

# UMSEBENZI

Voice of the South African Communist Party

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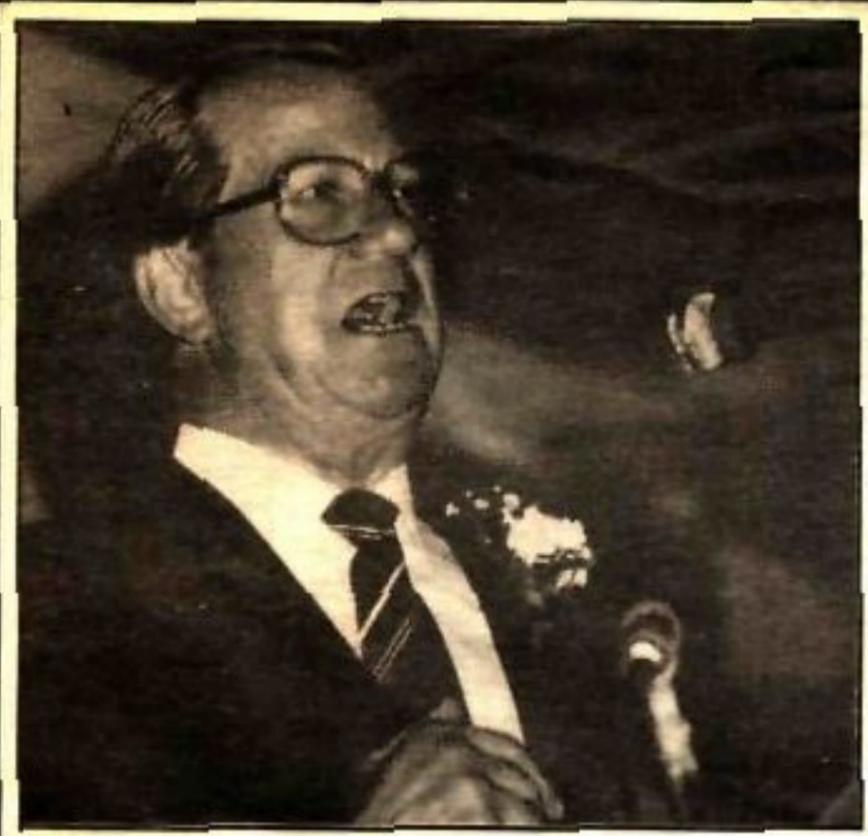
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We may be calling for a 'yes' vote in your white referendum, but ...

# To hell with both of you!



TREURNICHT



DE KLERK

**F** W de Klerk has called a whites-only referendum because he still believes the white minority CAN veto our advance to democracy.

The khaki-clad squadrons of Eugene Terre'blanche and Andries Treurnicht are contesting the referendum because they believe the white minority MUST veto our advance to democracy.

Our answer to De Klerk and the far-Right is this: You're both wrong!

The democratic masses of our people have never accepted that the racist minority alone

have the right to choose the future for our country.

We reject your racist referendum. Whatever the outcome, we will continue our advance to democracy.

But we do not accept that white South Africa is the property of either Treurnicht or De Klerk.

So our Party and its allies are calling on our white comrades to vote in the referendum - to swell the "yes" votes to defeat Treurnicht, and to prevent De Klerk claiming a "yes" majority as a National Party mandate.

★ THE PARTY PERSPECTIVE: PAGE 8

What is happening at CODESA?



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CODESA

# What is going on at CODESA?

## Isn't CODESA a very unrepresentative body?

Yes. The great majority of CODESA parties and organisations are ethnic creations of the Tricameral parliament and the bantustan system.

All political organisations, from the very biggest (like the ANC) to the very smallest (like Solidarity which has less than 1% support in the Indian community, let alone among all South Africans) have delegations of equal size.

## So why bother with CODESA?

As far as the SACP and ANC are concerned, CODESA is an imperfect forum that must be used as a stepping stone to a democratic Constituent Assembly.

CODESA, with all its faults, is at least much more representative than the existing Tricameral and bantustan structures.

