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South Africa—How close to revolution?

The magnificent struggles of the black proletariat in South Africa—unsurpassed in heroism and sacrifice anywhere in the world—have undoubtedly opened a new stage on the road to revolution.

The mass movement against the state is now more widespread and sustained, better organised and more politically conscious than at any time in generations of resistance to the racist dictatorship.

To many comrades, the inability of the regime to crush the rebellion may suggest that its actual downfall is imminent. Equally to many, a further savage escalation of state violence, massacres, mass detentions, wholesale bannings of organisations, etc.—which is possible in the next period—may lead to the view that the regime will indefinitely remain "too strong" for the mass movement to overthrow.

How is the present situation to be understood? What stage are we passing through? How close are we to revolution itself? What tasks are now posed?

General features of a revolutionary situation

Lenin defined three general features of a revolutionary situation:

"(1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the 'upper classes', a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure (crack) through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way;

"(2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual;

"(3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peace time', but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historical action."

South Africa is characterised today, to some degree, by all these features.

The capitalist ruling class, unable to defend its

system adequately by the naked white supremacist methods of the past, has been forced to try to adapt and "reform", to draw in layers of collaborators from among the black middle class, hoping to ward off the demands of the working-class masses by new schemes of divide-and-rule.

This is a confession of the bankruptcy of the "old way". Yet it has plainly failed to bring about a viable new method of rule. The built-up pressure of the mass movement, for national liberation, for equality, for an end to poverty and exploitation, cannot be contained now by any concessions possible within the framework of capitalism.

As serious economists and political commentators among the bourgeois themselves now admit, capitalism cannot afford the "social costs" of genuine democratic changes. The economy is in the grip of long-term economic crisis. With unemployment, inflation, debt and deficits mounting up, the attempts of the ruling class to change even some of the methods of its rule have turned into a crisis of racist and capitalist rule in its entirety.

Through this "fissure" the mass movement pours, now beginning to take on the proportions of a flood. Anger over worsening daily hardships—especially the rising cost of food, the rent, water and electricity increases, and the rises in GST—combines with a growing sense of the enormous revolutionary power latent within the urban black population and above all within the industrial working class.

Pre-revolutionary situation arising from a decade of struggle

The tremendous strength and confidence of the movement today has been built upon more than a decade of bitter battles—of black workers, of youth, of women, of whole working-class communities against every aspect of oppression. The organising efforts of tens of thousands of activists have prepared the way for the political crisis of apartheid and capitalism, which is now approaching what can best be termed a pre-revolutionary situation.

It is a situation in which the elements necessary for revolution are definitely coming together—but where the revolutionary crisis is not yet fully

matured.

1984 has been marked by an industrial strike wave which, by mid-year, had already set a record for the number of work-days lost. It has seen the successful boycott of the coloured and Indian "elections", leaving the government's bought stooges doing an absurd "parliamentary" puppet-dance with no shred of credibility.

It has seen concrete steps towards the launching of a united trade union federation. It has seen the historic challenge by the NUM force a partial climb-down by the Chamber of Mines.

It has produced waves of schools boycotts involving nearly a million students at its height. It has wrecked, with the utter humiliation of the collaborators, the regime's community councils scheme.

Despite thousands of arrests, despite nearly two hundred shot dead by the police and thousands gravely injured, resistance has spread untamed from East London to Pretoria, from Vereeniging to Grahamstown.

Now, most significantly of all, there has been the two-day political general strike in the Transvaal, called by the major unions and youth organisations, and supported by the UDF. This combined political and economic demands, and was 80-90% solid in the key industrial areas.

Regime turns to relying on troops

Predictably, the regime has now pushed repression into a higher gear. The use of 7000 white troops, many of them conscripts, to surround and search Sebokeng and other townships is a sign of the enormously raised stakes in the struggle.

The intimidatory effect of this action has amounted to a round zero. Instead, it has enabled the embattled working class to take the measure of the state forces more precisely, and to begin to evolve tactics and methods for coping with this new stage.

Thus the state begins to raise in the mind of the masses the eventual exhaustion of its repressive force. The fighting resources of the working people are correspondingly strengthened.

The PFP, from its liberal-bourgeois standpoint, solemnly warns the government that using troops will end up "dangerously" politicising the army, opening it to division, and so ultimately affecting the reliability of the state forces on which capitalism relies. And they are right!

(PFP chairman, Eglin, not one to shirk dirtying himself with a "practical" suggestion on behalf of the bosses, advises instead that the police be reinforced. How every real class battle exposes the reactionary core of the liberals!)

Now the regime moves to arrest trade union and other leaders accused of calling the general strike. UDF and FOSATU offices are raided. 6000 workers at SASOL are sacked for striking and deported under

police guard to the reserves.

The refusal of the working people to be cowed by these measures is itself plain evidence that a pre-revolutionary crisis is opening up.

A new phase of massive state repression would not alter the situation fundamentally

If not immediately, at least in the period ahead it is quite possible that the regime may decide to ban the UDF and youth organisations, and carry out large-scale arrests of trade union and other leaders, as in the early 1960s.

But the effect on the movement, despite temporary complications, would be very different from that time.

Then there was a sense that the mass movement had given its all but had been held back by its own leadership from exerting its full strength in action—now the prevailing sense is of a massive reservoir of forces still to be drawn into struggle.

Then the movement was largely unprepared for the frenzy of state violence and repression—today it has been a hundred times tempered in fire.

Then it had reached a peak and, lacking a revolutionary leadership with a scientific perspective and policy, had succumbed to bitter infighting and division—now, whatever weaknesses of leadership and divisions over policy and strategy there may be (a serious matter not to be glossed over), yet the sense is of many battalions marching towards a meeting-point where they have yet to give decisive battle against the enemy.

In the early 1960s the movement lacked strong and self-sustaining organisation at the base and depended dangerously on middle-class leaders anxious to pander to the liberals. Today, however, there has been an enormous growth of youth and community organisations, while the working class has gained an historic advance in building strong, independent unions under a significant degree of democratic worker control.

Most important of all, the organised working class has begun to establish itself as the decisive force for revolution, and is winning recognition of this among the revolutionary youth.

Previously the system rested on an economic base still sustained by the post-war upswing of capitalism. Now its foundations are becoming worm-eaten with economic crisis.

In these circumstances, the increased use of repressive powers by the state will not buoy up, but on the contrary will further weaken the morale of the ruling class and middle class, for it plainly offers no way forward.

Even wholesale arrests and bannings of organisa-

tions now would be unable to demoralise the movement and could not eliminate the basic structures of factory, school and township organisation.

For these reasons, further desperate moves towards even more vicious repression by the state would prepare the way for new retreats by the regime and splits in the ruling class.

But equally, every new lurch in the direction of further "reform" will bear the hallmark: "Too little, too late", thus stirring up the struggle even further, and promoting demoralisation in the bourgeois camp.

The cohesion of the ruling class and morale of the state forces is not yet sufficiently undermined

The long-standing strength and rigidity of the system of white domination—the existence of a powerful, steeled state apparatus built almost entirely on the privileged minority—mean that the maturing of a revolutionary crisis, and the preparation of conditions for the collapse or overthrow of the regime, is an unavoidably drawn-out, bitter and bloody process.

In fact, a fundamental split in the ruling class, paralysing the regime and reflecting itself also in deep divisions in the middle class and unreliability within the state apparatus, is the most important "missing element" in the situation now. Once this materialises, however, it will signal the onset of a revolutionary situation, spurring into action millions of so far inactive working people.

A key part of revolutionary strategy must be to prepare and produce such a split of the ruling class, and to systematically undermine and strip away its support within society.

The long-standing division between liberal and right-wing capitalists, and today between "*verligtes*" and "*verkramptes*" in SA does not amount to a split of a fundamental kind. In times of relative "peace" the capitalists argue among themselves over different long-term strategies for holding down and exploiting the working class. Those in the movement who argue for compromise with the liberals merely aid the strategy of the most cunning and deceptive wing of the class enemy.

In a revolutionary crisis all the groupings within the capitalist camp are thrown into turmoil, lose direction and begin to break up under the pressure of events, thus spreading demoralisation throughout bourgeois society.

What will produce that situation and lead eventually to the disintegration of the state (preparing its forcible overthrow) will be the proven bankruptcy of ALL the blows and manoeuvres of the ruling class in the face of a yet more persistent, uncompromising and conscious mass working-class resistance.

Revolutionary policy of the working class

The basic policy of the black working class should be two-fold.

On the one hand: to maintain its non-racial class attitude, and to extend this from the industrial field to the political field also, making a constant, unyielding, firm but fraternal class approach to working-class whites. Only in this way can we strip away the social support on which the state power of the bosses rests, and begin to affect the loyalties of the white middle class also.

Black workers and youth should not waver in this attitude even under the provocation of the most vicious right-wing racist movements developing among the whites—for that will itself be a symptom of the underlying revolutionary crisis and the break-up of "official" society.

On the other hand: the policy should be to turn our backs on the liberals, rejecting collaboration with any section of the capitalist class, whatever overtures they may make, and to draw the movement together behind a conscious struggle for workers' power, linking the task of winning national liberation and democracy, as well as all the social and economic demands, to the necessity of overthrowing capitalism itself.

Non-racialism and hostility to liberalism are twin features of one and the same revolutionary class policy, which alone can carry forward the unity of the oppressed people in action.

More and more, the decisive test of any leadership, programme and action will be its contribution to preparing the working class for power.

Trade unions and political organisation

The present situation bears out *Inqaba's* argument that the trade unions could not avoid a strategy of rapid growth, despite all the difficulties of consolidation which this entails, because of the speed with which political tasks would inevitably be thrust upon the workers' movement.

The need for clear working-class leadership of the struggle has never been greater. As the Transvaal general strike showed, the trade unions are forced into a position of having to give a lead in action—by the intensity of the general struggle against the state, and by the determination of the workers to use their organised strength for political ends.

Clearly a mass workers' party is needed, to lead the movement of all the oppressed. Were it to arise, it would mean a tremendous advance. But the route to creating this directly out of the unions is strewn with enormous difficulties and the likelihood of paralysing

delays.

Our view remains that the most effective route to the same end would be for the unions to move into the UDF (and later the ANC) with the conscious purpose of organising the mass of workers politically and establishing democratic workers' control and leadership on a fighting socialist programme.

Events have forced the trade unions and the UDF together. If the UDF were transformed by workers' organisation and leadership, this would help ensure the political independence of the working class from the hitherto dominating influence of the middle class, while maintaining the unity of workers with the youth and all strugglers in the face of the enemy.

Marxists must join forces

Today the movement combines open and underground elements, with the emphasis on the former. Tomorrow, depending on the state's actions, the emphasis may have to shift rather more to underground work for a time..

In either case it is necessary without delay for Marxists to join together in each area, wherever possible—within the unions, within the youth organisations, within the UDF—to build a conscious cadre, working out and arguing the case for Marxist policies in a systematic way.

