

A TWO STAGE STRUGGLE OR

In order to change the system we live under, we must understand it. It is only then that we can plan our programme and strategy. The present exploitative and oppressive system we live under is the system of racial capitalism. It is the root of our exploitation and oppression.

TWO STAGE STRUGGLE

There are a number of political movements who still base their programmes and tactics on the 2 stage theory, that is first the national democratic struggle where all anti-apartheid forces get together then the struggle for a workers' democracy. However, true democracy cannot arise and survive on the foundation of capitalism. How will it be possible to end unemployment, low wages, poverty, hunger and homelessness until the state of racist and capitalist dictatorship is dismantled.

The democratic aspirations of the working people cannot be accommodated in a "separate" stage of "national democracy". The reality of our struggle is inescapable, whether certain people choose to accept it or not. Capitalism, as is inevitable, is in a state of decay. Indeed, we are suffering the consequences of this decay. It rests on the relentless action of class forces upon each other which can no more be ordered to halt than the wind and the waves.

It has been argued that the people using the two stage theory are taking objective conditions into account: The consciousness of the class is not yet developed enough to strive for a workers' democracy. We certainly do not believe in political adventurism. The mass of the working people learn from the experience of life and struggle. It is through struggle that all illusions in alternatives to a workers' democracy fall away. It is through patient and persistent work in every struggle of the workers and of all the oppressed that revolutionary tendency can gain majority support for its ideas.

DANGER OF 'STAGES'

A very real danger exists in propounding the 2 stage theory. The probability of nationalists and so-called leaders "representing ethnic groups" together with capitalists attempting to halt the struggle at the first "stage". People who have power do not give it up voluntarily. Thus, as we can see from history, the stage is set for another confrontation and once again, the workers and their allies will bear the brunt of the repression. People who say that the consciousness of the Black working class is not developed sufficiently to discard the 2-stage theory are being contemptuous of the Black working class. The inseparable connection between racism and capitalism are patently obvious to the Black workers. Among

our people there is a burning class hostility towards the capitalists. The daily struggle for survival; the conflict with the bosses in the factories; mines and on the farms; the obvious dependence of the bosses on the state; the direction of state repression more and more against the organisations of the workers; the stark gulf between rich and poor; the ostentation of the black business elite (whose wealth is no less conspicuous for being small); the growing awareness of revolutions in other countries and the rise of the workers' movements of West and East - all these raise the consciousness of the Azanian working class and give confidence in the possibility of its victory.

The mass of our people, including the overwhelming majority of workers, at the same time attach enormous importance to the struggle for the vote and other democratic rights, which have been gained in some form in other capitalist countries.

This is not, as Stalinism asserts, because the workers cannot identify the capitalist enemy. The point is that most workers believe that the attainment of democratic rights will make it possible both to end racist oppression and to get rid of the tyranny and exploitation of the bosses - thus allowing the material conditions of life to be transformed.

ONE FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC?

OUR TASKS

If trust is placed in too abstract a conception of democracy; if it is not yet clearly seen that for democracy to be made concrete the working class will have to establish its own democratic state power - this is because direct experience of bourgeois democracy has been denied to the majority in South Africa.