Despite the injustice of equal representation for com-



Party delegates at the opening of CODESA last December: Chris Hani (left) and Raymond Mhlaba

Photo: Samson Salaga

pletely unequal organisations, the reality is that CODESA basically brings face to face the ANC and its allies and the regime and its allies. In all working groups the ANC's leadership role is in fact ac-

knowledged by the great majority of participants.

**Nonetheless, if you admit that CODESA is not very representative, doesn't the PAC have a point in boycotting it?**

The PAC participated in the Patriotic Front preparations for CODESA. The PAC accepted that CODESA should be inclusive, that is, they agreed that it should include all real political parties and organisations regardless of size. The PAC even accepted a PF mandate to speak to a number of Tricameral Parties and the IFP, to encourage them to attend CODESA. When the PAC walked out of CODESA, it did so on technicalities. It objected to the venue, because they said it was not neutral.

They wanted CODESA to meet in a foreign country. While it was their right to put this suggestion, our view is that CODESA belongs to the people of South Africa, and it should meet here on our own soil. By neutral venue we meant a venue that is not a government venue.

The PAC also objected to the two judges who chaired the opening sessions of CODESA.

We pointed out, correctly as it has turned out, that this was just a short-term provision.

All the working groups are now chaired by political party delegates themselves.

The PAC, AZAPO and other forces, must join CODESA. Otherwise they are in danger of being by-passed by history.

## But what can CODESA achieve?

It is important to be very realistic about this. We have resisted initial government attempts to turn CODESA into some super-Parliament.

The sole business of CODESA is to lay the basis for a democratically elected constitution making body, and to settle arrangements to make this possible.

CODESA is not a forum to discuss education, housing, economic, health and many other policies.

But within its limitations CODESA, we are convinced, can and will make important gains.

Already we have committed all participants (with the exception of the Bop government) to accept the principle of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa.

Every single delegation now accepts the need for some kind of interim government.

And remember, just a few months ago, the South African government and Inkatha, amongst others, were totally rejecting this important demand that we first advanced in the Harare Declaration in 1989.

But, above all, our central objective, as we have already said, is a democratically elected Constituent Assembly.

All our other demands are related to this central demand. We are more and more convinced that we will win this demand at CODESA.

Already a significant majority of participants support this demand. ♪

## Why the Party supports proportional representation

In the ANC/SACP scenario we are proposing that the Constituent Assembly be elected on the basis of proportional representation with the whole of South Africa treated as a single constituency.

Lets say the CA will have 400 seats. Parties (or alliances of parties) will then contest the elections with national lists of up to 400 names. If one of the parties gets exactly 50% of the vote, then the top 200 names on its list are elected to the Constituent Assembly.

If another party gets exactly 25% of the vote, then the top 100 names on its list are elected, and so on.

The present tricameral elections are not based on proportional representation. They are based on a constituency system. In other words, each constituency votes for one

representative. The advantage of the constituency system is that those elected are more answerable to a particular base. But the two great disadvantages of the constituency system are

- a party might come second in a hundred constituencies, with millions of votes overall, and yet it will not have a single representative in parliament.

- it is a very complicated business delineating constituencies fairly. At present in South Africa many rural constituencies in the white parliament have three or four times less voters than urban constituencies. But each constituency still has one MP each. (This, incidentally, is why the right-wing want the whites-only referendum to be based on constituencies). ♪

# HOUSES, HUNGER, HEALTH

## The SACP's Triple H Campaign



**T**he Vosloorus branch of the SACP launched the PWV region's Triple H campaign at a public meeting in the township civic centre on Saturday 29 February.

The campaign was officially opened by SACP deputy general secretary Charles Nqakula.

The Vosloorus branch had obtained 500 loaves of bread from a local bakery. These loaves were distributed free to the community, especially to pensioners.

"This is not charity. We are not giving out this bread as a favour. We are definitely not asking you to say thank you. You have earned it through a life-time of hard labour. We are making a simple point; the right not to starve is a basic human right. It is a right that the capitalist system has never recognised", Jeremy Cronin of the Party's central committee told the meeting.

### Doctors

The Vosloorus branch also arranged for nurses and doctors to be on hand to give free medical treatment to the community.

