Referendum Special March 1992

Congress Militant

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Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

Reject De Klerk's racist referendum!

De Klerk has called a whites-only referendum for March 17. The question whites are being asked is: "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2, 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

De Klerk says that if a majority of whites support the Conservative Party and vote "No" then he will resign as State President and call a whites-only General Election under the discredited Tricameral constitution. *This means he would rather hand over power to Treurnicht and the white racists, than to the black majority under the ANC!*

The referendum proves again that we cannot trust De Klerk. How can less than 4 million white voters have the right to decide the future of 30 million blacks!

The bosses and their media are openly campaigning for De Klerk. They say that a victory for Treurnicht will lead to civil war, and a return to the days of naked *baaskap*.

*But they are cynically using this threat to intimidate the black majority, and to put pressure on the ANC **not** to organise mass action against the racist referendum.* They are taking advantage of people's fear of Treurnicht to strenghten their own fraudulent constitutional proposals at CODESA.

In this they are being supported by the capitalists internationally.

The ruling class opposes Treurnicht because they fear that the Conservative Party's openly racist policies will lead to a new mobilisation of the black working class to overthrow the government and their system.

They want De Klerk to win because his reforms are a safer way to protect capitalism. They do not want a truly democratic settlement in South Africa, and a majority-rule ANC government.

It is wrong for the ANC leaders to call on whites to vote "Yes" in the referendum. This advice endorses a racist referendum that could possibly lead to Treunicht coming to power. It puts black and white ANC members against each other. But most dangerous of all is the confusion it will cause in the working class. De Klerk is not negotiating for majority-rule.

The black majority is determined to defeat Treurnicht. But we will not do this by, on the one hand condemning this referendum, and on the other calling upon whites to vote for De Klerk. Keeping quiet and avoiding action, will ultimately strengthen the racists.

If De Klerk wins the referendum the threat posed by the ultra-right will not be defeated. The CP and AWB will continue openly arming against the blacks, and a future ANC government. Racists in the SAP and SADF could threaten to take power by force in future.

That is why we believe the ANC and COSATU must mobilise the black working class majority -- the only force with the power to defeat the Conservative Party and to achieve majority-rule.

De Klerk and Treurnicht are both the enemies of the working class. The priority now is to defeat Treurnicht. But once the CP has been dealt with we must concentrate all our forces against de Klerk to struggle for majority-rule and socialism.

Contradictory in the form in which you have couched its vote yes?

ANC should prepare mass action to defeat Treurnicht!

★ The ANC and COSATU leaders should mobilise mass demonstrations *before* March 17 to show the bosses and the racists the power of the black majority.

★ This power must be used to strengthen our demands at CODESA for a date to be set for one-person-one-vote elections to a sovereign Constituent Assembly! The ANC leaders should walk out of CODESA if this is not conceded.

★ ANC President Nelson Mandela should publically warn that a victory for Treurnicht will be followed by an all-out General Strike! Its aim will be to bring down the racist white government, and to organise one-person-one-vote elections for a sovereign Constituent Assembly! ?How

★ Although it is most likely that De Klerk will win the referendum, preparations and propaganda for the strike and its armed defence should begin immediately!

★ Majority-rule, with the power of the state in the hands of the working class is the only guarantee of lasting peace in SA. Power must be transferred to the people! This government must go!

Majority-rule elections now!

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Chitha iReferendum yobandlululo-ngebala kaDe Klerk!

UDe Klerk ubize ireferendum yabamhlophe bebodwa ngomhla ka17 March ukuze bazonquma ngekusasa leSouth Africa. Umbuzo obuzwa abamhlophe uthi: "Uyavumelana na nokuqhutshekiswa kwehlelo lokuletha ubungcono elaqalwa nguMongameli weZwe ngomhla ka February 2, 1992, futhi elihlose ukuletha umthetho omusha wezwe ngezingxoxisano?"

UDe Klerk uthi uma iningi labamhlophe besekela iConservative Party ngokuvota "Cha", uzoshiya isihlalo sobuMongameli bese ebiza ukhetho labamhlophe bodwa ezweni ngaphansi komthetho wezwe osuchithiwe weTricameral. *Lokhu kusho ukuthi ubona kungcono anikeze uTreurnicht kanye nabamhlophe abafuna ubandlululo amandla ombuso, kunokuwanikeza iningi labamnyama ngaphansi kweANC!*

Lereferendum yabamhlophe bebodwa ifakazela futhi ukuthi angeke sikwazi ukuthemba uDe Klerk ezingxoxweni ezibhekene nekusasa bezwe lethu. Kwenzeka kanjani ukuthi abamhlophe abangu-4 million babe nelungelo lokunquma ngekusasa labamnyama abangu-30 million?!

Abaqashi kanye netelevishini namaphephandaba abo basebenzela uDe Klerk obala. Bathi uma uTreurnicht anganqoba lokhu kuzoletha ukuchitheka kwegazi ezweni, futhi kusibuyisele ezinsukwini zobandlululo olusobala.

