriding them anyway.

The ANC was "authentic". The authentic leaders were in jail, the authentic movements were exiled. The others, by implication, were inauthentic. "Black unity" was widely treated as the axiomatic route to liberation. There was a radical chic factor as well, and there was also a sober practical assessment that South Africa would see no equilibrium prior to the status known as "one man one vote". This was what the ANC was standing for and these luppenny rivals were standing for something else, and the result was that the latter faced a basically hostile press corps from the word go.

Heavy innuendo

A hostile press corps was what John Gogotya faced when he set up Operation Advance and Upgrade in 1985.

Gogotya, a former minister in a Baptist sub-sect, was then a businessman in Vereeniging. What his business consisted of is to this day unknown, and this was one of the points of assault. However, there was and is no particular suspicion that Gogotya's fingers had been tinkering with any improper till, or that any other skeletons were lurking in his personal cupboard. Anonymity is one thing — and it's hardly fair to blame a person for "coming from nowhere". Duplicity is something else, and although the innuendo has been heavy, there is no reasonable reason to suppose that Gogotya is anything other than what he claims to be, a township resident who got fed-up with disruption.

Operation Advance and Upgrade set out to oppose communism and oppose violence. It did some things of doubtful integrity and lesser sense, such as distributing pamphlets under the (presumably) intentionally misleading initials OAU. It also proclaimed from the beginning its intention to progress to a national organisation.

In the public, prints hardly anybody took any notice, and those who did, scoffed. Gogotya ploughed his furrow in continued anonymity until he caused a blip on the graph by saying on TV that some of the leaders who were backing the schools boycott had their own children at white private schools, where they were unaffected.

This was true enough, and for some time had been a township talking-point. But a look through the press clippings of the period

By
Denis
Beckett



shows sheer denunciation. One of the leaders involved says Gogotya is speaking with the voice of his "apartheid masters" — aah, puppet, convenient dismissal. A columnist criticises Gogotya for shaking black unity, and thereby implies that truth is to be sacrificed when it fails to serve the cause.

Then in 1987 an entity called Fida, Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, suddenly emerged, with John Gogotya as president. Fida got off to a bad start with Gogotya claiming a membership of 300 000 and then refusing to reveal names and details on the grounds that members were in danger.

A year later Fida held its second annual convention, and here was something startling. The Star's files, which are fairly comprehensive at least of the English-language press, show only two reports, one of them 8cm long, and the other one 12, both saying that 10 000 people turned out.

Ten thousand people. At a delegates' convention. That would be extraordinary. Was the reporter on grass, or was something strange afoot? Could there really be a huge silent conservative growth rippling away under the surface, unknown to media producers and media consumers? Hard to believe, maybe, except to journalists. Like it's supposed to be only doctors who really know how little medicine knows, it's only journalists who really know how little the media knows. If a report with implications to invert the national consciousness can be given the same treatment as a report on a shopping mall's beauty contest, anything's possible.

I discover this background to Fida from reading the files, and I read the files because assorted friends and supporters of Fida have been ganging up on me to take an interest. As one of these people says: "We were given such a raw deal by the press for so long that basically we turned round and gave the press the two-finger sign. Now we realise we can't

do that, we have to persuade you people to take us seriously."

They're persuading with vigour. The people I spoke to claim to be private citizens, low key, etc, merely with a patriotic interest in contributing towards a workable future. They all ask to stay anonymous and I respect that, not least because on that basis they tell me plenty of fascinating off-the-record bits.

For instance, one of Fida's most dedicated supporters owns a condom factory. The condoms evidently turn a very pretty penny, and much of the proceeds are devoted to the causes the owner believes stand to bring about a better South Africa, such as Fida and, yes, family planning.

Then there are the people who confess frankly, even proudly, to planning and executing "covert operations". This was over breakfast and my bacon nearly went down my windpipe. People do not commonly admit such things, but my hosts were unabashed and gave as an example the time they went to the townships to encourage people to meet Archbishop Tutu at the airport and protest against sanctions. Having successfully "encouraged" an anti-Tutu demonstration, they then of course paid for the buses and the materials, like paints and placards.

This sounded a lot like an admission that the old rent-a-crowd allegations are true after all, but...

"No. We say, if this is what you believe, do it. We don't bribe people to say what we want to say. We facilitate their ability to say what they want to say, and that is very necessary. We know very well that there is a huge groundswell of opposition to sanctions, joblessness, conflict, nationalisation, and so on, but it has been lost beneath the ANC's highly organised propaganda. We merely want to let that opposition show itself."