"Over 250 black children out of every 1000 die in their first year. That is not as a result of the will of God. It is the will of the government, which

## Struggle continues outside CODESA

**The negotiations under way at CODESA for democratic political changes are very important.**

**But we haven't struggled for years for political changes that come without real social and economic improvements in our living conditions.**

**Yes, we want one person one vote in a united and democratic South Africa.**

**But we also want decent housing, food and free, accessible health care for all.**

**That is why, parallel with CODESA, the SACP is spearheading a mass campaign that focusses on Houses, Hunger and Health.**

**We call this the Triple H Campaign.**

continues to spend much less on black health than on white health", a doctor told the meeting.

"We are calling for a free public health system, where the focus is on primary health care. The clinics must come to the townships, to the rural villages and settlements."

An important feature of the Vosloorus meeting was the significant number of pensioners in the audience.

"You have given your lives to struggle and hard labour. At your age you should now be

enjoying some well earned rest", Ronnie Kasrils, SACP central committee member, told some 150 pensioners in the audience of 500.

"But unfortunately there is still so much left for which to struggle. It is important that the older people join with the younger generation.

"We must build a strong party jikelele, yes, jikelele in South Africa", said Kasrils.

### Branch activity

In the course of March, SACP branches and regions will be

spearheading the Triple H campaign throughout the country.

- On March 15 the campaign will be launched in the Western Transvaal at Bekkersdal.

- In the Natal Midlands the Party district in conjunction with Earthlife is mounting a campaign against the Thor chemical company, to expose the problem of mercury poisoning which is effecting whole communities in the region.

- In Southern Natal the SACP has taken the initiative to meet with various mass democratic

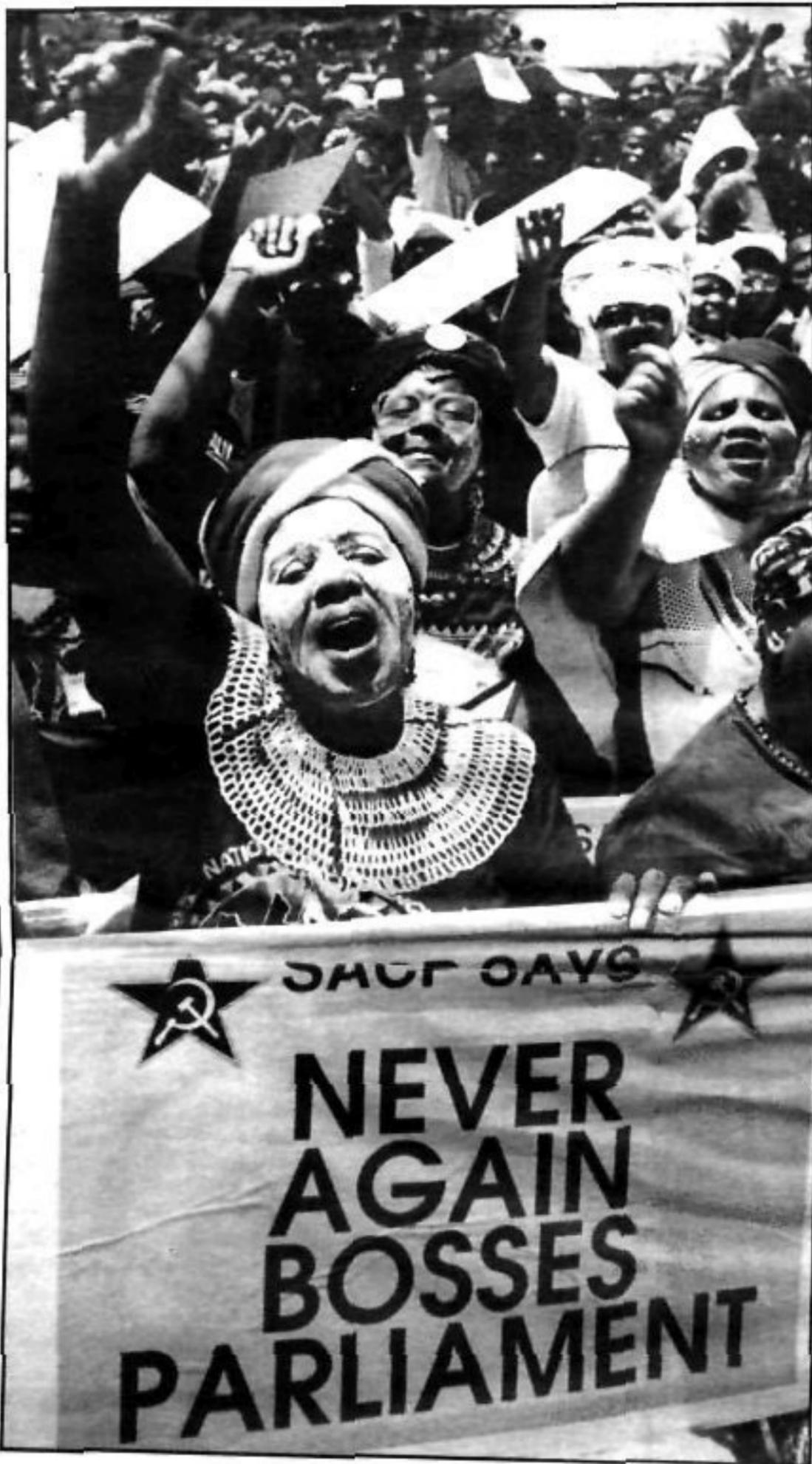
formations, to launch a joint campaign around health and hunger.