For a two-day national strike

After the success of the Transvaal strike, the movement should set its sights—not immediately on an all-out general strike (although if that erupts spontaneously, as is possible, we would obviously give it full support)—but first on a two-day national general strike.

To the demands put forward in the Transvaal should be added a specific demand for a national minimum wage.

Such a strike would increase the pressure on the regime, further polarise the classes, and allow a testing of organisation and forces on a wider front. Then the weaknesses will be brought to light, and attention can be directed to overcoming these in preparation for further actions.

There cannot be a swift climax to the revolutionary struggle in South Africa; what is necessary are further well-prepared and thought-out actions building towards revolution.

The Transvaal strike will have driven home to many unorganised workers, especially in the state sector, the need for unionisation. To crack the problem of organising the railway workers will be

especially important in the next period.

This should be possible with the resources of the new federation, whose launching is needed without delay. A target for the federation to grow to a million members within a year or two years should be seen as entirely realistic, and indeed vitally necessary, in the situation now opening up.

In Natal, the problem of defeating the reactionary influence of Buthelezi should be made a top priority, or this will grow into a much more serious source of division and of strength for the regime.

While the industrial cities will be the main arena of the revolution, the situation also shows the necessity of establishing organised links between farm workers and industrial workers. In fact, to stretch the state forces beyond their capacity in future, and to give more impact to the struggles in the industrial areas, the movement must become generalised all over the country.

An extended period of thorough organisation, propaganda and agitation will be necessary to prepare for this, and the urban youth, together with the migrant workers, could play a key part in carrying it out.

If several thousand troops are needed to contain just one township—and then in a surprise manoeuvre and for just a few hours—how many would be needed to deal with simultaneous country-wide revolt? (With its conscript reserves fully mobilised, SA has just one soldier for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ square km., or one for every 50 of the black population.)

Conditions for revolution will ripen

Over the next few years, although events will not progress in a straight line, the conditions for the outbreak of revolution in South Africa will surely ripen.

Once the movement gains real national cohesion; once the working class establishes its political leadership in a clear and organised way over the whole struggle; once the regime and the ruling class are thrown into hopeless disarray, and the middle class is torn in all directions; once the state forces are so stretched and divided that even the worst brutalities cannot sustain their morale or ensure their effectiveness; once the black youth and workers have gained the means of using armed force, at first in organised self-defence of townships, meetings, picket-lines and demonstrations—then the way will be prepared for the downfall of the regime.

That in turn will open the floodgates of revolution.

While there is still a way to go before that stage is reached, the magnificent struggles of the South African proletariat—an inspiration to oppressed and exploited people around the world—have certainly advanced society to the point where the light of victory is visible at the end of the tunnel.

Afrika Borwa—e bogaufi jo bokae le diphetogo?

Dintwa tsa botlhokwa tsa babereki ba bantsho mo Afrika Borwa—tse di e seng di fetiwe ka bonatla le bo-intsha-setlhabelo, gope mo lefatsheng ka kakaretso—di butse tsela e ntsha ya diphetogo.

Dikgato tse di tsewang ke sechaba kgatlhanong le puso di gasame, di rulagantswe sentle ebile go na le temogo ya sepolotiki go feta nako tse dingwe tsotlhe tse go neng go lwantshiwa puso ya kgethololo.

Mo bontsing jwa bakaulengwe, go palelwa ga puso mo go kganelang baganetsi ba yone go raya gore go fengwa ga puso go gaufi. Mo go ba bangwe, koketso ya dikgoka e e dirwang ke puso, dipolao, go tsenngwa mo dikgolegelong, go kganelwa ga mekgatlho—tsotlhe di ka dirwa mo nakong e e tlang—go ka raya gore puso e tla nna e tiile thata go paledisa sechaba go e thankgola.

Seemo sa gompieno se ka tlhaloganngwa jang? Re feta mo nakong e e ntseng jang? Re bogaufi jo bokae le diphetogo? Ke ditiro di fe tse di lebaganeng le rona?

Dipopego ka kakaretso tsa seemo sa diphetogo

V.I. Lenin o tlhalositse dipopego ka kakaretso tse tharo tsa seemo sa diphetogo:

"(1) Fa e le gore bakonateledi ga ba kgone go tsweledisa puso ya bone ko ntle ga diphetogo; fa go na le mathata, a fe kana a fe, mo setlhopheng sa bahumi, mathata mo maitlamong a babusi. Gotlhe mo go tlie go dira dikgoberego gareng ga sechaba se se gateletsweng. Gore diphetogo di nne teng ga go tlhokafale fela gore bahumanegi ba seka ba batla go tshela jaaka pele, mme go a tlhokafala gore le bahumi ba seka ba kgona go tsela jaaka pele.

"(2) Fa go tshwenyega le go tlhoka ga batho ba ba gateletsweng go oketsegile go feta malatsi otlhe.

"(3) Fa e le gore ka ntata ya mabaka a a kwa godimo, sechaba se oketsa tiro ya go ipaakanyetsa go lwa, mo e leng gore se (sechaba) letlelela go tsiediwa mo nakong ya 'kagiso' mme e re mo nakong ya dikgoberego se kopanngwa ke mabaka a matshwenyego le go palelwa ga bahumi."

Gompieno seemo sa dipopego tse di boletseng se a bonala mo Afrika Borwa.

Babusi ba bakonateledi, ka gobo ba palelwa ke go sireletsa tsamaiso ya bone ka go dirisa batho ba basweu, jaaka bogologolo, ba patelediwa go leka go tlisa diphetogonyana gore ba kgone go oka bontlhabongwe jwa barutegi kana bahuminyana ba bantsho, ba solo fela gore ba tla emisa ditopo tsa babereki ka tsietsso e ntsha ya go "kgaoganya-obuse".

Mo, ke go ipolela gore tsamaiso ya bogologolo e paletswe. Bakonateledi ba paletswe ke go busa jaaka

bogologolo mme le mo go sha go a pala. Kgatlelo e e oketsegang mo sechabeng, se lwela kgololesego, tekatekanyo, go fetsa khumanego le tsietsso, gotlhe mo, go ka se kgonwe ke go tlisa diphetogonyana mo tsamaisong ya bokonateledi.

Jaaka baboeledi ba bakonateledi mo itsholelong le ba ba akgelang mo go tsa sepolotiki ba dumela, bokonateledi bo ka se kgone ditshenyegelo tsa go tokofatsa puso ya batho ka batho. Itsholelo e mo mathateng mo lobakeng lo lo lee. Ka ntata ya tlhoka-ditiro, koketsego ya ditlhwatlhwa, koketsego ya dikoloto tsa puso le maiteko a a sa thuseng a babusi go leka go fetolo ditsela tsa go busa, gotlhe mo go dira gore go nne le mathata a mantsi go fetisa.

Sechaba se setse se ipaakanyetsa go lebagana le mathata a. Batho ba tenwa ke matshwenyego a malatsi otlhe—thatebong go tura ga dij, dirente, koketsego ya dituelo tsa metsi le motlakase le koketsego ya lekgetho la thekiso—go kopane le maikutlo a diphetogo a a oketsegang gareng ga batho ba bantsho ba ba nnang mo ditoropong, thata babereki ba ba amogelang dituelo tse di ko tlase.

Seemo se se nnang pele ga diphetogo, se tswa mo dingwageng tsa dikgarakgatshego

Matla le boikanyo a a leng teng gompieno mo babareking a dirilwe ke dintwa tse di tsereng selekanyo sa dingwaga tse some tse di neng di lowa ke babereki ba bantsho le basha le basadi le ba malwapa a bone kgatlhanong le kgatlelo ya puso. Maiteko a go kopanya diketekete tsa barotloetsi ba ba tlhaga a baakantse tsela ya mathata a sepolotiki a puso ya kgethololo le bokonateledi, mo e leng gore go tla mo seemong se go ka tweng ke sa pele-ga-diphetogo.

Ke seemo se e leng gore dilo tse di tlhokegang mo diphetogong di a kopana mme mathata a diphetogo a e se a gole.

Ngwaga wa 1984 o supilwe ke ngalo-ditiro, tse di dirileng gore fa gare ga ngwaga go bo go na le malatsi a mantsi a tatlhego-tiro. Batho ba ma-Coloured le ma-India ba ne ba kgona go ngala ditlhopo, ba tlogela malatswathipa a goramente a tshameka mmino o o senang tlhaloganyo mo palamenteng.

Ngwaga o no o bonye dikgato tse di tlhwaaafetseng tsa go aga Lekgotla-Kgolo la Babereki (Federation). O bonye tlhaselo ya NUM e e dirileng gore Ntlo-Kgolo ya borra-Meepo (Chamber of Mines) e dumele

go amogela dingwe ditopo tsa NUM.

Ngwaga o no o tlisetse ngalo-dikole ya baithuti ba ba ka tshwarang sedikadike. Goromento o swabisetswe ke go kgaoganngwa ka bogare ga tsamaiso ya dikhansele tse di mo metsaneng ya batho ba bantsho tse di itiretsweng ke ene.

Lefa diketekete tsa batho di ne tsa tsharwa, le fa selekanyo sa makgolo mabedi a batho ba ne ba bolawa ke mapodise le diketekete tsa batho ba ne ba hulafadiwa, kganetso yone e tsweletse go tswa East London go ya Pretoria le go tswa Vereeniging go ya Grahamstown.

Gompiano, tirafalo e e itumedisang go feta tsotlhe ke ngalo-ditiro ya sepolotiki ya malatsi a mabedi e e neng ya dirwa mo Transvaal, e e neng e rulagantswe ke makgotla a matona a babereki le mekgatlho ya basha, ba rotloediwa ke UDF. Go ne ga kopanngwa ditopo tsa sepolotiki le tsa itshorelo mme ngalo-ditiro eo e ne e tiile mo madirelong a a nang le babereki ba ba amogelang dituelo tse di ko tlase.

Puso e ikaega ka masole

Jaaka re boletse, puso e okeditse kgatelelo. Go dirisa masole a le 7000 go dikologa le go tlolhomisa batho ba motsana wa Sebokeng le metsana e mengwe go supa seemo sa dintwa.

Go tshosa mo, ga go a thusa puso ka sepe. Ebile go thusitse babereki go tsaya dikgato tsa tlhwaafalo le go akanya sentle ditsela tsa go kgatlhantsa tiro e e maswe e ya puso.

Puso e tlisetse mo ditlhaloganyong tsa sechaba gore matla a yone a dikgoka a fokotsegang. Mme go ikemisetsa go lwa ga babereki go a gola.

Party ya PFP (ya bakonateledi), e tlhagisa puso gore go dirisa masole go tla dire dikotsi tsa go lemosa masole ka ga dipolotiki, go bo go simolola kgaoganyo mo masoleng, ko bofelong go tlie go ama go ikaega ga bakonateledi mo bosoleng.