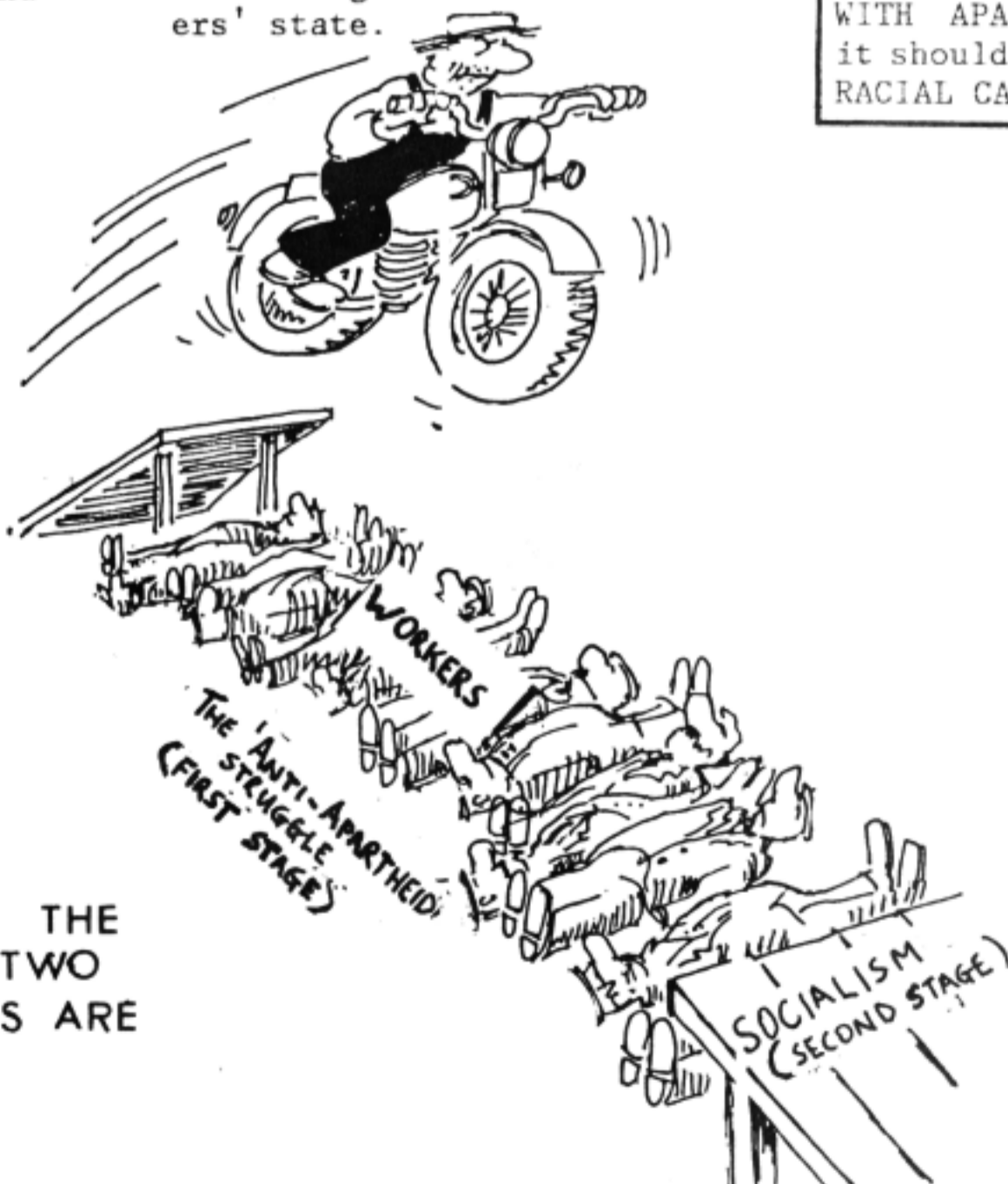
We have to criticise the illusions represented by the liberals and the reformists. Together with politically advanced workers we must carefully examine ideas and strategies and if necessary strip away illusions and expose false ideas. Once the workers are armed with this knowledge, they will not easily be betrayed and defeated.

The "progressive democrats" assert that the path to a revolutionary working-class consciousness requires that the workers should first achieve bourgeois-democratic rights, in order to discover the inadequacy of these in the fullness of time.

Nine-tenths of a revolutionary consciousness is already provided in the experience of life of the oppressed working people. The remaining one-tenth - so far possessed by only fairly small forces of cadres in the movement - is a clear grasp of the necessity to dismantle the entire machinery of the capitalist state and replace it with democratic organs of a workers' state.

Whatever awakens the consciousness of the working class of their own power to change society is progressive; whatever dulls the consciousness is reactionary. It must be made clear that we must not posture and raise false hopes of liberation from above. Rather it is to strive among the working people in struggle for the taking of power into their own hands. Against the nationalist rhetoric which serves to blind workers to their class aims and dulls their sense of class power, we stand uncompromisingly for the class consciousness and class unity of the Black working class.

Our slogans should be more than just "DOWN WITH APARTHEID!" rather it should be: "DOWN WITH RACIAL CAPITALISM!"



IF WE SEPARATE THE STRUGGLE INTO TWO STAGES, WORKERS ARE AT RISK