

1. Where the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the possibility of a "non-peaceful transition to socialism" should be born in mind. Leninism maintains, . . . that the ruling class do not yield power of their own free will. Hence, the degree of bitterness of the class struggle and the forms it takes will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the strength of the reactionary group's resistance . . . and on the use of force by these groups at a particular stage of the struggle for socialism. The success of the struggle which the working class wages for the victory of the revolution will depend on how well the working class and its party master the use of all forms of struggle — peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary — and how well they are prepared for any swift and sudden replacement of one form of struggle by another form of struggle. (Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, op. cit., p. 273.)

1. The Communist Party considers that the slogan of "non-violence" is harmful to the cause of the democratic national revolution in the new phase of the struggle. (Programme of the South African Communist Party, op. cit., p. 314.)

"Violence" is a particular form of struggle and so is "non-violence". There are times when "violence" can advance a struggle or retard it. The same applies to "non-violence". Genuine revolutionaries are never wedded to a particular form of struggle. They use their revolutionary judgement to assess the most appropriate time for the use of a particular form of struggle. (African Communist, 4th Quarter, 1981, p. 68.)

Some acts of violence are unjust and some are just. Revolutionaries support the just forms of violence more especially in situations where the ruling class relies on brute force to conquer a people and to remain in power. (Umsebenzi, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1985, p. 8.)

. . . the idea of a people's war has taken root and expressed itself practically in countless actions of revolutionary violence that have taken place and continue to occur in many parts of the country, including the countryside. (African Communist, No. 105, 2nd Quarter 1986, p. 8.)

1. Our Conference itself will be remembered by our people as a council-of-war . . . that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war . . . (O. Tambo, Political Report of NEC, Zambia, June 1985, p. 6.)

The distinction between "soft" and "hard" is going to disappear in an intensified confrontation, in an escalating conflict. (O. Tambo, "Let us act together", in Sechaba, August 1985, p. 13.)

South Africa's crisis can only be solved through a revolution, where the people with the aid of political mass co-ordination and weapons overthrow their oppressors. . . . The ANC's strategy and tactics are now aimed at creating the conditions for a revolution to take place. It's not a question of skin colour in this fight. Even those Blacks who are a part of the oppressive system either as policemen or businessmen will feel the anger of our people. The fate of traitors is the same as the fate of the White oppressors. (Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, at the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, Moscow, 2 August 1985.)

From the perspective of underground activity, a very important factor is the systematic assault on, and elimination of,