(Modula-setilo wa PFP, Rre Eglin, a re se se botoka ke go oketsa masole gore ba gatelela sechaba thata. Mo go supa sentle gore dintwa tsa ditlhophha tsa batho di senosa bopelompe jwa batho ba ba ntseng jaana.)

Jaanong puso e tswelela ka go tshwara baeteledipele ba makgotla a babereki le ba bangwe, ba ba pegilweng molato wa go rulaganya ngalo-ditiro eo. Dikantoro tsa UDF le tsa FOSATU di a tlhaselwa. Babereki ba le 6000 ba SASOL ba a kobiwa mo ditirong ba bo ba hudusetswa ko dibantu staneng, ba disitswe ke mapodisi.

Go gana ga babereki go fenngwa ke dikgato tse, ke bosupi jwa gore seemo se se tleng pele ga dipheto go se a atamela.

Kgato e ntsha ya kgatelelo e e dirwang ke puso kgatlhanong le sechaba

e ka se fetole seemo mo go kalokalo

Fa e se gompiano, e ka tswa e le mo nakong e e tleng, mo e leng gore puso e ka kganelwa mokgatlho wa UDF le mekgatlho ya basha e bo e tswelela ka bophara go tshwara baeteledipele ba makgotla a babereki le ba bangwe, jaaka mo go ne ga dirafala mo tshimologong ya dingwaga tsa bo 1960.

Mme go amega ga sechaba, ko ntle ga mathatnyana, go tla bo go sa tshwane le ga nako ele..

Nako eo sechaba se ne se leka thata mme se sena boeteledipele jo bo ikemiseditseng go lwa. Gompiano go na le bontsi jwa batho ba ba santseng ba tlie go tsena mo ntweng eno.

Nako eo sechaba ka bontsi se ne sa ipaakanyetsa dikgoka le kgatelelo ya puso. Gompiano se setse se lole le puso gantsi, jalo sa kgona go ipaakanyetsa ntwa e e tleng.

Ka nako eo sechaba se ne se le mo seemong se se maswe mme sa tlhoka boeteledipele jwa dipheto go jo bo lebelang ko pele ebile bo na le maitlamo. Mme mo ga dira gore go nne le dintwa bogareng ga sone tse di tlisetse kgaogano. Gompiano, lefa go na le bokoa jwa boeteledipele le kgaogano mabapi le maitlamo le ipaakanyetso, mme go na le temogo mo bontsing jwa babereki ya gore go iwa ko ntweng ya makgaola-kgang kgatlhanong le bobaba jwa bone.

Mo tshimologong ya dingwaga tsa bo 1960 sechaba se ne se sena mokgatlho o o tileng mme se ne se ikaegile ka boeteledipele jwa barutegi kana bahuminyana, ba ba neng ba ba rekisa ko bakonateleding. Gompiano, mekgatlho ya sechaba le ya basha e godile le babereki ba kgonne go aga makgotla a bone a a tileng a a ikemitseng ka nosi ebile a laolwa ke babereki ka ga tsamaisong ya babereki.

Selo sa botlhokwa ke gore babereki ba ba kopaneng ba setse ba ikagile e le setlhophha sa botlhokwa sa dipheto go, ebile ba ka engwa nokeng ke basha ba ba tletseng mowa wa dipheto.

Bogologolo tsamaiso ya puso ya kgethololo e ne e ikaegile mo itshorelong e e sa bolong go tia mo tswelelopele ya bakonateledi moragao ga Ntwa Ya Bobedi Ya Lefatshe. Jaanong motheo wa yone o tlhasetswe ke mathata a itshorelo.

Mme mo seemong se, koketsego ya tiriso ya dikgoka ya puso e tla koafatsa tshepo e e ko godimo ya babusi le malatswathipa a bone, ka gobo ga e supe tsela ya boamaruri.

Go tshwarwa ga batho le go kganelwa ga mekgatlho gompiano go ka se kgone go diga maikutlo a sechaba ebile go ka se fetse popagano ya mekgatlho mo madirelong le mo dokileng le mo metsaneng (townships).

Ka mabaka a, dikgato tse di bogisang tsa go tiisa kgatelelo ya puso di tla tlisa puelo-morago e ntsha ya puso e ka bo yone e tla tlisang dikgogakgogano bogareng jwa babusi.

Gape kgatelo-pele nngwe le nngwe e ntsha ya ditshwanelo tsa setho e tla bo e sa lekana, ka gobo e tla oketsa dikgoberego mo sechabeng, ka moo e dige maikutlo a bakonateledi.

Popagano ya babusi le maikutlo a didirisiva tsa puso ga di e se di nyatsege

Matla a kgatelelo ya tsamai o ya basweu—go nna teng ga didirisiva tse di tiileng tse di dirilweng ka bonyenyane ja batho jo bo nang le ditshwanelo—a raya gore go gola ga mathata a diphetogo le paakanyo ya seemo sa go thubega kana go thankgolwa ga puso e, ke tsela e e sa kakeng ya tlhoka go tsewa.

Ebile, kgaogano bogareng jwa babusi e koafatsa tsamaiso e, e bo e supa dikgogakgogano mo setlhopeneng sa barutegi kana bahuminyana le go sa ikanyega ga didirisiva tsa puso: ke sone selo sa botlhokwa se eleng gore ga se yo mo sebakeng sa gompieno. Fa mo go dirafala, e tla bo e le sesupo sa tshimologo ya seemo sa diphetogo, mme se tlhotlholetsa didikadike tsa babereki go tsaya dikgato.

Ntlha nngwe ya botlhokwa ya tiro ya diphetogo e tshwanetse go baakanya le go dira gore go nne le kgaogano bogareng jwa babusi le go ntsha kgothatso ya babusi mo bathong botlhe.

Dikgogakgogano bogareng jwa bakonateledi le ba go tweng “verligtes” le “verkramptes” mo Afrika Borwa ga di reye gore ke kgaogano tota. Mo nakong ya “kagiso” bakonateledi ba a ganetsana ka bo bone mabapi le ditsela tsa go tsietsa babereki. Bangwe mo sechabeng ba ba reng go buisanngwe le bakonateledi ba thusa tiro ya tsietso e e maswe ya bobaba jwa rona.

Mo mathateng a diphetogo bakonateledi botlhe ba iphitlhela ba le mo dikgoberegong, ba latlhegetswe ke tsela, ba bo ba thubega fa ba pateleditswe ke ditirafalo, ka moo ba gasanya maikutlo a a ko tlse bogareng jwa bone.

Se se tla tlisang seemo seo se bo se tsisa phatlalatso ya puso e tla bo e le sesupo sa go palelwa ga bakonateledi kgatlhanong le kganetso ya babereki.

Maitlamo a diphetogo a babereki

Maitlamo a ntlha a babereki ba bantsho a tshwanetse go nna ntlha-pedi.

Ntlha nngwe ke: go tsweledisa seemo sa bone sa merafe yotlhe, le go fetisetsa mo go tswang mo madirelong go ya sepolotiking, ba ikuela ko babereking ba basweu. Ke ka tsela e fela mo e leng gore re ka kgonia go tsaya kgothatso ya basweu mo bakonateleding, re bo re simolola go ama boikanyego jwa barutegi kana bahuminyana.

Babereki ba bantsho le basha ba seka ba reketla mo tseleng e, lefa ba ka tshosiwa ke bangwe ba basweu. Mo le gone e tla bo e le sesupo sa mathata a diphetogo le go phatlalala ga puso ya kgethololo.

Ka fa ntlheng e nngwe: maitlamo e tshwanetse go

nna a go itlhokomolosa bakonateledi, re gana tirisanyo le bone lefa ba ka ikokobetsa jang. Re tshwanetse go kopanya babereki, re lomaganya tiro ya go batla kgololesego le puso ya batho ka batho, le ditopo tsa setho le tsa itsholelo; go tlisa seemo sa go kgonia go thankgola bakonateledi ka bo bone.

Tirisanyo ya merafe yotlhe le go nyatsa bakonateledi ke dintlha tse pedi tsa maitlamo a diphetogo a babereki, ba e leng bone fela ba ba ka tlisang kopano ya batho botlhe ba ba gateletsweng.

Bogolo bogolo tekko ya botlhokwa ya boeteledipele, lenaneo le go phutha e tla bo e le thuso ya go baakanyetsa babereki go tsaya puso.

Makgotla a babereki le mekgatlho ya sepolotiki

Seemo sa gompieno se supa dikganetsanyo tsa *Inqaba* tsa gore makgotla a babereki a ka se kgone go sa nna le thulaganyo ya go godisa makgotla a bone lefa go na le mathata. Ka ntata e, babereki ba iphitlhela ba le mo mathateng a sepolotiki.

Go tlhokega ga boeteledipele jwa babereki ga go e se go nne jaaka gompieno. Jaaka ngalo-ditiro ya Transvaal e supile, makgotla a babereki a patelesega go nna mo seemong sa go eteleta pele batho botlhe kgatlhanong le puso.

Go a bonala sentle gore mokgatlho wa babereki wa sepolotiki (party) oa tlhokega thata, go eteleta pele batho botlhe ba ba gateletsweng. Fa mokgatlho oo o ka nna teng, e tla bo e le tswelelopele ya botlhokwa. Mme tsela ya go aga mokgatlho go tswa mo makgotleng a babereki e na le mathata.

Pono ya rona ke ya gore tsela ya botlhokwa go fitlha felo fo, ke ya gore makgotla a babereki a tsene mo UDF (kgantele mo ANC) ka temogo ya go phutha babereki ka ga sepolotiking ba bo ba dira puso ya babereki e e laolwang ke babereki le boeteledipele jo bo lwelang lenaneo la bojammogo.

Ditirafalo di pateleditse makgotla a babereki le UDF go nna mmogo. Fa e ka bo e le gore UDF e fetotswe ke mekgatlho ya babereki le boeteledipele jwa babereki, mo go ne go ka thusa kemonosi ya babereki ka ga sepolotiking ba ntse ba kopane le basha le ba bangwe ba ba leng mo kgarakgatshegong kgatlhanong le babusi.

Bajammogo (Marxists) ba tshwanetse go kopana le sechaba

Gompieno mokgatlho wa sechaba o kopanya tiro e e mo pepeneneng le ya sephiri (kgatelelo e le mo go ya ntlha). Ka moso, go laola gore puso e tla bo e ntse jang, go ka dirisiwa tiro ya sephiri ka nako e nngwe.

Mo ditirong tsotlhe go tlhokega, ko ntle ga go dia nako, gore Bajammogo (Marxists) ba kopane mmogo

mo mafelong mangwe le mangwe fa go kgonagalang teng—mo makgotleng a babereki, mo mekgatlhong ya basha, mo UDF—go kopanya barotloetsi ba ba lemogang, ba rulaganya ebile ba ganetsanya ka ga maitlamo a bojammogo.

Re lopa ngalo-ditiro ya malatsi a le mabedi lefatshe lotlhe

Morago ga phenyo ya ngalo-ditiro ya Transvaal, sechaba se tshwanetse go akanyetsa lantlha ka ga ngalo-ditiro ya malatsi a mabedi lefatshe lotlhe.