I heard, too, of some of Fida's problems in the opportunism stakes, like the township branch that put in wondrous progress reports along with reimbursement claims that ran into five figures before being exposed as a scam, and it seems there has been no lack of the kind of white adventurers who buzz around the political movements of Africa with odd motives in mind.

The people who spoke to me were mainly concerned to establish that you could support conservative causes for normal reasons too. Mostly they were also white and at one time I would have seen this as suspicious. Now, no longer. Why should white people be less entitled to influence the social mould than anyone else? When it was a matter of whites ruling over blacks, there was something objectionable about the white hand meddling in black politics. Now it's to be a matter of people persuading people to vote

this way or that. Let the whites get stuck in, go knocking on township houses with recruitment forms. The DP's getting round to it, but the NP still seems to feel a taboo. (They should have looked in on the ANC's technology conference last week — a much whiter affair than a joint sitting of Parliament).

Well, Fida's fans persuaded me to go along to the 1990 convention last Saturday. I pitched up at a hall at Nasrec, which contained about a thousand chairs with broken ferrules screeching across the floor like so many cats being strangled. Maybe it's a good thing there were nothing like 10 000 people there, or we'd all have gone deaf.

About 800 people were present. The occasion had one thing in common with the pattern of left-wing black political affairs; it started late. For the rest, no Amandlas, no chanting. Plenty of prayer. Frequent references to God and country.

Most people were in suits, which was also different, and so were the speeches. Ex-PAC people, ex-ANC people, ex-exiles, all with the same story. One fellow had been in exile for twenty years, wandering around Africa. He said with passion that he'd seen Africa go wrong. Nationalisation didn't work; one-party states didn't work; the rhetoric of liberation was not enough... we needed something different. That's why he'd come back to join Fida.

Gogotya's speech was punchy in content and presentation, rude about the ANC and very firm about restoring law and order and hard work. People around me were going "mmmm" and "yo!" and "shuuu" at the appropriate moments, such as Gogotya's repeated complaints about the ANC's double-talk on violence. My neighbour was a youngster who clapped cautiously. I asked if he was a Fida regular, and he said "this is my first time to be here". I asked why he came, and quote his reply verbatim:

"I think I can be happy if there is quiet. I think I can be joining if it gives the power for stopping the comrades of this fighting and this burning and is making them do talking."

'Law and order'

What's "authentic"? This youth was authentic, whatever it means. So for that matter was an elderly gentleman with a proud bearing, who introduced himself as Henock Ngakane, acting president of the Urban Municipalities of SA, and who fixed me with a firm eye, and said: "At this point, the priority that rises above all others is the restoration of law and order."

It seemed ridiculous that these people should be so grudgingly given a right to speak. Perhaps there was once a real meaning to "black unity" but there is no such thing any longer. Now "black unity" is a bogus, a euphemism for tyranny. We need the flowering of diversity, learning how to differ by debate instead of differ by panga.

These people are right to say that we in the press should notice them, hear their concerns, acknowledge their conservative arguments. It's just a pity about their arithmetic. During the day I heard from various office-bearers of membership figures of 200 000, 600 000, and 700 000. Rather let little acorns grow naturally than trying to make out they're oaks to start with.



JOHN GOGOTYA

raise the obvious question: who will come to the party? And, more to the point, who among South Africa's myriad groups should be allowed to come?

The joint authors of the idea of the multi-party talks — the National Party government and the ANC — are coy about the issues.

Government spokesmen insist any group which has proven support should be invited. Like the ANC, they are reluctant to say who, exactly, they mean. Off-record, they suggest between 12 and 15 participants.

ANC spokesmen say it should not be the right of any one organisation to decide who should, or should not, be there. But some participants are clearly more acceptable than others.

Here follows a brief check-list of who would qualify to come — and those who are likely to decline.

● First up, obviously, is the ruling National Party which, despite all appearances to the contrary, still holds military, economic and political power firmly in its hands.

Recent opinion polls suggest it enjoys the support of more than

list for a proposed all-party conference

half the white population and nearly 17 percent of the entire South African community.

President FW de Klerk personally enjoys the support of 26,6 percent of all South Africans, and some polls put his support among blacks at a surprising 22 percent.

The National Party government has an obvious interest in getting negotiations under way. The delays over the transitional issues — such as prisoner releases, exile returns and domestic violence — has taken the steam out of the reform process.