- In the Western Cape a major demonstration outside parliament is planned for March 18, budget day.

We will be protesting against continued racial inequalities in health care, in pensions, and the government's neglect of our people's welfare.

- On the same day, to coincide with the budget, the Party will be involved in numerous actions countrywide. ♪

CODESA



# The ANC/SACP so for constitutional

**T**he SACP together with the ANC, COSATU and the Patriotic Front organisations at CODESA have agreed upon a general transition scenario.

Both the SACP and the ANC have presented this general scenario to CODESA.

The main features of this scenario are:

- A democratically elected Constituent Assembly.

This is the crucial feature of the whole process. This Constituent Assembly will draw up a democratic constitution for a new South Africa.

- A transition with two main phases.

We see the transition having two

main phases: phase one, leading up to the election of the Constituent Assembly.

And phase two, the period during which the Constituent Assembly is sitting.

- Phase one.

The first phase should last not longer than 6 months. In this phase the main emphasis will be on levelling the political playing field, on creating the conditions for free and fair elections.

The interim ruling structures we propose for this phase will therefore, have as their main focus issues directly related to democratic elections.

It is important to remember that

## But what does it

**PHASE 1: Levelling the playing field**  
Interim structures in this phase will have the task of levelling the playing field.

They must ensure equal treatment for all political organisations, especially in the election campaign.

Three types of interim structure will be required:

1. Independent and non-partisan commissions appointed by CODESA

- to control the election process; and
- to control state owned TV and radio (including those in the TBVC territories).

2. Multi-party committees to take charge of the most important areas in the pre-election phase - security,

the budget, foreign relations, and others like local government.

3. An Interim Government Council which will be a body made up of parties in CODESA to oversee the tricameral parliament, the National Party cabinet and structures in the TBVC and self-governing territories.

It can veto as well as initiate legislation.

The international community should be involved at various levels.

In particular international organisations which were present at CODESA 1 should help to supervise elections.

The first phase should not last longer than 6 months.

# THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

# Scenario change

these structures will emerge more or less directly out of CODESA.

They will, therefore, reflect some of the shortcomings, and the lack of full representativity of CODESA.

## • Phase two.

This phase takes place after democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly.

The constitution making process should not last longer than 9 months.

Since elections will have been held it will be possible to develop Interim Government structures which are more representative than those in phase one.

These IG structures will now take on the full governing of the country in the transition. ♪

# mean?

## Phase 2 : CONSTITUTION MAKING

1. The Constituent Assembly (CA) will be elected on the basis of proportional representation with SA treated as a single constituency.

2. The CA will operate both as a constitution making body and as a legislative assembly (that is, as a parliament making laws).

• When it operates as a constitution making body (which is its main task) it will take decisions by a two-thirds majority.