Mo ditopong tse di neng di batliwa ko Transvaal, go tshwanetse go okediwa ka e le nngwe ya botlhokwa ya gore go nne le dituelo tse di lekaneng mo lefatsheng lotlhe.

Ngalo-ditiro e e ntseng jalo e ka tshwenya puso, ya oketsa tlhoka kutlwisisanyo gareng ga ditlhophatso batho, ya bo ya lettelela teko ya mokgatlho ka bophara. Jaanong bokoa bo tla bonala, mme bo kgonwe go baakanngwa, go baakanyetswa ditiro tse di tlang.

Go ka seke ga nna le tsela e e motlhofa ya diphetogo mo Afrika Borwa, se se tlhokegang ke dipaakanyo tsa diphetogo.

Ngalo-ditiro ya Transvaal e lemositse babereki ba ba sa kopanang gore go botlhokwa go tsena makgotla a babereki. Go kgona mathata a go phutha babereki ba seporo e tla bo e le kgato ya botlhokwa mo nakong e e tlang.

Moo go ka kgonega jaaka go na le Lekgotla-Kgolo le lesa (Federation) le e leng gore le a tlhokega thata. Maikaelelo a go oketsa maloko a Lekgotla ko go sedikadike (million) mo ngwageng o le mongwe kana tse pedi, a tshwanetse go bonwa e le selo sa boamuriri ebile e le sa botlhokwa, mo seemong se se bolegang gompieno.

Ko Natal, mathata a go fonya tiro ya bopelompe ya ga Buthelezi e tshwanetse go nna tshitla ya botlhokwa. Ko ntla ga moo, seemong se tla gola mo go tlhwaaafetseng go tlisa kgaogano gareng ga sechaba mme sa oketsa matla a puso eo.

Lefa ditropo di tla nna mafelo a botlhokwa mo

nakong ya diphetogo, seemo se supa botlhokwa jwa go golaganya babereki ba dipolasi le ba madirelo. Go a tlhokafala gore babereki ba kopane lefatshe lotlhe.

Go phutha le go kgothatsa babereki e tla nna kgato ya botlhokwa go ipaakanyetsa diphetogo, mme batho ba ditoropo ga mmogo le babereki ba batswakwa (migrant workers) ba ka thusa thata go dirafatsa tiro e.

Fa e le gore diketekete tsa masole di a tlhokega go dirisiwa mo motsaneng o le mongwe—gape e le ka tshoganetso ebile go tsewa di-oura tse dikhutshwane—go ka tlhokega dikete tse kae go dirisiwa mo dikgoberegong lefatsheng lotlhe? (Go raya gore fa go balelwa le masole a a dirisiwang nakonyana, Afrika Borwa e na le lesore le le lengwe mo selekanyong sa 2½ sq. km. Kana lesore le le lengwe le dirisiwa mo bathong ba bantsho ba le 50.)

Seemo sa diphetogo se tla siama

Lefa ditirafalo di ka seke di tsamaye mo moralong o o tlhamaletseng, mme mo dingwageng tse di tlang, seemo se se siameng sa diphetogo se tla tswela ko ntla mo Afrika Borwa.

Fa sechaba se kopana tota; fa babereki ba itirela boeteledipele jwa bone jwa boamaruri; fa puso le babusi ba le mo matshwenyegong le barutegi kana bahuminyana ba tlhakane ditlhogo; fa didirisiwa tsa puso di gasame ebile go kgaogantswe mo e leng gore dipoitshego tse di bosese ga di ba tseye maikutlo; fa basha ba bantsho le babereki ba setse ba na le'ditsela tsa go dirisa dibetsa, go iphemela le go hemela metsana (townships), diphuthego, dipopelelo, jalo jalo; Ka moo tsela e tla bo e dirilwe ya go baakanya tatlhego ya tsamaiso ya puso ya kgethololo le bokonateledi.

Mo, go tla bula dikgoro tsa diphetogo.

Fa go santse go na le nako pele ga seemo seo se nna teng, dintwa tse bonatla tsa babereki ba Afrika Borwa—kgothatsa mo bathong botlhe ba ba gateletsweng le ba ba tsiediwang mo lefatsheng lotlhe ka kakaretso—di tlisetse mo seemong se eleng gore lesedi le a bonala ko bofelong ja mosima.

INingizumu Afrika—Iseduze kanganani nokuguqula umbuso?

Izimpi ezinhle kakhulu zabasebenzi abamnyama eNingizumu Afrika—ezingadlulwa ngobuqhawe nangomhlabelo nanoma iyiphi indawo emhlabeni—kusobala ukuthi zivule isimo esisha endleleni eya ekuguquleni umbuso.

Ukunyakaza koquqaba lwabantu belwisa umbuso namhlanje kusakazekile futhi kuqinile, kuhlangane ngcono futhi kwazisisa ezepolitiki ukudlula imiza-

balazo eke yabakhona ibhekiswe umbuso ophoqeleta ngobuzwe eNingizumu Afrika.

Kubangani abanangi, ukuhluleka kombuso ekunqobeni ukuhlubuka kwabantu kungasho ukuthi ukuwa kwavo sekuseduze kakhulu. Ngokufanayo, kwabanningi, ukukhulela phezulu kwendluzula yombuso, kokubulala ngokucekela phansi, kokuboshwa kwabanningi, kokunqabelo izinhlangano eziningi,

nokunye—lokhu kungenzeka ngempela esikhhatini esizayo—kungaletsha umcabango wokuthi umbuso uzoqhubelela phambili ulokhu ‘unamandla kakhulu’ ukuthi ungaguqulwe ngendlovula ukunyakaza koqu-qaba lwabantu.

Isimo sezepolitiki sanamhlanje sifanele siqondwe kanjani? Isimo siph i esihamba kuso? Siseduze kanganani nokuthi umbuso ngokwawo uguqulwe ngendlovula? Imisebenzi miph i esinikwa yona yisimo?

Imvama yesimo uma ukuguqulwa kombuso ngendlovula sekuseduze

Ulenin wachaza izimo ezintathu ezyimvama uma ukuguqulwa kombuso sekuseduze:

“(1) uma ababusi abakhulu sebhuleka ekubambeleli umbuso wabo ngaphandle kokuthi bashintshe; uma kunengozi, noma enjani, phakathi kwababusi abakhulu, uma kunengozi ngendlela ababusi abaphethe ngayo, eholela ekuqhibukeni lapho ukukhnonda nokuthikuthela kwabantu abacindezelwe kuqhunsuka khona. Ngokuvamileyo, ukuze ukuguqulwa kombuso kwenzakale, akulingene ukuthi abacindezelwe bangasafuni ‘ukuhlala ngendlela yasendulo’, kuyafuneka futhi ukuthi ‘ababusi abakhulu bahluleke’ nabo ngokwabo ukuhlala ngendlela yasendulo.

“(2) uma ukuhlupheka nokudinga kwabantu abacindezelwe kukhulela phezulu ngokucijile ukudlula okuvamileyo;

“(3) uma ngenxa yeziathu ezingaphezulu, ukukhuthala kwabantu abanigi kongezeka, abantu labo abavuma ukuphangelwa ngaphandle kokukhononda ‘ngesikhathi soxolo ezweni’, kodwa ngesikhathi sengxabano, bakhokhelwa yisimo sengozi kanye ‘nababusi abakhulu’, ukuthi bazimele ngezinyawo ekwenzeni izigigaba ezidumileyo.”

INingizimu Afrika namhlanje, ebangeni elithile, inazo lezizimo.

Abaqashi okuyibona ababusayo, njengoba behluleka ukuvikela ukuhamba kombuso wabo ngezindlela ezedlule zokuthi abamhlophe yibona abakhulu, bacindezeleka ukuthi baphendule futhi ‘baguqule kube ngcono’, badonse ungewengwezi lwabahambisan abamnyama abasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo, bathembe lawamacebo okubusa ngokuhlukanisa ukuzivikela uma uquqaba lwabasebenzi lufuna amalungelo.

Lokhu ukuvuma ukuqothuke kokobusa ‘ngendlela yakudala’. Kodwa kubonakala kahle ukuthi behlulekile ukuletha indlela entsha esebezayo abangabusa ngayo. Ukukhula kokucindezela koqu-qaba lomzabalazo lulwela inkululeseko, ukulingana ezweni, ukuqedwa kwendlala nokusetshenziwa, angeke kuqedwe ngokuletha izimvume ezingakhonakala ngaphansi komqolo wombuso wabaqashi.

Njengoba abantu abaziyo ngokuphathwa komnotho wezwe nabahlaziyi bepolitiki abaphakathi kwabaqashi nabo bevuma namhlanje, umbuso wabaqashi angeke ukwazi ukubhadala ‘ukubize ezweni’ okuzofuneka uma kulethwa ukubusa ngentando

yabantu okweqiniso. Umnotho wezwe uvalelwengozini eqhubekela phambili yisango elikhulu. Njengoba ukungasebenzi, ukubiza kwezinto kukhule ngokweqile, icala lemali nokuntunteka kwemali ezweni kukhulela phezulu, ukuzama kwababusi ukuthi bashintshe ezinye izindlela zokubusa kuperhendukele ekuletheni ingozi embusweni wonke wabaqashi obusa ngobuzwe.

Ukunyakaza kwabantu kuthelekela kulembobo evelile, futhi sekujala ukuchancalala. Ukuthekuthela ngenxa yokongezeka kwezinhlupheko zemihla ngemihla—kakhulukazi ukukhula kwentengo yokudla, ukongezeka kwemali yokuthelela izindlu, amanzi nogesi, kanye nokongezeka kweGST—konke lokhu kuhalanga nokubakhona kokubona ukukhula kwamandla ebantwini abamnyama emadolobheni, kakhulukazi kwabasebenzi abasebenza ezindaweni ezenza impahla.

Isimo esiholela ekuguquleni umbuso esivela ngemuva kweminyaka elishumi yezimpi

Ukukhula kakhulu kwamandla nesibindi emzabalazweni namhlanje kwakhiwe phezu kwezimpi ezibuhlungu ezilwiwe eminyakeni elishumi eyedlula—zabasebenzi abamnyama, abasha, amakhosikazi nomgwamaqa wonke womuzi wabasebenzi belwisa zonke izibonakalo zencindezel. Imizamo yokuhlanganisa umzabalazo ezanywe ngamakhulu ezinkulungwane zezikhutali ivede indlela yokungena engozini yepolitiki yombuso ohlakunise izizwe ngokuhlala nombuso wabaqashi, leyo namhlanje isondela esimeni esingabizwa isimo esiholele ekuguqulweni kombuso.

Lesi isimo lapho imisuka edingekayo ukuze kegulwe umbuso iqala ihlangana—kodwa kunjalo nje, ukuba sengozini kwepolitiki yababusi kungakavuthwa ngikwanele.