Keen

The idea of an all-party conference, in fact, arose in private discussions between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as a way of leap-frogging the immediate problems and restarting political momentum.

● The ANC is equally keen on an all-party conference and is a major player. Just over half of all South Africans support the ANC,

a poll in August last year suggested. Earlier polls showed the ANC enjoyed 58 percent of support in the black community, although this had dropped to 53 percent by late last year.

Nelson Mandela's personal popularity soared above all rivals, although the return of ANC president Oliver Tambo (he only had one percent support of all South Africans late last year) is likely to raise some interesting questions as to who, in the future, is the most popular of the ANC leaders.

The NP and the ANC, in pushing for a negotiated settlement, are tapping into a mainspring of South African sentiment. Well over three-quarters of South Africans, black and white, prefer negotiated settlements to violent options.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important element. A slick public relations operation and claims of membership running into the millions is, however, generally belied by the opinion polls.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi slightly less than two percent of national popular support. And a September poll, amid the violence in the Transvaal between ANC-aligned and Inkatha-aligned supporters, showed a drastic drop of support for Inkatha in areas outside Natal.

The same poll showed half the black sample regarded Inkatha as a negative influence on the negotiations process and only the AWB pipped Inkatha as the most negative influence.

Unions

Inkatha remains suspicious of the all-party conference, but shrewdly recognises it as the only game in town. The ANC may dislike the organisation, but cannot ignore it. Chief Buthelezi, thus, will be at the table.

● A fourth major player will be the trade union federation Cosatu. The ANC sees it as a separate entity, with its own constituency and entitled to its own place at the table.

Its distinct, loyal constituency is hard to determine, as many Cosatu unionists are also members of the ANC and even the SA Communist Party.

Players from all sides of the field

Such divided loyalties have not yet been put to the test, but a poll in September last year of black opinion showed that 19 percent of blacks regarded Cosatu as a more genuine representation of black opinion than the ANC.

Cosatu, as part of the alliance of ANC-SACP, is also likely to be at the table.

● Next in line on popular support scales is the Democratic Party. Polls in August last year gave the party 7,8 percent of overall support among all South Africans. The party, regarded as representing classically liberal values, has welcomed the idea of an all-party conference.

● The Pan Africanist Congress remains enigmatic. The polls show consistently low support for this organisation, although its growth capacity in the event of a

failure of a negotiated settlement is great.

An August poll by the Institute of Black Research (IBR) gave the PAC 2,7 percent of support among all South Africans.

Assembly

An Integrated Marketing Research poll at the same time among 2 100 economically active black people, however, indicated 20 percent believed the PAC was the genuine representative of black opinion — perhaps reinforcing the view that the PAC is largely an upper-class black phenomenon.

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As part of the "alliance" it, too, will be at the table — and if the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings are anything to go by, doing much of the talking.

● Ironically, the Conservative Party's real strength, like the

SACP, is belied by the polls. The IBR survey gave the CP only 1,5 percent of overall national support, but it could claim anything between 20 and 30 percent of white voters.

Its support, like the PAC, would grow in the event of failed negotiations. Like the SACP, it also has influence beyond its numbers in the supportive institutions: in this case, the security forces and the public service.

The CP — like its wilder cousins in the AWB — has declined the invitation to attend the multi-party talks.

Two groups remain to be considered: the participants in apartheid structures and, for want of a better description, the black "silent sector".

● Only four percent of all South Africans support the tri-cameral parliament, with its fractious coloured and Indian parties.

Respect

The Labour Party remains the most organised and prominent of these groups and, in that it has all but declared itself for the FW camp, it is likely to be stoutly defended by the NP as a participant at the round-table.

The fate of the Indian parties is less certain.

The position of the homelands is also hard to determine. Some, like Enos Mabuza's Kangwane, have gained the respect of both ANC and government. Others, are more doubtful.

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The designation is now less applicable. One of the largest conservative black political groupings — the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, under John Gogotsha — does not yet even register on the opinion polls, but its numbers are reported to be growing.

Other conservative groups can be found in churches (the Zionists, for example) and at local government level: Soweto's veteran Sofasonke Party.

The exact size of this group is difficult to determine, but if one takes all the support for the ANC, PAC and Inkatha together, it still leaves roughly 40 percent of black opinion unaccounted. Perhaps they are with the "silent sector".