• As a parliament it will pass legislation relevant for the transition period. It will also appoint an interim cabinet, which will probably have a multi-party character.

The constitution-making process should not last longer than nine months. ♪

# ON CY

## The ANC/SACP Scenario

### Phase 1: Levelling the playing field

CODESA agrees

Tricam legislates

Interim Government  
Council

oversees

Independent  
commissions

• Electoral

• Media

Multi-party  
Committees

• Security MPC

• Budget MPC

• Foreign Relations MPC

• Local Government MPC

Existing state  
structures

- Tricam parliament
- NP cabinet
- TBVC 'states'
- Self-governing states

ELECTIONS

### Phase 2: Constitution making

Constituent  
Assembly

As constitution-  
making body:  
• Draw up  
constitution

As legislature:  
• Appoints  
interim  
government  
• Passes laws

NEW CONSTITUTION

## CODESA

**S**ABC television news kicked off its coverage of the white referendum on Monday March 2 by announcing that both Treurnicht and De Klerk were touring the Western Cape, pushing their respective "no" and "yes" arguments to the white public.

It then focussed for five adoring minutes (and five television minutes last a long, long time) on De Klerk. Treurnicht didn't get a live second. If you think that's okay - that as a white supremacist in a country with a black majority, Treurnicht doesn't deserve any better - think again.

SABC is treating Treurnicht badly because there is a white referendum on.

But in not too many months there is going to be an election. Then it won't be Treurnicht whose views are ignored, distorted and manipulated. It'll be ours.

The ANC and the SACP are no strangers to abuse by the SABC, with interviewers like John Bishop and Marietta Kruger verbally kicking their officials in the teeth, while bending over backwards to allow National Party representatives all the time they need to speak their pieces.

#### Radio Zulu

The situation is even worse on the tribal radio stations created by the NP - Radio Zulu must hold the world record for squeezing the words 'Inkatha' and 'Buthelezi' into a news bulletin.

This heavy-handed bias distorts the information available to the 12-million South Africans who rely on radio and television for most of their information. It distorts the way they see things, and it will distort the way they vote when the majority finally get that chance.

Which is why the Party, the ANC and other victims of SABC insisted that control of broadcasting in the transition be placed on the agenda of Codesa. They have also demanded that something be

# The battle for SABC



**Unlike privately owned media which can support particular political organisations or ideologies, state or public radio and television is accountable to all the people. It is therefore obliged to be impartial in its reporting of political matters**

before the election as part of the "creation of a climate for free political activity", not something to be addressed only once a democratic government is in place.

The Codesa discussion on broadcasting have only just begun, but already National Party delegates are arguing that the people who now run SABC

(and ran it before February, 1990, when it was even worse), should be left alone to run its during the transition.

All that is needed, say the Nats, is a "complaints tribunal" to judge whether what SABC and other government-owned broadcasting services is fair and impartial.

This is a welcome con-

cession that the SABC needs policing (and even its own executives admit SABC has "credibility problem"), but it does not go far enough.

#### Takes time

The process of receiving complaints and judging takes time. And once an item is broadcast, that's it.

Take the De Klerk-Treurnicht case on March 2 as an example. It won't do Treurnicht much good to complain at being left out on March 2 and have the tribunal decide on March 20 - once the referendum is over - that he was right and that SABC should give him some air time.

Better, surely, to replace the boards of control and senior executives of the SABC and the TBVC broadcasters with people who (unlike SABC's present, government-appointed bosses) are impartial. And who don't need a tribunal to force them to do their jobs properly.

People who don't give De Klerk five minutes and his opponent nothing, and who don't reserve all the easy questions for one party.

The replacement of SABC's control structures, and those of the TBVC broadcasters, is thus one of the key Alliance demands at Codesa.

Without it, South Africa will go through multi-party elections with a one-party broadcasting service.

And we must be clear that what we want is not simply to replace the Nationalists' one-party broadcasting with one-party broadcasting of our own.

Our struggle over the past 75 years has not been for a one-party state but for the democratic freedom of all South Africans to express their opinions, and of all South Africans to choose which opinion to accept.