Unyaka ka 1984 uhlangatshezwe amagagasi ezitraiki ekuthe, unyaka usephakathi, zabe zibeke amanani aphakeme kusalawo ayekhona ngaphambili okulahleka kwamalanga omsebenzi. Kuvele impumelelo ekubandlululen ‘ukukhetha’ kwamaKhaladi namaNdia, kwase kuyekwa izithombe ezithingwe nguhulumende zidanza umdanso ohlekisayo ‘epalamende’ kungekho lutho olukholisayo.

Kubonakale kuthathwa izinyathelo zoqobo ekuletheni inhlangano ehlanganisa amanyunyoni abasebenzi. Kubonakale ukuqhudela okusemlandweni kweNUM icendezela iChamber of Mines ukuthi ihlehlele emuva.

Kulethu amagagasi okubandlulula izikole okuye kwahlanganisa abafundi abafika esigidini. Kulethu ukubhidlika, lokhu kwaze kwa fojisa nabasebenzisani nohulumende, kwamaqhinga akahulumende wokuletha amabandla omgwamanqa womuzi.

Ngaphezu kokubanjwe kwezinkulungwane, ngaphezu kokubulawa ngokudutshulwa kwabantu abangamakhulu amabili nokulimala kabi kwabayizinkulungwane, umzabalazo usakazeke ngaphandle kokuthamba ukusuka e East London ukuya ePretoria, ukusuka eVereeneging ukuya e

Grahamstown.

Namhlanje, into ebaluleke ukuzidlula zonke, ukuthi kube khona isitraiki sepolitiki sezwe lonke samalanga amabili eTransvaal, sibizwe ngamanyunyoni nezinhlangano zabasha, saze sasekezelwa iUDF. Siye sahlanganisa izibizo zepolitiki nezasemisebenzini, saqina ngamapesenti angu80 ukuya ku90 ezindaweni ezenza izimpahla ezisemqoka.

Umbuso uphendukela ekuthembeni amabutho

Njengoba bekushiwo ngaphambili, umbuso wongeze incindezelo. Ukusebenzisa amasotsha abamhlophe angu7000, iningi kungababuthelwe ukososha ngokuphoqwa, ukusungeza nokukhwathaze eSebokeng nakumanye amalokishi, bukhomba ubunzima bezimpi ezizayo.

Ukuzama ukuthusa ngalendlela akusizanga lutho. Esikhundleni salokho, lokhu kwenze ukuthi abasebenzi babhekisise kahle isimo samabutho ombuso futhi bese baqala ukuhlahluba amasu okuhambisa kahle nezindlela zokubhekana nalesisimo esisha.

Umbuso uqala ukuveza ezingqondweni zabantu abaningi ukuthi ekugcineni uzophelelwa yizindlela zokucindezela. Ingcebo yamandla abasebenzi okulwa ngokuhambelanayo ikhulile.

IPFP, ngoba ngemibono yabo bazimisele ukulondoloza abaqaishi, baxwayisa uhulumende bezothile ngokuthi ukusebenzisa amasotsha ekugcineni kuzoletha ingozi yokuthi amabutho azoqala ipolitiki, lokhu bese kuveze ukungezwani emabuthweni, umphumela kube ukungathembeki kwamabutho ombuso okuyiwona abaqaishi abaziskele ngawo. Empeleni baqinisile!

(Umginisihlalo wePFP, uEglin, yena ongakhathazeki ngokuthi axwaye ukuzingcolisa ngokuveza imicabango evikela abaqaishi, ucebisa ngokuthi kungcono kuqinisiwe amaphoyisa. Lokhu kutshengisa kahle ukuthi impi yeqiniso phakathi kwasebenzi nabaqaishi iveza kahle ukungafuni izinguqko yeqiniso kwabaqaishi abathi bafuna abantu abamnyama banikwe amalungelo abo.)

Manje umbuso uqhubeleka phambili ngokubopha abakhokheli bezinyunyoni nabanye okuthiwa yibona ababize isitraiki sezwe lonke. Abasebenzi abangu 6000 baxoshiwe eSASOL ngenxa yokutraika baze badingiswa beselwe ngamaphoyisa emuva besiwa ezikhawulweni.

Ukwala kwabasebenzi ukuthi bacindezelwe ngalezizindlela ngokwako kutshengisa ukuthi isimo esiholela ekuthini umbuso uguqulwe siyasondela.

Isimo esisha sokucindezela kakhulu kombuso kuzohluleka ukuphendula isimo sezepolitiki phansi esiqwini

Uma kungenzeki masinyane, kodwa esikhathini

esizayo kungenzeka ukuthi umbuso unqabele iUDF kanye nezinhlangano zabasha, uqhubekele phambili ngokubopha abakhokheli bamanyunyoni nabanye, njengoba lokhu kwenzeka ekuqaleni kweminyaka yawo1960.

Kodwa umphumela walokhu emzabalazweni, noma kungaletha izingxaki ezithize okwesikhashana, angeke kufane njengasesikhathini esedlule. Ngalesosikhathi bokunomcabango wokuthi uquqaba lwabantu bolunike konke ebelunako ezimpini kodwa lwavinjelwa abakhokheli ekuqhubeleka amandla onke kulezozimpi—kodwa namhlanje umcabango wukuthi baningi abantu okusafuneka baholelwempini.

Ngalesosikhathi umzabalazo ubungazimiselanga ngokugcwele ekuzivikeleni uma ubhekana nokulwa nencindezelo yombuso—namhlanje umzabalazo ufakwe kaningi emlilweni.

Ngalesosikhathi umzabalazo uye wafika esihlokweni, kodwa ngokuswela abakhokheli ababefuna ukuguqula umbuso ngokubona izinto ngokuma kwazo ngendlela, wahlulwa wase uqala ukulwa nokuhlakana wodwa—namhlanje, noma ngabe abakhokheli bengenamandla, noma kunokuhlakana ngemicabango, amasu nobuqili bokuphamba enipini (lena inkinga enkulu okungafanelanga ukuthi ibekelwe eceleni), kodwa umcabango wukuthi kuhanjelwe phambili kubhekwe ekuhlanganeni endaweni efanayo lapho umzabalazo usamelwe izimpi ezinkulu ubhekene nesitha.

Ngeminyaka yawo1960 umzabalazo ubungenayo inhlango enamanndla ekwaziyo ukuzimela. Ubu-nqike ngendlela eyingozi ebakhokhelini ebekungabantu abasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo ababebhēkene nokuvumela konke ebekukhulunywa ihlangothi labaqaishi ebelithi lifunela abantu abamnyama amalungelo abo. Namhlanje kube khona ukukhula okukhulu kwezinhlango zabasha nezogwamanqa womuzi wonke, kunjalo—nje abasebenzi baqhubekele phambili kakhulu ngokuzakhela amanyunyoni aqinile, azimele futhi lapho kubuswa nokusetshenzwa ngentando yabasebenzi.

Okusemqcka ukudlula konke wukuthi abasebenzi abasezinhlanganweni sebeqale ukuzimisa ngokwabo bebonisa ukuthi yibona abanamandla anqamulayo empini yokuguqula umbuso ngendlovula futhi uphumelele ngokuthola ukusikelwa yizinhlangano zabasha.

Esimeni esifana nalesi, uma umbuso wongeza amandla okucindezela lokhu ngeke kukhuthaze, kodwa ngokuphambene, kuzonciphisa amandla ababusi nalabo abasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo ngoba lendlela ayina nqubekela phambili.

Nako ukuboshwa kwabantu nokunqatshelwa kwezinhlango angeke kwehlise isibindi somzabalazo futhi angeke kubhidlize iziqu zezinhlango ezikolweni nasemalokishini.

Ngazo lezizizathu, ukuqhubeleka phambili ngemikhuba embi yokucindezela engenathemba ngumbuso, kuzolungiselela indlela yokubuyela emuva kombuso futhi kuveze ukwahlukana ngemicabango phakathi kwababusi bebobwa.

Kodwa ngokulinganayo, konke ukuginqeka kwababusi okuzama “ukuguqula isimo sibengcono” kuba nophawu oluqinisa ukuthi “okuncane kakhulu,

kuphuze kakhulu ukufika", ngaleyondlela kugoqozele phambili impi yabasebenzi futhi kukhubekise igo-qwa labaqashi.

Ukucindezela kwababusi abakhulu nesibindi samabutho ombuso akukavukuzwa ngokwanele

Ukubanamandla nobulukhuni bombuso wepolitiki obusa ngabamhlophe—ukubakhona kwendela yobu-qhwaga obuqinile obakhiwe cishe kuhela ngabantu abayingcosana abanikwa konke—kusho ukuthi ukuvuthwa kwendela ehambele ekuguqulweni kombuso, nokulungiselela indela ezoletu ukubhidlika noma ukuketulwa kombuso, ngo-kungenakuvunjelwa, izoba yinde, buhlungu futhi kuchitheke igazi eliningi.

Eqinisweni, ukwahlukana phansi esiqwini kwababusi abakhulu, kuyinto ezoqeda amandla ombuso futhi izibonakalise ngokwahlukana okujulile ebantwini abasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo nangokungathembeki kwabantu abasebenzela umbuso, yiyona "into engumsuka" engakabikhona esimeni sanamhlanje. Uma lokhu kwenzeke, kuzobe kubonisa ukufika kwesimo esiholela ekuguqulweni kombuso, lokhu bese kuletha ukukhuthala kwezigidi zabasebenzi abasasalele emuva namhlanje.

Into esemqoke uma kubhekwe amasu nobuqili bokuphamba empini ukuthi kufanele kulungiselelwe futhi kuvezwe ukwahlukana okunjena eba busini abakhulu, futhi ngendlela efanele kuvukuzwe futhi kwanjulwe ababusi isisekelo sabo ezweni.

Ukwahlukana okulokhu kuhona phakathi kwabash, namhlanje okuphakathi kwabathi "kuqhube-kelwe phambili" nalabo "abangafuni izinto ezintsha", akusikona ukwahlukana okuphansi esqwini. Ngesikhathi okungathiwa "ngesoxolo ezweni" aba-qashi baphikisana bebobwa ngamasu nobuqili bokunyathelela nokusebenzia abasebenzi esikhathini esizayo. Labo abasemzabalazweni abaphikisa ngokuthi kufanele kuzwanwe nabaqashi abathi "baqhubekele phambili" basiza nje amasu nobuqili bengxenye yesitha ehlakaniphile futhi egcwele amanga.

Uma ingozi yokuguqulwa kombuso ifikile, zonke iziqumbi egonqweni labaqashi zitheleke enxakamxakeni, zilahlekelwe yindlela bese ziqala ukuphuka ngenxa yokucindezelwa yizehlakalo, bese lokhu kuletha ukukhubeka ezweni lonke.

Into ezoveza lesosimo futhi iholele ekubihlikeni kombuso (kulungiselwa ukuwuketula ngendlovula) kuzobe kutshengisa ukuthi KONKE ukushaya nemivivo yababusiayisebenzi uma behlaselwe umzabalazo wabasebenzi ophikelelayo, ongathambi, futhi owaziyo ngezepolitiki.