Kodwa basebenzisa lensongo ngokunyudela ukulunga ukuze bathuse iningi labamnyama, kanye nokucindezela iANC ukuthi ***ingakwazi*** *ukuviva uquqaba lwabantu ukuthi beme ngezinyawo ukulwisa lereferendum yobandlululo.* Basebenzisa ukwesaba kwabantu umbuso kaTreurnicht ukuze baqinise imicabango yabo engenalo iqiniso kuCODESA.

Kulokhu basekelwa ngabaqashi emhlabeni jikelele.

Leqembu elibusayo baphikisana noTreurnicht ngoba besaba ukuthi izindlela zobandlululo ngebala zeConservative Party zizozala izimpi ezintsha zesigaba sabasebenzi abamnyama zokufuna ukuketula uhulumende kanye nehlelo labo.

Bafuna uDe Klerk anqobe ngoba indlela yakhe yokuphatha yiyona ndlela engconywana yokusekela ihelo labaqashi. Abafuni isivumelwano seqiniso sokuphatha ngentando yabantu eSouth Africa, kanye nohulumende weningi ngaphansi kweANC.

Akulungile ukuthi abakhokheli beANC bakhuthaze abamhlophe ukuthi bavote "Yebo" kulereferendum. Lokucebisa ngukuvumelana nereferendum ebandlulula ngebala futhi okungenzeka ingenise uTreurnicht embusweni. Kuxabanisa abamhlophe nabamnyama abangamalungu eANC. Kodwa okuyingozi ngaphezulu ngukudideka okuzobakhona esigabeni sabasebenzi. UDe Klerk akaxoxisani ngendaba yombuso weningi.

Iningi labantu abamnyama lizimisele ukwehlula uTreurnicht. Kodwa lokhu ngeke sikwenze ngokusola ireferendum nje, nanoma ngokuthi abamhlophe mabavotele uDe Klerk. Ukuvala umlomo kanye nokubalekela ukuthi kumiwe ngezinyawo, ekugcineni kuzoqinisa labo abafuna ubandlululo.

Uma uDe Klerk enqoba kulereferendum, ukusongela kwabamhlophe abahambisana nobandlululo kuzokube kunganqotshwanga okomphela. ICP kanye neAWB zizoqhubeka ngokuhloma obala maqondana nabamnyama, kanye nohulumende weANC esikhathini esizayo. KwiSAP kanye neSADF ukusekela umqondo wobandlululo kuyongezeka. Esikahthini esizayo bangathusa ngokuthi bafune ukuthatha umbuso ngezikhali.

Yingalokho sikholwa ukuthi iANC kanye neCOSATU kufanele zivive iningi lesigaba sabasebenzi abamnyama -- amandla okuyiwona kuphela angakwazi ukwehlula ababandlululi beConservtive Party kanye nokuletha umbuso weningi.

Bobabili uDe Klerk kanye noTreurnicht yizitha zesigaba sabasebenzi. Kodwa okuphambili manje ngukuthi makunqotshwe uTreurnicht. Emveni kokuqeda ngeCP sizokwazi-ke ukuqoqela ndawonye amandla ethu siwaqondise ekulwiseni uDe Klerk sifuna umbuso weningi.

IANC mayilungiselele izinyathelo ezizokuthathwa nguquqaba lwabantu ukunqoba uTreurnicht!

★ Abakhokheli beANC neCOSATU mabavive uquqaba lwabantu ngaphambi kuka March 17 ukubonisa abaqashi kanye nalabo abafuna ubandlululo, amandla eningi.

★ Lamandla mawasetshenziselwe ukuqinisa izibizo zethu kuCODESA zokuthi kubekwe ilanga lapho ngalona umuntu-ngamunye-ngevoti-lilinye azokhetha iCostituent Assembly enamandla okubusa! Abakhokheli beANC kufanele baphume kuCODESA uma lokhu kungavunywa.

★ Umongameli weANC uNelson Mandela makaxwayise obala ukuthi uma uTreurnicht enganqoba lokhu kuzolandelwa yisiTrayiki sikaWonkewonke! Inhloso yaso kuzokube kunguketula umbuso wabamhlophe wobandlululo, kanye nokwenzakalisa ukukhethwa kweConstituent Assembly enamandla okubusa!

★ Nanoma kubonakala ungathi uDe Klerk uzonqoba kulereferendum, amalungiselelo nokusakazela lesisitrayiki kanye nezindlela sokusivikela ngezikhali, bakuqaliswe khona manje!

★ Umbuso weningi, lapho amandla ombuso asezandleni zabasebenzi, yisona kuphela isiqinisekiso soxolo oluphelele eSA. Amandla ombuso mawangeniswe ezandleni zabantu! Lohulumende makasuswe!

Makukhethelwe umbuso weningi khona-maje!