#### Support

In that struggle, the positions and policies of our Party, the ANC and of the whole democratic movement have, under the extremely difficult conditions of illegality, won the support of the vast majority of our people.

We therefore have little to fear from contesting our ideas openly and on the level playing field of impartial broadcasting against those, for example, of Inkatha, the PAC or the National Party.

Because in a fair fight, there is very little doubt who would win. ♪

## Inkongolo yeparty yamabomwane yimpumelelo nembali

Inkongolo eyimbali enkulu, yesibhozo ebibanjwe eGoli ukusuka ngomhla wesihlanu ukuya kwisibhozo kweyo-Mnga, ibihlokoma ishobisa kanaanjalo.

Besiphuma (tabameli) kuzo zonke iikona zelizwe lethu ngokuthunywa ngamasebe ethu ukuba zesithathe inxaxhepa kwiingxoxo zale party

yabasebenzi malunga neembono yeparty kwimiba enje ngale:

- Indawo (strategic location) yale party yabasebenzi iSACP;
- Iprofile ebonakalayo yeparty;
- Umgaqo-siseko nemanifesto yamabomvana asekhaya;
- Ingxoxo ndlela ebheka phambili yeparty;
- Nolo nyulo lwamalungu ekomiti kazwelonke (CC).

Siphinda kumasebe ethu sihluthi kwaye somelele, sizimisele nangakumbi ukucela umngeni sinyathele iinkqubo etukayo yobungxowa-nkulu eza nentlupheko, indlala nokungabinamakhaya kwabo bantu abavelisa ubutyebi belizwe (abasebenzi); noko siphindisa ingxelo sizimisele ukuqinisa nanga-

kumbi amasebe ethu.

Inkululeko yethu kumakhama-ndela engcinezelo yabamnyama cyakusisondeza kulawulo lwamabomvana sele isemnyango!

Asinakuhula maqabane, kwa ukuba umgaqosiseko wethu ungabi nasihloko nge "dissolution" yeSACP ibonakalisa gca ngokuphandle nako-

ongxowankulu ukuba iparty yethu ngeke iphele/ichithakale/dissolve ngaphambi kokuba kuphele ingcinezelo yomntu ngomnye umntu, kuphele amantqwanqwa entlalweni! Oongxowa-nkulu baya-baleka! Umdlala-ndawonye ngoku!

Ikomanisi edabini — PJ Mnguni, Lusikisiki, Transkei

# Organisering in die platteland

Ek was verheug om in die November 1991 uitgawe van *Umsebenzi* te lees dat ons briewe rakende ontwikkelinge in ons SAKP strukture (iets wat ons nie in Namakwaland het nie) en ons streke in enige Suid-Afrikaanse taal mag skryf.

Taal is 'n groot probleem in die bevrydingstryd.

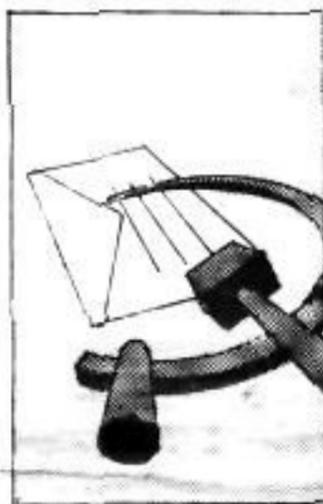
In Namakwaland is ons vier lede van die SAKP. Dit is dus togtes dat hier nog baie organiseringswerk te doen is, wat die Party betref en ook ander organisasies soos die ANC en vakunies.

### Mobilisering

Met die bou van die ANC en gemeenskapsorganisasies word stadig vordering gemaak, maar organisering en mobilisering van die massas word nog altyd gestrem deur sekere subjektiewe faktore, wat natuurlik ook invloed het op die bou van die SAKP.

In die bou van SAKP strukture sal daar nog meer subjektiewe faktore wees omdat baie mense in die area, van nature antagonisties staan teenoor sosialisme en kommunisme, want die meerderheid van die inwoners is sogenaamde kleurlinge en het of is veronderstel om sterk godsdienstige oortuigings te het.

Ek beskou politieke opvoeding as een van die belangrikste take van die bevrydingsbeweging. Hier in Namakwaland is politieke opvoeding een van ons grootste probleme. Selfs ANC lede is sommige kere nie by magte om mense te organiseer (practice), omdat hulle nie die nodige politieke opvoeding (theory) het nie. Ons kan byvoorbeeld nie



## Write to Umsebenzi

We would like to hear from all our readers. You can write to us in any South African language. Send your letters to: **UMSEBENZI PO Box 1027, Johannesburg 2000**

mense vertel van die geskiedenis van die SAKP as ons dit nie ken nie of verduidelik wat dialektiese materialisme is, as ons self nie weet wat dit beteken nie. Dus sal ons nie daardie mense kan organiseer nie.

Die paar mense in ons area wat lede is van die Party, miskien as gevolg van hul betrokkeheid (practice) in progressiewe organisasies, wat bygedra het tot hul politieke opvoeding (theory), beskou dit dus as essensieel om deel te wees van ander organisasies

soos die ANC, ANC Jeugliga en gemeenskapsverenigings.

Die hoofrede is die feit dat alle kamerade (die meeste van hulle het eers sedert 1990/91 betrokke geraak in die bevrydingstryd) nog nie die ervaring het om mense te organiseer of 'n organisasie in stand te hou en uit te bou nie.

Die slotsoem waartoe ek kom is: Die wisselwerking tussen teorie en die praktyk veroorsaak dat kamerade in spesifieke situasie "two hats" moet dra. Die dra van "two hats" veroorsaak dus dat kamerade nie hul

volle gewig in die bou van SAKP strukture kan ingooi nie, want die eerste fase van die revolusie (nasionale bevryding) onder die leiding van die ANC, dit wil se die bou van die ANC en mobilisering van die massas, in Namakwaland in hierdie geval, moet een van die hoofprioriteite wees. Daar is dus 'n behoefte aan politieke opvoeding.

Dit is egter moeilik om mense van die SAKP te vertel, omdat ons self nie die alfa and omega van Marxisties-Leninistiese teorie ken nie.

Die hoofrede hiervoor is omdat publikasies van die Party, en ander publikasies soos *Labour Bulletin* en *Work in Progress*, in Engels verskyn.

### Kompleks

Sommige terme en debatte is klaar kompleks en die feit dat dit in Engels verskyn, maak dit nog meer kompleks.

Ek dink dat literatuur van die Party meer beskikbaar gemaak moet word vir veral die kamerade op die platteland.

Hier in Namakwaland is

daar enorme potensiaal vir die bou van SAKP strukture.

Die NUM het 'n tak hier, en baie werkers is van nature gekant teen die mynbase.

Mense in die reservate maak ook nog gebruik van gemeenskaplike boerdery en is gekant teen enige pogings om hul grond te privaatiseer.

Die afskeep van sulke groot areas soos Namakwaland in die algemeen en die platteland spesifiek, in terme van organisering, sal as katalisator dien vir die val van enige organisasie. Ons sal ons taak as kamerade en as kommuniste hier nougeset uitvoer, maar om ons mense te organiseer moet ons so veel as moontlik subjektiewe faktore uitskakel en die objektiewe faktore tot ons voordeel en die voordeel van die werkersklas in Suid Afrika en die wereld, gebruik.

Bou die Christert/Kommunistiese Alliansie! Voorwaarts na 'n verenigde, nie-rassige, nie-seksistiese, kommunistiese wereld! Kommunisme is demokrasie! — 'Mossie', Springbok, Namakwaland.

## WHERE TO CONTACT THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

### HEAD OFFICE

2nd Floor, National Acceptance House,  
13 Rissik Street, Johannesburg  
Send mail to: PO Box 1027,  
Johannesburg 2000  
Phone: (011) 836-6425/836-6867 or  
836-6437/8  
Fax: (011) 836-8366

### PWV REGION

(for Transvaal & OFS)  
Room 501, 5th Floor, CNA House,  
corner Commissioner & Rissik Streets,  
Johannesburg 2001  
Phone: (011) 834-4657 or 834-4665  
Fax: (011) 834-6161

### EASTERN CAPE

Room 22, Co-operative Centre, 50  
Pearl Road, Korsten, Port Elizabeth  
Send mail to: PO Box 4234, Port  
Elizabeth 6000  
Phone: (041) 41-5106 or 41-1242

### WESTERN CAPE

Office 8, Community House, 41 Salt  
River Road, Salt River, Cape Town  
7925  
Phone: (021) 448-7908

### TRANSKEI

38 Sprig Street, Umtata 5370  
Phone: (0471) 31-1250

### BORDER

Shop 10, Works & Transport Building  
Independent Boulevard, Bisho  
Send mail to: PO Box 2068, King  
William's Town 5600  
Phone (0401) 95128

### SOUTHERN NATAL

4 Bigden House, 505-7 Smith Street,  
Durban 4001. Phone (031) 305-6186/7

### NATAL MIDLANDS

207 Scotts Theatre Building, Theatre  
Lane, Pietermaritzburg  
Send mail to: Box 3466, Maritzburg 3200  
Phone (0331) 94-5168/9

## DE KLERK'S REFERENDUM

# ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE ... NEVER AGAIN A RACIST VOTE!

**A**partheid lives! That is the message of FW de Klerk's racist referendum on March 17. It lives on in the mind of President FW de Klerk, who still believes the white minority alone can decide on the future of our country — by voting "yes" or "no" to negotiations with representatives of the democratic majority.

It lives on in the racist dreams of the khaki-clad squadrons of the far-Right, who still believe the white minority alone will decide the future of our country - by refusing to negotiate with representatives of the democratic majority.

### Not yours alone

But to both these views, the democratic masses of our people have already replied in years of bitter struggle against apartheid: The future is not yours alone to choose. The future belongs to us all - we will all make the choice, together as a single, democratic country.

To achieve this, even while the racist referendum

is underway, we must continue our struggle for majority rule, for democracy and for justice.

We must mobilise thousands behind the Party banner and our Three Hs Campaign:

- For decent, affordable **HOUSES** for all;
- For a free national **HEALTH** service; and
- Against **HUNGER** - fighting to end VAT on food, and for jobs for all.

And on March 18 we must mobilise in our thousands under the ANC banner for a People's Budget.

In all these struggles, De Klerk's National Party regime remains our main enemy, the major obstacle to the democratic transfer of power to the people.

And it is against this that we must direct our major thrust.

But De Klerk is not our only enemy. Other forces have emerged to threaten the process towards democracy - among them the groupings of the far-Right.

These are currently locked in conflict with De Klerk in a racist referendum - but this

does not mean we should ignore them.

Equally, the ugly spectre of Eugene Terre'blanche and his gun-toting followers does not mean we must intervene to "save" De Klerk.

### Intervene

Our Party, the African National Congress, Cosatu and all democratic forces must intervene tactically both to defeat the challenge posed by the far Right to the process towards democracy, and to maintain our pressure on our main strategic opponent, the National Party.

To achieve this all democratic forces must intervene in the referendum to ensure

that the "no" vote - against negotiations - is decisively defeated.

A massive "yes" victory will prevent De Klerk from ever again using the threat of the Right to justify delaying the process. But we must also ensure that a majority "yes" vote is not a vote for De Klerk, but for the democratic transfer of power to the people.

This is why our Party and the ANC have called on our white comrades to vote on March 17.

De Klerk's newspaper adverts tell white South Africa: 'Vote "no" and you're not saying "no" to the NP'.

We can ensure that tens of thousands of white South Africans voting "yes" are not saying "yes" to the NP either.

They'll be saying yes to democracy.

Opinion polls put white voter support for organisations to the left of the National Party at 300 000 - more than 30 000 for the ANC alone. So when the votes are counted, De Klerk - and the world - must recognise that 300 000 of the "yes" votes were not cast for him. They were votes for democracy and justice.

### Votes against De Klerk

They were votes against the far Right's dreams of a retreat into the past.

But they will also be votes against De Klerk and his National Party regime as the main obstacle to democracy, peace and justice in our country.

One person, one vote!  
Never again a racist vote! ✎

**Enjoy  
it - it's  
your  
last  
racist vote**