Indela yabasebenzi eholela ekuguquleni umbuso

Indela yabasebenzi abamnyama ebalulekile ifanele ibe kibili.

Kwenye ingxeny, kufanele baqhubeke ngesinyathelo esisendimeni engahlukanisi ngobuzwe, lendela bbayikhulisele ukusuka ebangeni lasemisebenzini bayise endimeni yezepolitiki, lokhu bakwenze ngendlela emileyo, elukhuni, eqinile kodwa bayiqhubekisele ebasesenzini abamhlophe ngobungane. Kungalendlela kuhela okungakhonakala ngayo ukuthi sambule isisekelo ezweni lapho amandla ombuso wabaqashi ale khona, bese futhi siqala ukuthinta ukuthembeka kwabamhlophe abasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo.

Abasebenzi abamnyama nabasha akufanelanga batengezele kulesisinyathelo noma ngabe bacunulwa yizinto ezimbi ezenziwa yizinhlangano zabamhlophe ezivelayo zimele ubuzwe—ngoba lezizensakalo zizobe zitshengisa ukubakhone kwengozi eholela ekuguqulweni kombuso nokuhlephuka bobudlelwane "ngokomthetho."

Kwenye ingxeny, kufanele kufulathelwe abaqashi abathi abantu abamnyama banikwe izimfanelo zabo, kulahlwe ukusebenzisana nanoma yisiphi isigaba sabaqashi, nanoba yisiphi iziphakamiso abazenzayo, ngaleyondlela umzabalazo uholewe ndawonye ngaphezu komcabango wokulwela ukubusa kwabasebenzi, kuhlanganiswe imisebenzi enikiwe yokunqoba impi yenkululeseko nokubusa ngentando yabantu, kanye nowokufuna izibizo emisebenzini nasezweni lonke, kukuswelakala kokuketula umbuso wabaqashi ngokwawo.

Ukungahlukanisi ngobuzwe nokuzonda abaqashi abathi abantu banikwe amalungelo abo, ngamawele ahambela ekuguqulweni kombuso, ekuyiyone kuhela engaletha ukuhlangana empini kwabantu abacindezelwe.

Kakhulu-kakhulu, ukuhlahlu ba okunqamulayo bobukhokheli, nehlelo lokuzokwenziwa empini, kuzoba ukwazi ukunika okusizayo ekulungiseleni abasebenzi ukubusa.

Amanyunyoni nemhlangano yezepolitiki

Isimo sanamhlanje sibonisa ukuvumelana nemicabango yeNqaba yokuthi amanyunyoni angeke akwazi ukubekela eceleni amasu nobuqili bokukhula masishane, noma kungabe kunezingxaki ezihambisana nalokhu zokuziqinisa, ngenxa yokushesha okuzobe kunikezwa ngayo umzabalazo wabasebenzi imisebenzi yezepolitiki.

Ukukhudingeka kobukhokheli babasebenzi obaziyo akukaze kudingke kakhulu njenganamhlanje. Njengoba isitraiki sezwe lonke eTransvaal sitshengisile, amanyunyoni azithole enyanzelekile ukuhola impi—lokhu kwensiwa ukongezeka kwempi yezwe lonke ebhekene nombuso, nayikuzimisela kwabasebenzi ukusebenzia amandla abo ahlangene ukuze bathole imiphumela ethize yezepolitiki.

Kubonakala kahle ukuthi umhibatho woquqaba lwabasebenzi uyadingeka ukuze uzoholela umzabalazo wabo bonke abacindezelwe. Uma ungavela,

kuzosho inqubekela phambili enkulu kakhulu. Kodwa indlela yokwakha lomhibatho ngamanyunyoni ithungwe ngezingxaki ezinkulu nawukulibazisa okungaqedza amandla.

Umcabango wethu usame ekuthini indlela ezosebenza kakhulu ukuyofika lapho ukuthi amanyunyoni angene kwiUDF (esikhathini esizayo kwiANC), kuwukuthi angena azi kahle ukuthi azimisele ukuhlanganisa uquqaba lwabasebenzi ngezopolitiki nokuveza ukubusa nokuphatha kwabasebenzi kulenhlangano ukuze bayiholele bezinqikele ngehlelo elichaza okufanele kwensiwe—ukulwela isoshelizimu.

Izenzakalo zicindezele ukuhlangana kwamanyunyoni neUDF. Uma iUDF ingaguqulwa yenziwe inhlangano eholelwa ngabasebenzi, lokhu kuzosiza ukuqinisa ukuthi abasebenzi bazimele bayeke ukulokhu bebheke ekufundisweni abantu abasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo kunjalo—nje ukuhlangana kwabasebenzi, nabasha nabo bonke abalwisa isitha kuzoqhubele phambili.

AmaMarxists kufanele ahlanganise amandla

Namhlanje umzabalazo uhlanganisa okwenziwa emphakathini nalokho okwenziwa ngomshosha phansi, kodwa isigcizelelo kungukwakha emphakathini. Kusasa, kuzoya ngezinyathelo ezithathwa ngumbuso, isigcizelelo kuzoba ukusebenza ngomshosna phansi okwesikhashana.

Kuzozombili lezindlela kuyadingeka ukuthi amaMarxists ahlangane ezindaweni zonke ngaphandle kokucitha isikhathi—kumanyunyoni, ezihlanganweni zabasha, kwiUDF—ukwakha imbumba yabaholi lapho kuxazulwa khona ibanga nendlela yobuMarxist ngendlela efanele.

Isitraiki ezwени lonke samalanga amabili

Ngemuva kokuphumelela kwesitraiki saseTransvaal, umzabalazo ufanele ubeke amehlowavo—ayi esitraikini sawonke—wonke sezwe (noma uma lokhu kungenzeka ngokuzivelelayo, ngokusobala, sizokusekela)—kodwa kuqalwe ngesitraiki sezwe lonke samalanga amabili.

Kuzibizo ezipewo eTransvaal kufanele kugcwaliwelwe ngesibizo seholo eliphilisayo elifanele abantu bonke ezweni.

Isitraiki esifana nalesi sizongeza ukucindezelwa kombuso, siqhubekise ukuhlukana kwezigaba, futhi kuveze ukuhlahlutshwa kwenhlangano namandla omzabalazo endaweni esakazekile. Kanjalo, lapho amandla agekho khona kuzoqiveza, bese ukuqaphela bubhekisiwa lapho ukuze lokho kuqedwe kulungisilwa izimpi ezizayo.

Ukukhuphuka ngokushesha kwempi yokuguqula umbuso eNingizimu Afrika angeke kwenzzeke; into edingekayo ukulingisela nokucabanga kahle indlela eya ekuguqulen iumbuso.

Isitraiki saseTransvaal, kakhulukazi kubantu abasebenzela umbuso, silethe ukubona ukuthi

kudingeka kanganani ukuthi kwakhiwe amanyunyoni. Ukuvula izindlela zokuhlanganisa basezitimeleni kuzoba yinto esemqoka kakhulu esikhathini esizayo.

Konke lokhu kungenziwa ngengcebo ezovela uma inhlangano yamanyunyoni iqhubekela phambili, lena kuyinto efanele ukwenziwa ngokushesha. Kufanelwe kuzimiselwe ukuthi lenhlangano ibe namalungu ayisigidi enyakeni noma eminyakeni emibili. Lokhu kudingeka kakhulu esimeni esivelayo namhlanje.

ENatali, umsebenzi wokuhlula imfundiso ebuyisela emuva kaButhelezi kufanele ube yinto yokuqala, ngoba uma lokhu kungenzeki,, kuzokhulela ekuhlukaniseni umzabalazo nasekunikeni umbuso amandla.

Njengoba amadolobha emisebenzi kuzoba yiwona lapho izimpi zilwiwa khona, kodwa isimo sitshengisa kudingeka ukuthi kwakhiwe ukuhlangana kwabasebenzi bamapulazi nalabo abasemadolobheni. Eqinisweni, ukunweba amandla ombuso ukufika lapho angeke akhone khona esikhathini esizayo, nokunika izimpi ezilwiwa emadolobheni amandla. Umzabalazo ufanele usakazeke ezweni lonke.

Isikhathi esedlulele sokwakha inhlangano eqinile, ukusakaza nokunyakazisa konke kuzodingeka ekuzilungiseleni, futhi abasha emadolobheni nabasebenzi bamajoyini, yibone abangenza lomsebenzi obaluleke kakhulu.

Uma kudingeka szinkulungwane zamasotsha ukuhlasel ilokishi lilinye—kunjalo abantu bethuswa amahora ambalwa kuphela—angakanani azodingeke ukubhekana nesimo ezweni lonke ngesikhathi sisinye? (Uma bonke abaphuthwa ngokuphoqwa bebizwe, INingizimu Afrika inesotsha lilinye endaweni elingana $2\frac{1}{2}$ sq. km., noma isotsha lilinye libhekene nabantu abangu 50 abamnyama).

Isimo sokuguqula umbuso sizovuthwa

Eminyakeni embalwa ezayo, noma izinto zingeke zihambe ngendlela egonde nse, akungabazeki ukuthi isimo sokuguqula kombuso sizovuthwa.

Uma umzabalazo ukwazi ukunyakazisa izwe lonke; uma abasebenzi bakha ubukhokheli babo bepolitiki ngendlela ecacile nehlengene ezimpini; uma ababusi abakhulu bengena ekuphixizeni okungenathemb, nabasendimeni ephakathi ngesimo badabukela mahlangothi wonke; uma amabutho ombuso anwetshwa futhi ahlukana ukufika esimeni lapho ukucindezelwa okubuhlungu kungeke kubaqinise isibindi noma kubasize; uma abasha nabasebenzi abamnyama sebekhona ukulwa behlomile, beqala ngokuzivikela emalokishini, ezihlanganweni, nasekutshengiseni—ngalendlela ukuketulwa kombuso kuzobe kulungisilwe.

Ngaleyondlela kuzobe kuvuleke isango lemikhukhula yokuguqula umbuso.

Noma ngabe indlela isesende yokuthi kufikwe esimeni esinjalo, izimpi ezinhle kakhulu zabasebenzi baseNingizumu Afrika ezihola umoya wabacindezelwe nabasetshenziswayo emhlabenji jikelele—ziqhubekise umphakathi wonke ekufikeni kwisimo lapho isibani sokunqoba sibonakala khona.

Suid-Afrika—Hoe naby aan revolusie?

Die manjifieke stryd van die swart proletariaat in Suid-Afrika—nêrens in die wêreld oortref in heldemoed en selfopoffering nie—het ongetwyfeld 'n nuwe stadium op weg na revolusie ingelui.

Die massabeweging teen die staat is nou meer wydverspreid en volgehoue, beter georganiseerd en meer politiek bewus as op enige tydstip in geslagte van verset teen die rasistiese diktatuur.

Die onvermoë van die regime om die opstand te onderdruk sal baie kamerade miskien laat dink dat hy op die punt is om te val. Eweneens sou 'n verdere bloeddorstige toename van staatsgeweld, massamoorde, massa-arrestasies, grootskaalse onderdrukking van organisasies ens.—wat moontlik is in die volgende tydperk—aan baie die indruk kan gee dat die staat vir 'n onbepaalde tyd "te sterk" sal bly vir die massabeweging om te oorwin.

Hoe kan die huidige situasie verstaan word? Deur watter stadium beweeg ons? Hoe naby is ons aan revolusie self?

Watter take word op die oomblik gestel?

Algemene kenmerke van 'n revolusionêre situasie

Lenin het drie algemene kenmerke van 'n revolusionêre situasie gedifinieer:

"(1) wanneer dit onmoontlik is vir die heersende klasse om hulle heerskappy sonder enige wysiging vol te hou; wanneer daar 'n krisis is, in die een of ander vorm, onder die 'hoër klasse', 'n krisis in die beleid van die heersende klas, wat lei tot 'n kraak waardeur die ontevredenheid en verontwaardiging van die onderdrukte klasse uitbars. Vir 'n revolusie om plaas te vind, is dit meestal nie genoeg dat 'die laer klasse nie meer wil' leef op dieselfde ou manier nie; dis ook nodig dat 'die hoër klasse nie meer kan' leef op die ou manier nie;

"(2) wanneer die lyding en ontbering van die onderdrukte klasse erger as gewoonlik geword het;

"(3) wanneer, as gevolg van die bovenoemde oorsake, daar 'n aansienlike toename in die aktiwiteit van die massa kom, wat in 'vredestyd' sonder beswaar toelaat dat hulle beroof word, maar in tye van onrus deur al die omstandighede van die krisis sowel as deur die hoër klass self tot onafhanklike historiese aksie beweeg word."

Suid-Afrika word vandag in sekere mate deur elkeen van hierdie eienskappe gekenmerk.

Die kapitalistiese heersende klas, wat nie meer sy sisteem genoegsaam deur die tradisionele metodes van naakte blanke oorheersing kan verdedig nie, is gedwing om te probeer aanpas en "hervorm", om groepe handlangers uit die swart middelklas to werf, in die hoop om die eise van die werkersmassa deur

nuwe verdeel en heersplanne af te weer.

Dit is 'n bekentenis van die bankrotskap van die "ou manier". Tog het dit duidelik nie daarin geslaag om 'n lewensvatbare nuwe metode van heerskappy te ontwikkel nie. Die opgehopte druk van die massabeweging, vir nasionale bevryding, vir gelykheid, vir 'n einde aan armoede en uitbuiting, kan nou nie meer ingehou word deur moontlike toegewings binne die raamwerk van kapitalisme nie.

Soos ernstige ekonome en politieke waarnemers onder die kapitaliste nou erken, kan kapitalisme nie die "sosiale koste" van werklike demokratiese veranderinge bekostig nie. Die ekonomie is in die greep van 'n langdurige krisis. Met toenemende werkloosheid, inflasie, skulde en betalingstekorte, het die pogings van die heersende klas om selfs 'n paar van die metodes van hul heerskappy te wysig, geleid tot 'n krisis van rasistiese en kapitalistiese heerskappy as geheel.

Deur hierdie "kraak" stroom die massabeweging, en begin nou die omvang van 'n vloedgolf aan te neem. Ontevredenheid oor die daaglikse ontberings wat al hoe erger word—veral die stygende pryse van kos, huur, water en elektrisiteit, en hoér verkoopsbelasting—sluit aan by 'n groeiende gewaarwording van die geweldige revolusionêre krag wat latent is binne die stedelike swart bevolking, en bowenal binne die industriële werkersklas.

Voor-revolusionêre situasie wat voortkom uit tien jaar van stryd

Die geweldige krag en selfvertroue wat die beweging vandag het, is gebou op meer as tien jaar van bittere konflikte—van die swart werkers, van die jeug, van die vrouens, van hele werkersklasgemeenskappe teen elke aspek van onderdrukking. Die organiserende werk van tienduisende aktiviste het die weg voorberei na die politieke krisis van apartheid en kapitalisme, wat nou 'n stadium nader wat die beste as 'n voor-revolusionêre krisis beskryf kan word.

Dis 'n situasie waarin die elemente wat nodig is vir revolusie, definitief besig is om saam te kom—maar waar die revolusionêre krisis nog nie heeltemal rykgeword het nie.

1984 is gekenmerk deur 'n industriële stakingsgolf wat, teen die middel van die jaar, al 'n rekord gestel het in terme van die aantal verlore werksdae. Dit het die geslaagde boikot van die Kleurling- en Indiërvarkiesinge gesien, wat die regering se omgekoopte strooimanne oorgelaat het aan 'n belaglike

"parlementêre" poppedans sonder 'n skyn van geloofwaardigheid.

Dit het konkrete stappe na die lansering van 'n verenigde vakbonds federasie gesien. Dit het gesien hoe die NUM se historiese uitdaging die Kamer van Mynwese gedwing het om gedeeltelik terug te krabbel.

Dit het golwe van skoolboikotte opgelewer, wat op hulle hoogtepunt byna 'n miljoen studente betrek het. Dit het die regering se plan vir gemeenskapsrade skipbreuk laat ly, en sy handlangers tot in die grond verneder.

Ten spyte van duisende arrestasies, ten spyte van byna tweehonderd doodgeskiet en duisende ernstig beseer, het die verset ongetem uitgebrei van Oos-Londen tot Pretoria, van Vereeniging tot Grahamstown.

Nou, mees betekenisvol van alles, was daar die tweedaagse politieke algemene staking in die Transvaal, uitgeroep deur die belangrikste vakbonde en jeugorganisasies, en ondersteun deur die UDF. Dit het politieke en ekonomiese eise saamgevoeg, en was 80-90% suksesvol in die sleutelnywerheidsgebiede.

Regering keer hom om op troepe staat te maak

Soos voor spel kon word, het die regering sy onderdrukking nou in 'n hoër versnelling gebring. Die gebruik van 7 000 blanke troepe, baie van hulle dienspligtiges, om Sebokeng en ander swart woongebiede te omsingel en deursoek, is 'n teken van die geweldige verhoging van die inset in die stryd.

Die intimiderende effek van hierdie aksie was net mooi 'n ronde nul. In plaas daarvan het dit die werkersklas die kans gegee om die staatsmagte beter te beoordeel, en taktieke en metodes to begin ontwikkel om hierdie nuwe stadium tegemoet te gaan.

Sodoende begin die staat om, in die bewussyn van die massa, die uiteindelike uitputting van sy onderdrukkende mag aan die orde te stel. Die strydkrag van die werkende bevolking word ooreenkomsdig versterk.

Die PFP, vanuit sy liberaal-kapitalistiese standpunt, waarsku die regering plegtig dat die gebruik van troepe die leër op die ou end "gevaarlik" sal politiseer, vatbaar maak vir verdeling, en dus uiteindelik die betrouwbaarheid van die staatsmagte waarop kapitalisme berus, aantast. En hulle is reg!

(PFP-voorsitter Eglinton, nie 'n man wat skrik om homself met "praktiese" voorstelle namens die base vuil te smeer nie, raai in plaas daarvan aan dat die polisie versterk moet word. Wat lê elke regte klassestryd die reaksionêre kern van die liberale bloot!)

Nou arresteer die regering vakbonds- en ander leiers wat daarvan beskuldig word dat hulle die algemene staking georganiseer het. UDF- en FOSATU-kantore word deursoek. 6 000 werkers by Sasol word ontslaan omdat hulle gestaak het, en onder polsiegeleide na die reservate gedeporteer.

Die feit dat die werkende mense weier om banggemaak te word deur sulke stappe bewys duidelik dat 'n voor-revolusionêre krisis besig is om te ontstaan.

'n Nuwe fase van massale staatsonderdrukking sou die situasie nie fundamenteel verander nie

Dis heeltemal moontlik dat die regering, indien nie dadelik nie, dan in die tydperk wat voorlê, kan besluit om die UDF en jeugorganisasies onwettig te verklaar, en vakbonds- en ander leiers op groot skaal te arresteer, soos in die begin van die sestigerjare.

Maar die uitwerking op die beweging sou, ten spyte van tydelike probleme, baie anders wees as in daar-die tyd.

Toe was daar 'n gevoel dat die massabeweging alles in die stryd gegooi het maar deur sy eie leiding daarvan teruggehou was om sy volle kragte in te span— nou is daar die algemene gevoel dat daar geweldige reserwemagte bestaan wat nog in die stryd betrek moet word.

Toe was die beweging baie min voorbereid op die uitbarsting van staatsgeweld en onderdrukking— vandag is dit honderd keer in vuur gedoop.

Toe het dit 'n hoogtepunt bereik en, omdat daar geen revolucionêre leiding met 'n wetenskapskaplike perspektief en beleid was nie, geswig vir bitter onderlinge twis en verdeeldheid— nou, watter swakhede in die leiding en verdelings oor beleid en strategie daar ookal mag wees ('n ernstige vraagstuk wat nie verdoesel mag word nie), is daar tog die gevoel dat baie battaljonne marsjeer na 'n ontmoetingspunt waar 'n beslissende stryd met die vyand nog aangeknood moet word.

Aan die begin van die sestigerjare het die beweging geen sterk, selfonderhoudende organisasie aan die basis gehad nie, en in 'n gevaaarlike mate staatgemaak op middelklasleiers wat hulle graag by die liberale wou aanpas. Maar vandag het daar 'n opbloei van jeug- en gemeenskapsorganisasies plaasgevind, terwyl die werkersklas historiese stappe vorentoe geneem het deur sterk, onafhanklike vakbonde op te bou met 'n betekenisvolle mate van democratiese werkersbeheer.

Belangrikste van alles, het die georganiseerde werkersklas begin om homself kenbaar te maak as die beslissende mag vir die revolusie, en kry erkenning in hierdie rol onder die revolucionêre jeug.

Vroeër het die sisteem berus op 'n ekonomiese basis wat nog krag geput het uit die na-oorlogse oplewing van kapitalisme. Nou word sy fondamente holgevreet deur ekonomiese krisis.

Onder hierdie omstandighede sal meer onderdrukking deur die staat die moreel van die heersende klas en die middelklas verswak in plaas van versterk, want dit bied duidelik geen oplossing nie.

Selfs grootskaalse arrestasies en onderdrukking van organisasies sal die beweging nie kan demoraliseer nie, en nie die basisstrukture van fabrieks-, skool- en woonbuurtorganisasie uitskakel nie.

Om hierdie rede sal verdere, wanhopige stappe

deur die staat in die rigting van nog erger onderdrukking die weg voorberei vir nuwe terugtogte deur die regime en skeurings in die heersende klas.

Maar terselfdertyd sal elke strompeling in die rigting van nuwe "hervorminge" die stempel dra: "te weinig en te laat"; en sal daarom die stryd nog meer aanwakker, en demoralisasie in die kapitalistiese kamp saai.

Die saamhorigheid van die heersende klas en moreel van die staatsmagte is nog nie genoeg ondermyn nie

Die langdurige krag en onbuigsaamheid van die sisteem van blanke oorheersing—die bestaan van 'n sterk, gestaalde staatsapparaat wat byna heeltemal op die bevoordeerde minderheid gebou is—betyk dat die ontwikkeling van 'n revolusionêre krisis, en die voorbereiding van omstandighede vir die ineenstorting of omverwerping van die regime, onvermydelik 'n uitgerekte, bitter en bloedige proses sal wees.

Om die waarheid te sê, is 'n fundamentele skeuring in die heersende klas, wat die regering sal verlam en hom ook sal afspieël in diep verdelinge in die middelklas sowel as onbetroubaarheid in die staatsapparaat, op die oomblik die belangrikste "ontbrekende element" in die situasie. Wanneer dit eenmaal vorm aanneem, sal dit egter die begin van 'n revolusionêre situasie beteken, en miljoene werkende mense wat tot dusver onaktief was tot aksie aanspoor.

'n Sleuteldeel van revolusionêre strategie moet wees om so 'n skeuring in die heersende klas voor te berei en te bewerkstellig, en om sy steun in die samelewing stelselmatig te ondermyn en weg te stroop.

Die langdurige verdelings tussen liberale en regse kapitaliste, en vandag tussen "verligtes" en "verkramptes" in SA, stel nie 'n fundamentele skeuring voor nie. In tye van betreklike "vrede" argumenteer die kapitaliste onder mekaar oor verskillende langtermynplanne om die werkende klas te onderdruk en uit te buit. Diegene in die beweging wat pleit vir 'n kompromis met die liberale gee net steun aan die strategie van die mees geslepe en bedrieglike vleuel van die klassevryand.

In 'n revolusionêre krisis word alle groepe in die kapitalistiese kamp in verwarring gegooi, verloor hulle sin van rigting en begin om op te breek onder druk van die gebeurtenisse. Sodoende word demoralisasie deur die hele bourgeois-samelewing versprei.

Wat so 'n situasie sal veroorsaak, en uiteindelik lei tot die verbrokkeling van die staat (wat sy gewelddadige omverwerping sal voorberei), sal die bewese bankrotskap wees van AL die slae en manoevers van die heersende klas teen 'n nog meer vasberade, onwrikbare en bewuste weerstand van die werkersklas.

Revolusionêre beleid van die werkersklas

Die basiese beleid van die swart werkersklas behoort tweevoudig te wees. Aan die een kant: om sy nie-rassegebonde klassehouding vol te hou, dit uit te brei van die industriële vlak na die politieke vlak, en altyd 'n ferme, onversetlike dog broederlike beroep op blankes van die werkersklas te doen. Slegs op dié manier kan ons die sosiale steun, waarop die staatsmag van die base berus, wegstroop en begin om die lojaliteit ook van die blanke middelklas te beïnvloed.

Swart werkers en jongmense moenie aarsel in hierdie houding nie, selfs nie onder provokasie van die mees venynige regse bewegings wat onder die blankes ontstaan nie—want laasgenoemde op sigself sou 'n teken wees van die onderliggende revolusionêre krisis en die verbrokkeling van die "offisiële" samelewing.

Aan die ander kant: dit hoort ons beleid te wees om ons rug te keer op die liberale, samewerking met elke deel van die kapitalisteklas te verwerp, watter toenadering hulle ookal soek, en die beweging saam te trek agter 'n bewuste stryd om werkersmag, waarin die taak om nasionale bevryding en demokrasie te verower, sowel as die sosiale en ekonomiese eise, gekoppel word aan die noodsaak om kapitalisme self omver te gooii.

Nie-rassegebondenheid, en teenkanting teen liberalisme, is tweelingenienskappe van een en dieselfde revolusionêre klassebeleid, die enigste wat die eenheid van die werkende bevolking in aksie kan bevorder.

Al hoe meer word die beslissende proef van elke leiding, program en aksie die bydrae wat dit maak om die werkersklas op magsoornname voort te berei.

Vakbonde en politieke organisasie

Die huidige situasie bevestig *Inqaba* se argument dat die vakbonde nie 'n strategie van vinnige groei kon vermy nie, ondanks die probleme van konsolidering wat dit inhoud, as gevolg van die spoed waarmee politieke take onvrydelik voor die werkersbeweging geplaas sou word.

Die behoefte aan duidelike workersleiding van die stryd is nooit groter gewees as nou nie. Soos die Transvaalse algemene staking laat sien het, word die vakbonde gedwing—deur die felheid van die algemene stryd teen die staat, en deur die vasberadenheid van die werkers om hulle georganiseerde krag vir politieke doeleindes te gebruik—na 'n posisie waar hulle die leiding in aksie moet verskaf.

Dis duidelijk dat 'n massaparty van die werkers nodig is om die beweging van al die onderdrukte mense te lei. As dit sou ontwikkel, sou dit 'n

geweldige stap vorentoe beteken. Maar die poging om so 'n party direk uit die vakbonde op te bou, sou in baie groot moeilikhede, en waarskynlik ook noodlottige vertragings, vasloop.

Dit bly ons mening dat die mees effektiewe manier om dieselfde doel te bereik, sou wees vir die vakbonde om aan te sluit by die UDF (en later die ANC) met die bewuste doel om die werkersmassa politiek te organiseer, en om demokratiese werkersbeheer en leiding te vestig op 'n strydbare sosialistiese program.

Die gebeurtenisse het die vakbonde en die UDF gedwing om saam te werk. As die UDF omgevorm sou word deur workersorganisasie en leiding, sou dit help om die politieke onafhanklikheid van die werkersklas te verseker teen die tot dusver oorheersende invloed van die middelklas, tewyl die eenheid van die workers met die jeug en alle vegters in die aangesig van die vyand bewaar sal word.

Marxiste moet verenig

Vandag neem die beweging openlike sowel as ondergrondse vorme aan, met nadruk op eersgenoemde. Môre, afhanklik van die staat se optrede, sal die nadruk miskien vir 'n tyd lank meer in die rigting van ondergrondse werk verskuif moet word.

In elk geval is dit noodsaaklik vir Marxiste in elke gebied om sonder versuim bymekaar te kom, en waar dit ookal moontlik is—binne die vakbonde, binne die jeug-organisasies, binne die UDF—'n bewuste kader op te bou om stelselmatig 'n Marxistiese beleid uit te wek en te beargumenteer.

Vir 'n tweedaagse nasionale staking

Na die sukses van die Transvaalse staking behoort die beweging hom nie dadelik te rig op 'n onbeperkte algemene staking nie (hoewel ons so 'n staking natuurlik ten volle sou ondersteun as dit spontaan sou uitbreek), maar eers op 'n tweedagse, nasionale algemene staking.

Die spesifieke eis om 'n nasionale minimumloon behoort gevoeg te word by die eise wat in Transvaal gestel is.

So 'n staking sou die druk op die regering vergroot, die klasse verder polariseer, en dit moontlik maak om ons organisasie en kragte op 'n breër front uit te toets. Dan sou die swakhede aan die lig kom, en aan dag kan daarvan gegee word om hulle op te los in voorbereiding op volgende aksies.

Daar is geen vinninge klimaks in die revolucionêre stryd in Suid-Afrika moontlik nie; wat nodig is, is meer deeglik-voorbereide en deurdagte aksies om die beweging na die revolusie op te bou.

Die Transvaalse staking sal aan baie van die ongeorganiseerde workers, veral in die staatssektor, die noodsaak van vakbondsorganisasie duidelik gemaak het. In die komende tydperk sal dit veral belangrik wees om die probleem op te los van hoe om

die spoorwegwerkers te organiseer.

Dit sou moontlik moet wees met die hulpmiddels van die nuwe federasie, wat nodig is om sonder versuim gelanseer te word. 'n Doelwit vir die nuwe federasie om binne 'n jaar of twee tot 'n miljoen lede te groei, sou as heeltemal realisties, en inderdaad lewensnoodsaaklik, gesien moet word in die situasie wat nou ontstaan.

In Natal sou dit 'n topprioriteit moet wees om die reaksionêre invloed van Buthelezi te verslaan, of dit sal uitgroei tot 'n baie erger bron van verdeeldheid en van sterkte vir die regime.

Terwyl die industriële stede dié hoofarena van die revolusie sal wees, wys die situasie ook dat dit nodig is om georganiseerde bande tussen plaasworkers en industriële workers op te bou. In werklikheid moet die beweging oor die hele land uitgebrei word om die staatsmagte in die toekoms tot 'n breekpunt te rek, en om meer slaankrag te gee aan die stryd in die nywerheidsgebiede.

'n Langdurige tydperk van deeglike organisasie, propaganda en agitasie sal nodig wees om hierop voor te berei, en die stedelike jeug, saam met die trekarbeiders, sou hierby 'n sleutelrol kan speel.

As daar duisende troepe nodig is om net een swart woonbuurt in bedwang te hou—en dit in 'n verrassingsmaneuver, vir net 'n paar uur—hoeveel sou nodig wees om op te tree teen 'n landswyse opstand? (Met sy burgermagreserwes te volle gemobiliseer het SA net een soldaat vir elke 2 s vk km, of een vir elke 50 van die swart bevolking.)

Voorwaardes vir revolusie sal ryp word

Oor die volgende paar jaar, hoewel die gebeurtenisse nie in 'n reguit lyn sal beweeg nie, sal die voorwaardes vir revolusie om in Suid-Afrika uit te breek sekerlik ryp word.

So gou as die beweging regte nasionale saamhorigheid ontwikkel; so gou as die werkersklas sy politieke leiding op 'n duidelike en georganiseerde manier oor die hele beweging vestig; so gou as die regering en die heersende klas in hopeloze wanorde gegooi word, en die middelklas in alle rigtings geskeur word; so gou as die staatsmagte sover gerek en verdeel word dat selfs die ergste brutaliteit nie meer hulle moreel in stand kan hou of hulle doeltreffendheid kan verseker nie; so gou as die swart jeug en workers middels vind om gewapende mag te gebruik, in die eerste plek om woonbuurte, vergaderings, stakings en demonstrasies te verdedig—so gou sal die weg voorberei wees vir die ineenstorting van die regering.

Dit sal op sy beurt die vloedwaters van die revolusie laat stroom.

Hoewel ons nog 'n afstand het om af te lê voordat ons daardie stadium bereik, het die manjifieke stryd van die Suid-Afrikaanse proletariaat—'n bron van inspirasie vir onderdrukte en uitgebuite mense die wêrelde deur—sekerlik die samelewning vooruitgebring tot op 'n punt waar die lig van oorwinning aan die end van die tonnel sigbaar word.