It is the status of this grouping, you can bet, that will cause the toughest fights over representivity at the multi-party talks.

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Dr Nkrumah's advice has been followed by virtually every African liberation organisation of the past 40 years down to the African National Congress today.

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Every day more babies are being born. More young people are looking for jobs and not finding them. Hunger, poverty and anger intensify, to nobody's comfort.

Conferences about conferences about constitutions are all very well but you can't eat them.

SA has under-performed in the past decade in spite of relatively high gold and commodity prices.

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Growth from 1945-1960 averaged 4,4 percent a year. From 1960-1973 it averaged 5,3 percent a year. Notwithstanding record gold prices, GDP from



this year, SA needs a growth rate of 2,8 percent a year to provide enough jobs for all new entrants to the workforce. About 860 000 job opportunities were lost from 1981-1987 because real job creation grew at only 1 percent

economic growth in 1988 from a possible 8 percent to 5 percent, in 1989 from a possible 5 percent to 2 percent and in 1990 from a possible 3 percent to zero.

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Whatever politicians say or do, a harsh fundamental rule of economics remains in play — in the long run a society can consume only what it produces. Production is at the heart of economic progress. Politicians talk about money but money is not what matters. Goods and services do.

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While we in SA and in the West complain and argue among ourselves, the Japanese, the Taiwanese and the South Koreans are beaver away, producing goods and services for themselves and the whole world.

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beat a team that stands together. It's them against the rest of the world. Fractious, argumentative societies get left behind.

The results of Oriental industriousness and cohesion have been awesome. There is hardly a high value-added consumer market in the world that the Japanese do not dominate — and their cousins are catching up fast.

Can South Africans step up production and thus income and wealth while they settle their political differences? Can they uplift the Third World sector without dragging the First World sector into the Third World?

They can. All the political players are in favour of greater wealth for all. They just have different ideas on how to achieve it. The government at the 11th hour of its 42-year reign has opted

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The ANC seems to be realising that the time has come to drop its call for sanctions. The challenge today is to establish peace between the ANC, Inkatha and the government, which will give us a stable economy against which to discuss constitutional options.

If foreigners see that SA is stabilising, investment funds will flow back, particularly if the three mainstream political players are seen to be co-operating.

Respond

First prize would be for President FW De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join hands and appeal for world economic co-operation and help. The world would respond.

We have too much that they want and they have too much that we want for them to ignore us and nowhere would \$2- or \$3-billion do more to uplift more people.

If we seek the economic kingdom and achieve the growth of 10 percent a year that is possible on the high road in a sanctions-free environment, we'll double our wealth every eight years and the political kingdom will pretty well look after itself.

*The dollar traded at R2,58 this week.



Mr P J Pelper
Acting General Secretary
FEDERAL INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
House Faure
Broadie Road
WYNBERG
7800

30 April 1992

Fax: 011-4031887

Dear Sir

We refer to the application by your organisation to be admitted as participant in CODESA.

The matter came up for consideration at the meeting of the Management Committee held on 27th April 1992. In considering the matter note was also taken of the fact that we have not received a reply from your organisation to the questionnaire that was sent out to you.

We regret to inform you that after careful consideration the Management Committee has decided not to admit your organisation as a full participant in CODESA.

May we draw to your attention that this decision does not preclude your making written submissions to any of the five Working Groups with regard to matters relevant to their Terms of Reference.

With kind regards.

Secretariat

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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Tel: (011) 403-4268/9
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Date: ...15-05-92...

OUR REF: P.J.P./K.S.

YOUR REF:

(All correspondence address to F.I.D.A.)

The Secretariat

CODESA

P.O. Box 307

Isando 1600

Dear Sirs

I refer to your letter of 30th April received earlier this week.

With all due respect, I fail to comprehend how FIDA can be excluded from CODESA while there are parties participating who do not have even a reasonable percentage of our membership! Would you be kind enough to inform me of the parameters that were employed. Alternatively, please inform me of the activities of, say, the SACP which warrants it being a member with a meagre 25000 membership. What are they doing which lends them the stature of membership which we do not match? How many of the parties have submitted a complete proposed Constitution as we presented to the State President last year?

I am sorry, but we cannot accept exclusion while the whole nation out there has been led to believe that CODESA is inclusive and not exclusive, apart from the fact that many sitting members do not measure up to FIDA's membership or activities.

You are requested please to carefully reconsider the matter in the light of simple comparison.

Yours faithfully

P.J. PELSER

(ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY)