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Revisionism and Southern Africa

**Structure and Organisation of the
Communist Party: Document of the
Communist International**

Pokela Speaks to the OAU

**Battle in the Cities: The Armed Struggle
in Ireland and the Irish Struggle for
Self-Determination**

**ALSO: Parallels Between Israel and South Africa :
BCM on Marxism-Leninism and National Liberation
: On Black Unions in Azania : The Cultural Revolu-
tion and Literary Theory, etc.**

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IKWEZI is a Marxist-Leninist Journal based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought. Mao Ze Dong Thought has made vital contributions to the whole body of Marxism-Leninism and is a precious treasure of the international proletariat. Mao Ze Dong Thought must be applied to the concrete conditions of the national/class struggle in Azania. In particular we must study and understand Mao Ze Dong's theories on New Democracy which describe the relationship between the national liberation struggle and the socialist phase. This is the key theoretical concept that we must grasp and put into practice at the phase of the national struggle. We must also master the tactics, strategy and policies of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Only on this basis can we attain a prin-

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IKWEZI fully supports the patriotic and nationalist national liberation movements and groups like the PAC, BCM, AZAPO, ANC (AN) which are not in any way linked to any imperialist power or the superpowers. But at the same time IKWEZI calls for and works for the building of a separate and independent Marxist-Leninist Party based on the masses and capable of leading the national struggle for self-determination and independence. Without the leadership of such a Marxist-Leninist Party there cannot be either a through going national revolution or social emancipation. The Marxist-Leninist Party must be capable of ably representing the democratic interests of the entire Black peoples at the stage of the national revolution.

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Pokela Speaks to the OAU PAC is Set for Action

As this is my maiden appearance before this august body set up by the Organisation of African Unity to assist materially, diplomatically and morally national liberation movements, I bring you revolutionary greetings of the oppressed, exploited but fighting people of Azania and to convey to you their determination to liberate their usurped country from the clutches of fascist colonialism. This committee, needless to say, has played a vital role in the decolonisation process and is now left with the historic task of rendering all possible assistance to the people of Azania and Namibia so as to realise the total liberation of the African continent. At this stage of the revolution, a principled united front of all patriotic movements is crucial and decisive.

Comrade Chairman, my rather late appearance before the OAU Liberation Committee's ordinary session is due to the work I was entrusted with inside the country following the nation wide positive Action Campaign launched by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania on March 21, 1960 (which culminated in the massacre of Sharpeville) and the fact that I was kidnapped by agents of the South African racist regime from then British protectorate of Basotho land (now independent Lesotho). I was formally charged for organising armed resistance and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment — seven of those years to run concurrently. Consequently, I served a prison term of full 13 years on the infamous Robben Island. I was released on June 1, 1980 and was immediately banished to my village in a remote part of what the racists call the Transkei Homeland.

When I arrived on Robben Island in 1967 I found 1001 political prisoners there — the one being the late first President of the PAC, Comrade Mangaliso Sobukwe. He was held there under a special decree passed by the all white South African parliament. It was the first time in the history of South Africa that parliament was called upon to approve the continued detention of an individual and this was because Comrade Sobukwe, as leader of PAC, was considered the most dangerous man by the apartheid rulers of South Africa. He was only released after the racist authorities discovered that he was dying — thus the settler regime fulfilled Vorster's sadistic and devilish pronouncement to keep Sobukwe in prison "until this side of eternity".

I would also like to inform the distinguished delegates here that I found on Robben Island 6 young PAC comrades who were sentenced to life imprisonment and who began serving their life sentences long before the "big" names began serving theirs. I also found, at the time of my arrival, that about 600 plus minus of the 1001 political prisoners on Robben Island were PAC members, having been formally charged and sentenced for furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. At the time when I was convicted close to 67 plus minus PAC had been sentenced to death for their activities in the armed struggle against the settler regime.

Just prior to my release the veteran leader of PAC, Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, arrived on the Island with 15 other co-accused. Comrade Mothopeng and his colleagues were sentenced in what has come to be known as the Bethal 18 Secret Trial. Writing on the Bethal 18 Secret Trial in the London Guardian of 19/6/79 correspondent John Ken-Berman said as follows:

"The trial, which is being held in camera and which is now drawing to a close after more than 150 days, is one of the longest political hearings in South African history. The indictment covers PAC activities which allegedly took place between 1963 and 1977 in seven South African cities and in three foreign countries.

"Among the people listed as co-conspirators is the late Mr. Robert Sobukwe, founder leader of the PAC.

"Finding Mr. Mothopeng guilty on two counts the judge said that Mr. Mothopeng's activities were not altruistic, but that he had acted to sow seeds of anarchy and revolution, which led to the riots. The riots, which he had predicted and encouraged, had eventually taken place in Soweto on June 16, 1976 and in Krugersdorp the following day."

The verdict of the judge in the Bethal 18 Secret Trial and the evidence compiled by the state appointed Cillie Commission irrefutably pointed to the leading role played by the PAC in the Soweto uprising. Moreover, the PAC and BCM are the only organisations that have been formally charged as being directly connected with that campaign. Sixteen of the PAC leading members from its internal wing are currently serving long sentences on Robben Is-

land.

Comrade Chairman, from the above it can be seen that the largest number of people who have served on Robben Island, at one time or another, have been active members of PAC; the majority of the people tortured to death and those hanged have been active PAC members; and the two major uprisings that have taken place in the country and involving the masses – the March 21, 1960 Positive Action Campaign and the Soweto Uprising – both had the stamp, plan and initiative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. It is also an acknowledged fact that these two mass-oriented actions have played the decisive role in awakening the political consciousness of the people inside occupied Azania, on the one hand, and has drawn international public opinion to the plight of our people and our just struggle against fascist colonialism.

The PAC therefore, has fathered two decisive campaigns, March 21, 1960 and June 16, 1976. These two campaigns qualitatively changed the content and pace of the Azanian revolution.

As already stated those campaigns bear the unmistakable stamp of the PAC. As can be easily discerned from the type of activists involved in the execution of that ever unfolding positive programme of action.

PAC's Role in Soweto

We have now entered the third decade of our existence as a revolutionary party and we of the PAC firmly believe that we can now all of us cock and sharpen our senses and wait expectantly for the campaign to unfold decidedly and decisively in the eighties which we have just entered. One thing the PAC and the Azanian people are certain of, know of, and sure of is that we shall give a *meaningful leap* to our programme and the revolution in Azania.

The PAC is now fully united, and it is poised to set the pace of revolution in the struggle for the repossession of the fatherland.

The history, therefore, of the struggle of our people cannot be written without mentioning Sharpeville and Soweto and one cannot talk about Sharpeville and Soweto without recognising the leading role of the PAC in these two major events. Therefore, we assert that the PAC is the primary parameter in the Azanian revolution.

Comrade Chairman and distinguished delegates, a struggle is an all embracing phenomenon. It is a multi-faceted and a long drawn

conflict. A revolution, moreover, cannot be decided by a single or series of isolated acts but by concerted acts of the people. The decisive factor in any given struggle is the people. The role of the political organisation is to develop the political consciousness of the people and to chart the correct course.

In this field, I may modestly claim, that the PAC has played a pioneering role. To cite a few examples in this direction. The PAC was the first national organisation to propound and practice *NON-RACIALISM* the PAC put an end to the pursuance of non violence as a means of struggle and decisively paved the way for the acceptance of revolutionary armed struggle as the only effective means of ensuring victory to the people; and the PAC was the first organisation to involve the great majority of the masses in the struggle as demonstrated in the March 21, 1960 campaign and the Soweto Uprising. In 1960 white capital flew out of the country as never before. No single movement and campaign caused capital to flow out at that rate. We can assure this august meeting that in this decade the PAC shall force the settler regime to a precarious retreat if not complete surrender. Had these politically *important prerequisites* and *qualitatively advanced changes* not been ushered in on the South African political scene by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, it is doubtful if the armed struggle would have reached its current qualitative stage of content and character.

Given this objective background I have found it rather strange, if not politically perturbing, that an organisation whose members have made and continue to make substantial and supreme sacrifices, whose members are languishing in prisons today, whose members are daily involved in mobilizing the masses and involved in the every day (albeit unpublished) struggles of the people should receive scarce attention or absolute disregard. This type of negative attitude and mentality must be reversed. And we appeal to all African states and liberation movements to proceed on the only sure and certain process of emphasizing matters that unite us rather than things that divide us.

Comrade Chairman, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has been, and always will be, an independent political organisation pursuing the genuine interests of the Azanian masses, of Africa and of the progressive forces the world over and will never become the vassal or surrogate of this or that superpower. The PAC, therefore, with its independent political line, mass support and revolutionary outlook

poses a far greater danger to the settler racists because it cannot be dubbed or given any convincing label in order to assist them in soliciting imperialist support. It is precisely for this reason that the longest political trial in occupied Azania was held in secret so as not to give any publicity to the activities of the PAC. Thus it is the declared policy of the South African racists to isolate the PAC with the aim of crushing it.

The other factor that has somewhat puzzled me in the last year is the superficial approach and the tendency to make believe that with the bombings of certain installations inside the country the Azanian revolution has suddenly begun and is about to be completed in the very near future. This is an exercise in self-deception. It is, however, true that the struggle of our people is gaining momentum daily, but the armed struggle was started by the PAC and it is a long and arduous one and all the forces opposed to the regime must be galvanised for the revolution. No single force can successfully carry the Azanian revolution to the total exclusion of other patriotic forces. This is an objective reality.

Moreover, Comrade Chairman, the South African racist regime cannot be brought down by merely attacking — no matter how frequently — installations and other inanimate objects. The regime is maintained in power by the army and the police. It is these two pillars of the apartheid state that have to be vigorously and systematically attacked if the regime is to be brought down. To radically change the minds of the settler racists and their supporters the armed struggle must be primarily at the level of mortals. This line of action, albeit on a small scale, has already begun in the smaller towns and particularly in the rural areas where the PAC activists are using indigenous weapons or those they can acquire. Historically and to the present day, it is admitted that the PAC draws its support both from rural and urban areas.

PAC's View on Armed Struggle

The PAC leadership has always been of the firm opinion that a successful revolution must have the whole hearted participation of the masses and the struggle, by and large, must be internally based. Also we should take into account the enemy's strategy when waging such a liberation war. The enemy's strategy is to isolate the guerrilla fighters from the people and deliberately create the impression that the fighters are foreign inspired. Only mass mobilisa-

tion and participation can counter this enemy strategy. Today students, workers, professional people and peasants are all engaged in one form of struggle or another and their struggle constitutes the base for the effective development of the armed struggle.

Moreover, the South African racist army is, fundamentally, trained to wage conventional wars and that is why it resorts to attacking neighbouring African states under the guise of attacking guerilla bases. We of the PAC believe we can successfully frustrate this racist strategy by first building a strong network inside the country and then launching an offensive against the enemy from within. In the establishment of such a network inside the country — despite all difficulties — we have gone a long way.

Comrade Chairman, I would be failing in my sacred duty if I did not touch in this address measures the PAC has taken since my arrival abroad in uniting, revitalising and home-ward orientating itself. In a relatively short period we have not only united the PAC externally; we have not only united the political and the military but we have also effectively united both the external and internal wings. Moreover, we now have a united party exercising full control over its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

The problems which plagued the PAC in recent years are now over and the movement is now geared to carry out its historic tasks. There are countries here that can testify to these major achievements realised in relatively short period and that our infiltration programme is proceeding and the PAC activists inside the country are paving the way for the smooth infiltration. In this regard, therefore we appeal to frontline states to facilitate the implementation of this programme.

In conclusion, Comrade Chairman, and distinguished delegates, I do firmly believe that this forum was specifically created by the founding fathers of the OAU to realise the total liberation of the African Continent. This noble task, however, can only be realised by directing our forces against the enemies of Africa and not to use this forum to fight this or that liberation movement in the interest of alien masters. True, liberation movements have problems — they will always have problems — but rather than castigating them, they should be assisted to overcome their temporary problems in order to make them more effective in the prosecution of the struggle.

IZWE LETHU!

I AFRIKA!

Black Unions Start Winning (From New Statesman, 15 January 1982)

For the first time in South Africa's history, blacks are forming national industrial unions which are winning a high proportion of strikes, and sustaining their organisation despite intimidation and bannings. The united front formed by government, management and white union officials against independent black trade unionism is crumbling as white management has had to give ground, and, in some areas, white union bureaucracy has been undermined.

The gains of the black workers have been made not by supplication to the government but by *realpolitik* involving hard work, good organisation and careful strategic planning. They have based the movement solidly in the factories, evidenced by the increasingly important role taken by shop stewards. They have also managed to create groupings of independent trade unions, the largest of which is the Federation of South Africa Trade Unions, (FOSATU). Unlike the South African Congress of Trade Unions, FOSATU is entirely based on grass roots organisation in South Africa. Although fewer than 200,000 blacks are organised in independent trade unions, this new union movement has a better chance of survival than any of its predecessors.

The government and employers have tried hard to destroy it. When black trade unionism was revived

huge strike wave in Durban, management tried to undermine it by channelling workers into factory 'liaison committees'. Black workers rejected the committees which were controlled by management, had no real power, and ended up causing more disputes than they solved.

The government responded with the usual round of harassment and intimidation. Four white students who were playing a decisive role in the union revival were banned in 1974 and another 30 white and black organisers were banned in 1976. The authorities no doubt hoped that this would destroy the new unions. But the new unions were resilient enough to throw up more leaders. The Minister of Manpower, Fanie Botha, later admitted that the bannings had failed.

Of course, the government could have banned black unions altogether. But multinational corporations operating in South Africa had in

the meantime come under strong pressure to withdraw. Wholesale proscription of black trade unionism would have severely embarrassed them. The government found it could no longer simply wipe out black unionism; it would have to come to terms with it. It set up the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into industrial relations and as a result of its report, published on May Day 1979, black unions now have the same official registration rights as whites. Moreover, the government has now finally agreed that they can register as non-racial unions and admit migrant workers. (Although they are predominantly black, most of the 30 independent trade unions are open to all races as a matter of principle).

New Tasks Of Unions

Official registration confers certain statutory rights and duties but not bargaining power which the new unions are having to fight for through displays of strength. It is a strength they have gained through the sheer battle for survival. Earlier attempts to organise black workers have foundered on the ambitious aim of creating a political mass movement. Then, like early British trade unions, activists tried to recruit a mass union membership, only to find their potential strength dissipated through dozens of different factories without enough funds or trained officials to maintain effective organisation. The organizers pulled in their horns, trying to consolidate membership in one factory before attempting to recruit another.

Management counter-attacked first by foisting liaison committees on blacks in one guise or another. When this didn't work, management then decided to divert employees into 'parallel' black unions controlled by officials of white, Indian, or 'coloured' unions. About 100,000 black workers have been channelled into such 'parallel' unions, some of which were set up by affiliates of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), and most of which are trade unions in name only. As a result of agreements reached between management and officials of parallel unions, some black workers have for years had union dues deducted from their wages though they have never seen their supposed representatives in the factory, let alone discussed wage negotiations with

them.

Neither the liaison committee nor the parallel union strategy has yet died out. But they are being challenged with growing success by the independent unions, and an increasing number of companies is now realising that it is in their own interests to deal with genuinely representative worker organisations. The independent unions have often had to prove the hard way that they are representative – by pulling members out on strike and sustaining them with strike pay until management has granted the union recognition. In another new development, funds for strikers have sometimes been collected from the community outside the factories, while on occasions, the products of the offending firm have been successfully boycotted.

Factory Participation

There were at least 170 strikes by black workers in 1981, all of them illegal – few black workers have the patience to wait out the cumbersome cooling-off procedures. FOSATU notes in its recent annual report that one of the key aspects of the 1981 strikes 'is the extent to which the demands precipitating stoppages have been won.' Of some 90 strikes in FOSATU-organised factories, 53 were 'won'.

Even so, striking can be risky. Freddie Sauls, head of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU), one of the largest in FOSATU, notes that his union was 'hit to pieces' in a strike at a Dorbyl engineering plant in the eastern Cape. 'All the guys were fired, and we had no funds to keep them going.'

Where black workers are unskilled, it is easy for determined employers to replace them with recruits from the million or more unemployed blacks in the so-called 'home-lands'. Once a union has been crippled in this way, or simply defeated in a strike, it can be extremely difficult to get union organisation going again. One employer in East London, where the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) is an active force, told me he would 'like to have a trial strength at the right time'; he would fire all strikers, close the factory for a month or more and meet orders by imports, and so break the power of SAAWU among his workers who would join the ranks of the unemployed in the Ciskei. He claimed to know what strategies SAAWU was planning to adopt through the information being fed to him by 'informer chappies' in the union.

In companies whose black workers are more

skilled, unions are often in a stronger position. Companies like Ford in Port Elizabeth and Volkswagen in the nearby town of Uitenhage found during strikes that the option of mass dismissal and quick replacement was not open to them because skilled workers are in such short supply that 'we would eventually have had to hire our own people back', as one company spokesman said.

Saul's union – formed by a merger between one black and two 'coloured' unions – is now organised in most of the motor assembly plants in South Africa and thus well on the way to becoming the first non-racial national industrial trade union in South Africa history. Other FOSATU unions which may join it are in textiles, the steel and engineering industry, and the paper-producing industry. The General Workers' Union, which is based in Cape Town but is not in the FOSATU fold, expects soon to have signed up the entire stevedoring industry.

The stevedores are a good example of another new phenomenon. Dave Lewis, General Secretary of the General Workers' Union, says that his stevedore members have taken the initiative in signing on dockworkers employed by the South African Railways. On the East Rand (an area of heavy industry near Johannesburg), shop stewards in FOSATU unions have begun clubbing together to hire cars during their lunch-hour to go and recruit in neighbouring factories.

Most of the independent unions are growing rapidly. FOSATU's ten affiliates now have 95,000 members (against 59,000 a year ago) spread over 387 factories. The other main independent grouping, the council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) – which, unlike FOSATU, confines membership to black Africans – grew from 27,000 in April 1980 to 45,000 in April 1981, spread among eight unions. The best-organised of the independent unions have strong organisation and leadership inside the factories. Lewis insists on the presence of worker representatives from the factory floor whenever General Workers' Union officials speak to management. The FOSATU unions now have 1,500 active shop stewards, some of whom are being sent on specially-designed training courses at the University of the Witwatersrand.

This insistence on factory-floor participation is the next big battle the independent unions face. Under present labour law, wages and other working conditions are determined by in-

dustrial councils. Although unions and employer organisations have equal representation on the councils, the independent unions argue that they are bureaucratic and remote from the day-to-day problems that black workers face. But the council system suits employers because it allows wages to be standardised and agreements to be reached with union officials. They have become the sacred cows of South African industrial relations.

Some employers privately concede that the council system will have to be changed. The independent unions are concentrating their energies on reaching factory-level agreements on shop stewards' and wage-bargaining rights. Two years ago, less than half a dozen such agreements existed. But FOSATU unions alone now have more than 30 comprehensive recognition agreements, with a hundred more in the pipeline. If agreements reached by other unions are taken into account, the total is now probably approaching 200 – the best testimony of all of the growing power of unions in South Africa's factories.

Ironically, some of the shop stewards have become so effective that they have successfully handled grievances of white workers where white shop stewards have failed. Indeed, six members of a conservative white union in the motor industry have recently applied to join a FOSATU union. Sound factory organisation is a rare phenomenon among white unions – except in the reactionary white mineworkers union – because they have long been able to

rely on their monopoly of skills and their links with the government to protect their privileges.

Now that trade unionism has finally taken firm root among blacks, there is hardly an employer in the country who does not fear that it will be used as a political instrument. The recent detention by the security police of a dozen or more union officials is seen in some quarters as an attempt to forestall such a development.

The independent unions are wary of championing larger political aims. They recognise that they cannot divorce themselves from issues like housing, transport costs, education, and influx control. And following widespread black dissatisfaction over a government plan to prevent workers from cashing in their pension fund contributions before reaching retiring age (the legislation was dropped after a wave of black strikes), some of the independent unions are now demanding representation on pension fund boards of trustees.

But broader political activity is something they would prefer to avoid. Nor does there so far appear to have been much factory-floor demand for it, although privately some union officials express the fear that the rank and file may push them into issues that would invite a ruthless crackdown by the state. Although the contradictions between economic enfranchisement and political dispossession are becoming sharper and sharper, it's probably a fair bet that, for the moment, discretion will be the better part of valour for most of the independent unions.

Imperialism is the Enemy Revisionism and Southern Africa

(This article is from the "Revolutionary Worker" (2.10.81) published in the United States. The "Revolutionary Worker" carries an excellent coverage of international events and is obtainable from Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654.)

On the weekend of October 9th a "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa" was convened in New York City. Initiated by the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, an arm of the Soviet sponsored Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, this conference

was the first of a worldwide series aimed at rallying joint support for the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO). Joining a host of Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) revisionist types in cosponsoring the event are a large number of other organizations and individuals. Playing on people's just hatred for apartheid and imperialism, the conference will probably attract a number of people who genuinely want to support the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. Unfortunately, this conference is not designed to do anything of the sort.

To begin with, the entire question of the liberation of southern Africa as it's dealt with in the call for the conference reduces the struggle to one of ending "apartheid, colonialism and racism." Nowhere is imperialism mentioned; instead we are painted a picture of the struggle for democracy and majority rule. While these may be aspects of the struggle for national liberation, particularly in southern Africa, by no means can the struggle itself be reduced to simply these terms. To do so only serves to blunt the revolutionary essence of any national liberation struggle — the battle against imperialism — and paint the democratic content of this battle as if it were one of voting and reform. In addition, the conference issues a call for support for "the official liberation program" of the ANC, for increasing political support and material assistance" to the ANC and declares that the ANC is "leading the fight to rid their country of racial oppression and injustice, for freedom and independence..." The fact that the ANC, particularly as it has been brought under CP domination, has usually stood nakedly opposed to any genuinely revolutionary developments in Azania (including even its bizarre refusal to use the name Azania, preferring the imperialist name of "South Africa") and the fact that raising the ANC, the Soviet-sponsored "liberation" group, as *the* group "deserving strong support" in a country where a number of well-known revolutionary nationalist forces are actively engaged in the struggle provides a powerful hint as to what the real intentions of this conference are. Often the revisionists appeal to pragmatism to win blankcheck endorsements internationally ("Who else is fighting the regime with a chance of winning?"), but in the case of the ANC/SACP (South African Communist Party) even this pragmatic argument runs into hot water. While the conference organizers intentionally avoided any mention of the international situation in relation to the liberation of southern Africa, in fact, the conference itself is intimately bound up with the world situation today, particularly the intensifying contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists and their blocs as they prepare for world war. And in addition to the questions it raises concerning the liberation of southern Africa, particularly Azania, it also serves to highlight the very important questions concerning the strategy of the Soviet social-imperialists today, and how the contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists is a crucial question intertwined with revolutionary developments and facing all revolutiona-

ry forces.

U.S. Imperialism in South Africa

The situation in southern Africa today is highly complex and contradictory. For years the people of southern Africa have waged, and continue to wage, sharp struggles against U.S. imperialism and the white settler regimes propped up by Western, especially U.S., imperialism. At the same time and in fact overall mainly influencing the course of events in the area, including the possible avenues for revolutionary breakthroughs, is the seething contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, and their respective blocs, as they twist and jockey for position in preparation for the outbreak of world war to redivide the world in favor of the victor. It's a situation where both imperialist superpowers must attempt to squash, blunt and distort the development of genuine revolutionary movements among the masses of people and simultaneously are driven to not only deny any "opportunities" to their imperialist rivals, but must also attempt to hold on to and expand their "spheres of influence" at the expense of their rival. This is equally true for both the U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs.

Although the U.S. imperialists remain the dominant imperialist power in southern Africa, the Soviet imperialists have by no means been sitting by idly waiting for the chips to fall their way.

In Namibia the U.S. is desperately attempting to work out an agreement in their favor while the Soviets are counting on being able to force them into a compromise that would at least give SWAPO a share of running the country, after which the Soviets are banking on being able to call in the markers on the "aid" they have given to SWAPO over the years and thereby increase their influence. And, while Angola has lined up in the Soviet camp, the U.S. is energetically attempting to lure it away, both by promising a better deal and by using South African military might as a club to beat them into submission. But, in southern Africa, for both imperialist powers, Azania is the crowning jewel being contested. And while the U.S. is driven to more openly embrace the hated apartheid regime, new upsurges erupt among the masses of Azanian people. In this situation the Soviets are enthusiastically attempting to fish in U.S. imperialism's troubled waters.

For the U.S. imperialists and their war bloc South Africa is of critical strategic importance.

In addition to the vast superprofits that the U.S., Britain and other Western imperialists squeeze from the masses of Azanian people, South Africa is also the source of many of the strategic minerals necessary for the functioning of the U.S. war bloc. While the U.S. relies heavily on South African supplies for many of the minerals crucial to the production of steel, this is even more true for the U.S.'s NATO allies. In addition, South Africa's military communications and tracking system and their modern military port facilities (which were expensively modernized and offered by the South African government for use by NATO in 1975) as well as its geographic location on the Cape of Good Hope make it indispensable to U.S. war plans. The Cape route sea lanes are used by 2300 ships a month delivering 57% of Western Europe's imported oil, 20% of the U.S.'s imported oil and 70% of the strategic raw materials used by NATO members. As Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Mearns of Britain stated, "Southern Africa is the key to the security of NATO's lines of communications... and South Africa in particular has the facilities... to provide the surveillance necessary for the security of European interests."

All of this, plus South Africa's highly developed economy and consequent economic clout in the rest of the region makes it a valuable potential prize for the Soviets as well. But in times like today, a period of intense preparation for world war, it's the strategic importance of South Africa that looms largest in Soviet plans, as with the U.S. However, having summed up that the U.S. would "go to the mat" over South Africa, the Soviets are not pushing for an immediate seizure of power. The Soviet strategy in South Africa today is aimed at developing a situation in which at most the Soviets will be able to devise some sort of power sharing scheme or at least, and more likely, being able to be in a position to cause as much difficulty as possible for the U.S. imperialists now and, in the event of an outbreak of war, being in a position to disrupt and wreak as much havoc as possible behind the lines of a strategically important U.S. outpost and if possible completely seize it. Lenin points out in *Imperialism* that it is not only important for an imperialist power to control, but also to deny his rival control over strategic markets, sources of raw materials, etc. In implementing their version of this strategy and crucial to disguising their moves as "justly aiding the fight against imperialism, colonialism and racism" the Soviet social-imperialists have relied heavily on their main mouthpieces in southern Afri-

ca, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress (which follows the political leadership of S A C P)

ANC's and SACP's Origins

Over the last 20 years or so the Soviets have expended a great deal of effort to keep the ANC afloat and have waged a massive international public relations campaign designed to cast the ANC and the SACP in an air of legitimacy. In fact, over the last 20 years the ANC itself has expended much more energy in international conferences and speaking tours orchestrated by the Soviet Union and aimed at declaring the ANC "the sole authentic representative of South Africa people," than they have inside Azania. Despite the Soviet efforts, however, a look at the history and the current policies of the ANC and the SACP shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that far from organizing the masses of Azanian people for a revolutionary onslaught against imperialism and its apartheid regime, both the ANC and the SACP have consciously held back the development of a genuine revolutionary movement in Azania.

From its founding in 1912, while some democratic and progressive individuals have been part of it, the ANC has been an organization dedicated to compromise and capitulation. Extremely similar to the NAACP in the U.S., the ANC sought only to better the conditions of black Azanians within the structure of the existing society. Essentially reformist and never really a mass organization, the ANC over its first 35 years of history stood on the edge of organizational death with its high points being participation in the sham Natives Representatives Council (NRC), an advisory body established by the South African regime to undercut the struggle of the masses of Azanian people (interestingly enough the ANC was the only black group that stayed in the NRC until the bitter end, upholding it even after the South African regime had discarded it as a useless scheme) and sending periodic delegations to plead with the British imperialists to intervene on behalf of the Azanian people.

In 1949 the ANC, influenced by a growing militancy among the Azanian people and among the members of their own youth league, adopted a "Program of action" aimed at turning the ANC into a mass organization and nonviolently persuading the South African ruling class to mend its ways and establish a "truly democratic society". The high point of this campaign was the ANC-launched defiance

campaign of 1952 in which thousands of ANC volunteers defied the apartheid regime's laws and were sent to jail. At that point the ANC membership soared to almost 100 000 and the South African ruling class viciously stepped up its repression. In response the ANC called off its defiance campaign after 6 months and actively sought other ways to influence the government.

For its part, the SACP has an even "grander" history; in fact the best that can be said of them is that they have always been consistent in their capitulation and opportunism. Founded in 1921 and mainly based among the white workers of South Africa, one of the first acts of the SACP (then known as the CPSA) was its involvement in a strike of white miners against the admittance of "unqualified", that is *black* miners into semi-skilled jobs. Summing up that the strike was essentially a battle against the capitalist mine owners, the CPSA announced its support of the strike with "reservations about some of the demands of the workers". Actively striving to assume leadership of the strike the South African CP actually sank to the point of organizing a demonstration in which the white miners marched through the streets behind banners that read "Workers of the World Unite to Keep South Africa White". Following the government's crushing of the strike the SACP buried itself in thoroughly economist trade-unionist work for years.

The Black Republic Thesis

In 1928 the Communist International drew up a declaration concerning South Africa in which it declared that one of the demands of the working class was for the establishment of "an independent native South African republic". Fearing that this would wreck their chances of working out a compromise with the South African ruling class and would alienate the white workers, the SACP actively opposed the adoption of this demand. Rather than being an unfortunate mistake, this position flowed from, and is a clear example of the SACP's line that in South Africa - one of the most vicious examples of imperialism's domination of an oppressed people - the issue is not imperialist rule and oppression which must be overthrown, but the lack of bourgeois democracy and majority rule.

A delegation from the South African CP was quickly dispatched to Moscow to present their case against the resolution. S.P. Bunting, a leading member of the SACP, argued that

the resolution was wrong since in essence there is no real national question in South Africa. Bunting also offered in opposition to the resolution the fact that it would "...in practice arouse white workers' opposition as being unfair to the minority..." and that this demand would harm the revolutionary movement since statements about returning South Africa, the country and the land to the native population seemed to "indicate a black race dictatorship". In conclusion Bunting argued that "South Africa is, owing to its climate, what is called a white man's country, where whites can and do live not merely as planters and officials but as a whole nation of all classes, established there for 3 centuries, of Dutch and English composition".

Bunting's brilliant argument was only topped by that of his wife, also a leading member of the SACP, who argued that the land of South Africa had never really belonged to the blacks in the first place, since according to her understanding of history both the Boers and the blacks arrived in the area at the same time and were both equally responsible for driving the original inhabitants out of the area. In a later argument Mrs. Bunting revealed her real concern about the slogan and demand for a black republic. "Who will guarantee equality for the whites in an independent native republic? Their slogan, as you know, is 'drive the whites into the sea.'" In response the Comintern stated, "... What is to become of the whites?... If the white party members do not raise and energetically fight for an independent native republic, then who knows? They may very well be driven into the sea!"

Following the enforced adoption of this Comintern resolution the SACP returned to South Africa and halfheartedly did some work around it, fairly reformist work which brought them into contact with the ANC. During World War 2 the CPSA once again put on a dazzling display of its penchant for capitulation. Following the German attack on the Soviet Union, the CPSA, wholeheartedly embracing the errors of the international communist movement, declared that the war had been transformed into a "people's war" and totally abandoned the struggle in South Africa and urged people to fall in line behind the South African ruling class who was then promising massive reforms for blacks if they supported the war effort.

But the most impressive display of their capacity for capitulation was yet to come. In 1950 two years after the Afrikaner govern-

ment was elected and had unleashed massive repression including institution apartheid laws aimed at quelling the rumblings of the struggle among the Azanian people the CPSA reached its low point. Included among these laws was the "Suppression of Communism Act" designed to smash any resistance to the regime by labelling it communist and taking appropriate security measures. Three months before the Act even took effect, the leadership of the CPSA decided to disband the party since "its members were unprepared for the harsh conditions" necessitated by the new law. It was only 3 years later, in 1953, that the party leaders who had organized themselves into a motley group called the "Congress of Democrats", decided to reform the party, changing its name from the CP of South Africa to the South African CP. (While capitulation and opportunism have been a particular hallmark in the history of the SACP, it was also undoubtedly influenced and reinforced by the revisionism in the international communist movement at the time. For an analysis of the lines and policies of the international communist movement during this period refer to the article "For Decades to Come, On a World Scale" in *Revolution* magazine, June, 1981.)

The (Derail) Freedom Charter

By 1955 the SACP, working through the Congress of Democrats, had established a tight working relationship with the ANC. In 1955 the ANC and the SACP, joined by other reformist forces, drew up what they have touted widely and loudly ever since as the document representing the "true interests of the people of South Africa" – the Freedom Charter. This is the "official liberation program" the call to the New York Conference endorses. This jewel of a document resembles something out of the wildest dreams of Thomas Jefferson and was immediately declared to be the programme of the revolution by both the SACP and the ANC. The fact that both groups adopted the Freedom Charter as their common programme for liberating Azania is yet another example of the fact that, according to their outlook, the struggle is not against imperialism but for democratic reform and the willingness, in fact eagerness, of both groups not to defeat imperialist rule but merely to share power with it. There is also the closely related fact that nowhere in the Freedom Charter is there any mention of armed struggle, which is a sure sign of the penchant for compromise and the "peaceful road to socialism" (a road littered with the bodies of the oppressed) that guided both its

formulation and implementation then and today.

In a highly appropriate imitation of the Preamble of the bourgeois U.S. Constitution, the Freedom Charter begins "We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know . . ." As it continues the appropriateness of its imitation of the U.S. bourgeoisie's Constitution becomes very apparent. It declares that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, . . ." – fine words again obscuring that the essence of the struggle is national liberation against imperialism and its settler regime.

The document goes on to describe the ANC/SACP vision of a future South Africa, a bourgeois democracy with key sectors of the economy nationalized and placed in the hands of "the people", that is, the "representatives" of the people's interests, the ANC/SACP. As to whether these "representatives" intend to oppose imperialism, we will let them speak for themselves. Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, said in an interview in the September/October 1981 issue of *Africa Reports* magazine: "The broad basic positions of the ANC concerning the South African economy in all its major parts after liberation are contained in the Freedom Charter. What we say to foreign investors today is that they must pull out of South Africa because their investments inevitably help to strengthen the Apartheid regime. We would therefore expect that if U.S. corporations have any regard for our voice, there will be no U.S. investments in South Africa on the day of liberation. If there are, that will mean that such investors will have elected to side with the minority racist regime against the democratic majority . . . Consequently, when their friend goes, as he surely will, so will they be obliged to go. As for other investors who would want to participate in the reconstruction of South Africa, they would of course be welcome to join us as equal partners in arrangements that are mutually beneficial to both themselves and to us." Once again, apartheid is opposed but imperialism, which is the force behind it and all modern forms of national oppression, is ignored – even welcomed. Interestingly, the "Freedom Charter" has never even come close to being upheld by any other group that has ever professed itself determined to liberate Azania.

Period of Soviet Collusion

In 1956, following the overthrow of socialism in the Soviet Union and the beginning of

the process of restoring capitalism, a new element was added to the scene in Azania. Quickly aligning themselves with the new capitalist ruling class in the Soviet Union, the SACP and the ANC harbored visions of their new allies giving them the strength to seize power in Azania. And with their bourgeois aspirations tied so closely to the Soviet imperialist designs in South Africa they immediately became the leading spokesmen for and implementors of Soviet policy in the region. At that point the Soviet rulers were primarily concerned with consolidating the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and preparing mainly in this way for later imperialist adventures; so while they did not sever their international links with various forces in liberation struggles, they did promote and implement a policy which served their interests at the time – a policy of condemning wars of national liberation as dangerous to international stability and for their own reasons, colluding with U.S. imperialism to stifle liberation struggles. A disgusting example of this is the fact that in 1960 the Soviets joined with the U.S. in a UN vote which resulted in UN troops being sent into the Congo to crush the struggle there. The Soviets even went so far as to provide means of transportation for the UN troops going to the Congo. Khrushchev himself sent a telegram to Patrice Lumumba, a leader of the Congolese people's struggle, calling the UN vote "a useful thing." A short time later Lumumba was captured and murdered and the struggle of the Congolese people was crushed.

Condemning Violent Uprisings

Enthusiastically taking up the Soviet line, the SACP and the ANC energetically avoided and backhandedly attacked all the upsurges among the Azanian people between the 1956 and 1961. Instead of waging people's war, the SACP and ANC actively promoted reliance on the United Nations for the solution to imperialist oppression in Azania. When violent upsurges did occur among the Azanian people, the SACP condemned them as spontaneous and declared that "riots and pogroms can only lead to massive state retaliation, a serious political setback for our cause and its prestige at home and abroad and a crushing defeat of the people."

Stating that, "even though the conditions are desperate, responsible leaders cannot merely follow the policies of desperate and impatient men who grow reckless and clamor for any sort of action regardless of the consequences," the Central Committee of the SACP dec-

clared in a statement in 1963 that reviewed the previous period of time that violent attacks on the state were not to be upheld, but instead the "real revolutionaries" should bury themselves in fighting for the everyday demands of the people for a better life which would supposedly serve to teach the Azanian people that "every attempt to redress or rectify a local or partial grievance is necessarily connected with, and can only be won by, the defeat of the Nationalist government itself and the ending of white minority rule. Where every protest and demand is met merely by bloody suppression by the state, it becomes clear to one section of the people after another that the state itself is an obstacle to any sort of advance, and that no sort of happy or tolerable future is possible without the removal of this tyrannical state and its replacement by one which embodies the will of the majority of people." Once again with words like "removal" and "replacement" of the apartheid regime their reformist strategy stands out clearly. The word "overthrow," let alone a people's war to do it, was avoided like the plague. In 1958 when peasants revolted in many rural areas of Azania and even went so far in one area as to set up people's courts and try, convict and execute local officials and traitors, the SACP, in reporting on the events in the *African Communist*, the organ of the SACP, saw fit only to emphasize the massive state retaliation that had come down from the ruling class. Needless to mention, the peasants had revolted without, and in fact in spite of, the ANC and SACP.

On March 21, 1960 the Pan Africanist Congress (the PAC was formed from a split in the ANC by a group of revolutionary nationalists opposed to the reformist thrust of the Freedom Charter, the ANC and the SACP) organized anti-pass law demonstrations throughout Azania. In Sharpeville thousands of unarmed Azanians demonstrated in front of a police station. In what has become known as the Sharpeville Massacre 69 Azanians were killed and 180 wounded when the South African police fired on this demonstration. The ANC's immediate response was to denounce the precipitate action of the PAC as the cause of the massacre. Interestingly enough, although the ANC considered the PAC's demonstration on March 21 to be precipitate action, they apparently felt that the same type of action ten days later – the scheduled date of an ANC-sponsored demonstration – would not have been.

Following the Sharpeville Massacre the

South African ruling class intensified their repression throughout Azania, including banning both the ANC and the PAC. Yet even after all of this, the only response of the ANC was to call for a national convention of all South Africans to create a democratic republic. It was only in June of 1961, after it had become obvious that the masses of Azanian people were not responding to the ANC's convention call or their strike aimed at pressuring the government to comply with the demands of the convention, that the ANC announced that the South African government, by their continuing repression and unresponsiveness, had forced them to take up the armed struggle. In June of 1961 the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was formed.

Phony „Armed Struggle“

Despite the bravado surrounding the announcement that the ANC and SACP had taken up the armed struggle, nothing much happened outside of a few acts of sabotage principally directed at electric pylons out in the countryside. But this was no accident nor the result of massive state repressions; instead it was the inevitable outcome of the fact that neither the ANC nor the SACP ever had any intention of launching an armed struggle against imperialism. In taking up "armed struggle" the ANC and the SACP adopted the popular revisionist "foco theory" of handfuls engaging in "spectacular" acts as opposed to waging protracted people's war based on mobilizing and arming the masses of Azanian people. This was advantageous for the revisionists on a number of counts. Not only did it allow them to cover up their treachery before the masses who were increasingly coming to understand the need for and call for armed struggle; it also insured that things would not get out of hand, thereby jeopardizing their chances of reaching some sort of compromise that would put them in some position of power. To the ANC and to the SACP the "armed struggle" allowed them to both appear to be serious about the liberation of Azania without really doing anything and to do just enough to put some minimal pressure, particularly in the international arena, on the South African ruling class. The ANC's and SACP's version of "armed struggle" dovetailed perfectly with the Soviet imperialist's interests and world strategy at the time.

Even in carrying out their limited campaign of "armed struggle" the ANC and SACP had

been extremely halfhearted. Needless to say this halfheartedness raised some questions among the Azanian people. In order to cover themselves the ANC and SACP declared that the sabotage campaign wasn't really the beginning of the armed struggle after all but merely "preparation for people's war". At other times they declared that there really couldn't be any efforts at seizing power by armed force or attacks on the South African army and police or assassinations of Europeans since that would only provoke a bloodbath. Occasionally they were even more frank, particularly when speaking to the South African ruling class as evidenced by Abraham Fisher's (a leading member of the SACP) statement in the South African Supreme Court on March 28, 1966 that "Civil war is no solution at all."

Following a few acts of sabotage, in 1963 the South African government pulled a raid and succeeded in totally smashing the ANC and SACP inside Azania. Most of the leadership of the groups ended up in jail or in exile and were to be joined in both situations by large numbers of their rank and file membership. By 1965 both the ANC and the SACP had effectively ceased to function inside Azania. For the next ten years major portions of the ANC's and SACP's activities was confined to the international arena. Immediately upon establishing an external mission in exile, the ANC and SACP turned to the Soviet imperialists for help. In fact it was only through the influx of millions of Soviet dollars that the ANC was even able to remain intact for the next ten years. In addition to providing the funding for the ANC external mission, the Soviet also provided military training and arms for ANC cadre and scholarship for those who wished to continue their education — providing they were ANC cadre. (For the Soviets such training perfectly serves their plans for elite "power-sharing" schemes.)

International Advertising

At the same time the Soviets launched numerous worldwide conferences aimed at icing all other Azanian opposition groupings and establishing the ANC as "the sole authentic representative of the South African people" as was first formulated at a Soviet-organized conference in Khartoum in 1967. In addition to all this the Soviets, in conjunction with British liberals and revisionists, helped launch what they called an "anti-apartheid movement" worldwide that would play off people's righteous hatred for apartheid and rally support for

the ANC.

Of course, in order to surround the ANC and SACP with some semblance of being "genuine liberation" groups the Soviets also found it necessary to link them up with Soviet-backed groups that actually were fighting against U.S. imperialism (such as in the case with the ANC's SWAPO links today.) Probably the most spectacular instance of this was the ludicrous ANC-ZAPU military alliance in 1967. ZAPU was the Soviet-backed guerrilla outfit in Zimbabwe headed by Joshua Nkomo and which spent most of the Zimbabwean war sitting in camps in Zambia receiving Soviet arms while the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) did most of the fighting. In 1967 Oliver Tambo announced that ANC cadre would be joining with ZAPU cadre in the Zimbabwean war in order to cut a path into South Africa and begin the infiltration of ANC guerrillas into South Africa. While Tambo announced that "today the fighting is in Zimbabwe but tomorrow it will be in South Africa", in actuality the entire affair was a colossal disaster. Given only heavy weapons and trained in bourgeois methods of work there the ANC cadre were quickly smashed on their first encounter with the troops of Rhodesian ruler Ian Smith.

While this stunt was obviously orchestrated to give credence to the ANC's "desire to liberate South Africa", there is considerable evidence that it was also designed to quash any sentiments for armed struggle among the ANC cadre in their military camps and to reinforce the sentiment that the state is too strong among the Azanian people in general. According to well-publicized reports at the time, the ANC guerrillas were guided into Zimbabwe by ZAPU guerrillas, carefully avoiding all contact with the Zimbabwean people, and then ditched by the ZAPU forces just before Ian Smith's soldiers arrived. In fact, when some of the surviving ANC soldiers managed to escape across the border into Botswana they were arrested and four of the chief witnesses against them at their trial were ZAPU members who had accompanied them into Zimbabwe.

The massive Soviet aid poured into the ANC to keep it alive was by no means a sign of their good intentions. In fact if anything it was ultimately in the Soviet imperialists' own interests since it held back the development of the revolutionary movement in Azania and promoted the Soviet image of being "a natural ally" of liberation movements in preparation for their eventual shift from mainly colluding with U.S.

imperialism to principally contending with them.

SACP Captures ANC

By 1969 the SACP had managed to gain control of a large number of the leading positions in the ANC including having one of their leading members, Joe Slovo, placed in charge of military operations. And as the SACP made clear in a 1979 Central Committee statement cynically entitled "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism", the "aid" extended by the Soviet imperialists to the ANC and SACP was most definitely a two-way street, a matter of you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours. As opposed to genuine proletarian internationalism these pro-Soviet revisionists advanced the proposition that "We who are part of the liberation movement of South Africa must never fail to appreciate and insist that solidarity is a two-way process, that the aid and support which the socialist countries give so generously, and at the expense of their own material gains, to freedom fighters everywhere, can only be reciprocated by unswerving identification with the socialist community in the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism." (U.S. imperialism that is.) Stripped of its rhetoric — this is a business deal. While the Soviets demanded "reciprocation" for their "aid and support" the ANC and SACP were more than willing to comply; in fact the ANC and SACP had developed into among the most ideologically committed of the various Soviet stooges around the world. In their numerous international affairs the ANC and SACP were constantly praising the aid of the Soviets, helping to build up their "anti-imperialist image". In a struggle between the Chinese revolutionaries and the Soviet revisionists in the early '60s the ANC and SACP faithfully sided with the Soviets. From that point they went on to continually attack China in various international forums for advancing "rather purile ideological propositions" and for "the sidetracking and disrupting of various international solidarity organizations by Chinese delegations who persist in dragging into gatherings of noncommunists their alleged ideological campaign against the CPSU and the world communist movement". (Although the Chinese, even during the early '70s before the revisionists seized power in China, made a number of errors in relation to national liberation struggles, particularly in Africa, based on identifying the Soviets as the main danger in the world, especially in this period of the 1960s they were fiercely defending and upholding national liberation

movements against imperialism and the Soviet revisionists' attacks on them.)

Stepped Up Contention

As stated previously, in the period between 1965 and 1975 the ANC and SACP were effectively non-existent inside Azania and existed internationally as straight-up mouthpieces for Soviet imperialism. But in 1976 the situation began to change. The shift in Soviet strategy from principally collusion to principally contention with U.S. imperialism was sharply reflected in southern Africa when the Soviets won a contest with the U.S. in grabbing at Angola. With this event the Soviet strategy for South Africa also shifted. Suddenly the ANC and SACP began to issue more frequent and louder calls for the "armed liberation of South Africa". Citing the "changed geopolitical situation in South Africa" they resumed their infrequent sabotage campaign and their calls to the Azanian people to rally around them. Soviet-orchestrated "emergency conferences against apartheid" and "solidarity conferences" were convened worldwide to reemphasize the legitimacy of the ANC and the SACP. Speaking at an Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in late 1976 ANC President Oliver Tambo issued a call for "intensification for mass action". And in a completely disgusting move to shore up their international reputation the ANC and SACP claimed that it was their work that led to the heroic Soweto uprisings. According to the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization Conference in October of 1976: "The uprising itself is a result of decades of political organizing among workers, peasants, women, youth, students and professionals by the ANC and its allies, making it possible for the people to become a concerted, organized force able to withstand the ruthless machinery of the South Africa police state". In attempting to get over with this claim the ANC and the SACP were reduced to covering their conspicuous non-involvement in Soweto by talking about how their underground cells must have been involved but obviously given the current situation they couldn't reveal any of the specific details. By 1977 *Sechaba*, the organ of the ANC, was reporting that the ANC national executive committee had summed up that "the revolutionary situation in our country has matured", and that "the revolutionary council has advanced its plans and subordinated every bit of its activities to the urgent question of launching an armed struggle in our country". Calls were issued for "strengthening and tightening our organisation"; a purge had

been conducted in 1976.

Internationally the Soviets stepped up their PR campaign around the ANC and called for "intensifying the anti-apartheid work". A campaign was launched to have the Organization of African Unity (OAU) add its voice to the chorus singing the praises of the ANC as "the sole representative of the people of South Africa". For some time, the OAU has recognized both the ANC and the PAC. At the same time, and no doubt in the interests of "reciprocation", the ANC and SACP stepped up their campaign of praise for Soviet "aid". In early 1976 the *African Communist* was stating that "It has been the reality of Soviet power which had made it possible for one African country after another to break the shackles of imperialism and obtain independence". By the end of 1976 they were stating that the lessons of Angola were that "the power of the communist world was placed at the disposal of oppressed people fighting for liberation and independence". By the end of 1977 *Sechaba* was emphasizing "the armed struggle for the seizure of power" and Oliver Tambo delivered a speech in Angola in which he stated that a victorious revolution in Africa could only be defended with arms from "our most true and tested allies, the Soviet Union and Cuba".

ANC Holds Back Revolution

Of course this period hasn't been all roses for the ANC and SACP. Their long years of inactivity and their obvious subservience to Soviet imperialism was beginning to cause them some trouble. In response to criticism of their ties to the Soviets the ANC and SACP launched a "no room for anti-Sovietism in South Africa" campaign and declared that the Soviets were only helping because of the good, revolutionary – and heaven forbid competing imperialists – intentions. In the *African Communist* they made the almost ludicrous statement, "An even more striking example of Soviet disinterestedness (than the case in South Africa) has been Cuba, today very largely dependent militarily and economically on Soviet aid, but yet completely independent in the development of its own policies . . . Who would dare assert that Fidel Castro, the liberator, is a Soviet stooge? Who would claim that Cuba is not building socialism according to its own designs?"

And in response to criticisms of their perennial calls for armed struggle but never producing any real moves in that direction, Oliver

Tambo stated in *Sechaba* at the end of '77, "Over the last 10 years the ANC has publicly advocated non-violence because of repression. Either we restrained our people or there would have been bloodshed and we would not have been prepared for it. We can say that at that stage we did more than most organizations in resisting the things that drove us to violence." Keeping in mind that these words were spoken more than one year after Soweto, one can only say that no better example of the slime that passes for "the vanguard of the liberation struggle" in the view of the Soviet imperialism could be found.

The sudden shift and posturing by the ANC and the SACP over the last six years had absolutely nothing to do with a turnaround on their part concerning the question of revolution. In fact it had everything to do with throwing more obstacles in the way of revolution and helping to advance the Soviet strategy for South Africa. Although the ANC attempted to claim the Soweto uprising as a product of their work, it was only to cut out any of the real significance of it. It was also around this time that the ANC publicly began to attack the name "Azania", in a big way, which was growing in popularity among revolutionary masses. According to the ANC "Azania" was an historically inaccurate name for the area comprising South Africa and was in fact a legacy of slavery. Instead, the ANC insisted that South Africa was the only correct name for the area. Once again what this revealed was the ANC's fundamental opposition to and denial of the national liberation struggle of the Azanian people and their dedication to working out a compromise power-sharing agreement.

Attacking Soweto Uprising

In summing up Soweto the SACP in the *African Communist* (first quarter of 1977) declared that this heroic mass uprising was plagued with the weakness of "extreme subjectivism" and a "go it alone tendency". While forced to try and claim it as their own internationally, they also had to totally gut its meaning for the people of Azania. In addition to emphasizing the power of the South African state in their sum up of the "lessons of Soweto" the SACP also declared that in order for Soweto to have had any real significance and in order to advance the struggle, "it is absolutely essential for the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM - which was heavily involved in leading the Soweto uprising - *RW*), if it is to continue to develop its mass character, to

bring its adherents into the mainstream of revolutionary ideas and action in the revolutionary movement led by the ANC". While this was a clear effort to throw a wet blanket over the upsurge and revolutionary enthusiasm, thinking ad action by Azanian youth, the ANC by no means limited themselves to feeble attempts at trying to lure in the BCM. While hoping to snare a new generation into their cesspool of revisionist treachery, the ANC also unleashed a furious attack on the BCM and its leaders. Throughout 1977 *Sechaba* routinely ran articles attacking the BCM as being "backed by the West" or as Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the ANC, called them "new allies of imperialism" and "substitutes for the Bantustan leaders". According to Nzo, "some of those who only yesterday were hailed as the new revolutionary upsurge inside our country are now important allies of imperialism against the ANC". In addition to their general attacks on the BCM, the ANC tried to hit particularly hard at one of the leaders of the BCM, Steve Biko. (This attack came before he was murdered by the South African rulers. Of course, after his death the ANC did their damndest to try and claim his mantle as their own.) According to *Sechaba* (first quarter of 1977) Steve Biko was tied in with British liberals and by implication, to U.S. imperialism. With regard to campaigns to have him released from jail the ANC issued their objection stating that there were more well-known people in jail much longer than Biko had been. When Biko was released they stated in their slimiest tones, "Watch with interest what happens to him now."

As another indication of the fact that the "new thrust" of the ANC and SACP had nothing to do with mobilizing the Azanian people for a genuinely revolutionary struggle there is the bynow infamous ANC-Buthelezi Agreement. After having criticized Buthelezi, the Bantustan leader of Kwazulu, for being a wretched sellout and enemy of the Azanian people in 1977, the ANC then turned around in 1979 and joined forces with him in an "progressive front". Much after this agreement Buthelezi continued to advocate all of the things that the ANC had criticized him for in the past, including supporting Bantustan education, calling for an increase in foreign investment in South Africa, and advocating the use of South African police and armed vigilantes against striking school students. By September of 1980 the ANC was forced to once again turn around and denounce Buthelezi, using exactly

the same charges that they had used years before.

What's significant about both of these examples, the attack on the BCM, and Biko in particular, and the ANC's Buthelezi agreement, is what they reveal about the aims of the ANC. There's a common thread running through both instances, a thread tracing the ANC's desires to fulfill their own bourgeois aspirations. On the one hand they don't hesitate for a minute to unite with a well-exposed and infamous enemy of the Azanian people, Buthelezi, in an attempt to advance the very same bourgeois aspirations that led them to attack the BCM. More evidence of this is given by the ANC's and the SACP's attempts to nestle up to numerous Western European social democrats including Mitterand in France, Willy Brandt in West Germany and the ruling classes of the Scandinavian countries. Add to this the ANC's and SACP's recent joining in with the Progressive Federal Party (a liberal white bourgeois political party in South Africa) and other liberal organizations to call for a national convention in South Africa in order to write up a new constitution for South Africa and there can be no doubt about what the ANC is up to – and it is not opposing imperialism.

The ANC Brand of Struggle

By 1981 the ANC once again announced with a tremendous amount of international fanfare that it was "taking up the armed struggle". And, once again they launched a campaign of infrequent sabotage. In addition, a number of Azanian youth who have been forced into exile have been drawn into the ANC due to its ready supply of Soviet arms and training and to the fact that the Soviet aid received by the ANC has enabled them to set up an extensive external network second to no other Azanian group. As an added incentive for exiled Azanians to join the ANC, both the ANC and various Soviet apologists around the world have been attempting to pressure other Azanian groups, particularly the BCM, to fold up their external organizations and join the ANC since, they say, there is really no way

they could ever hope to achieve the backing and international legitimacy of the ANC.

And of course, this recent "intensification" of the ANC's work is in total harmony with the Soviet imperialists' strategy today, particularly as its preparations for war grow more intense. In fact, the Soviets have once again launched a massive PR campaign around the ANC. One of the main aspects of the campaign this time around is the series of international conferences being kicked off in New York City. These conferences are mainly aimed at furthering the Soviet strategy both by whipping up favorable public opinion worldwide for their spokesmen in Azania and by making a special appeal to the various bourgeois elements both within the U.S. and within their bloc who may be inclined to push for some kind of negotiated settlement with the ANC. This is evidenced by their heavy emphasis on drawing in bourgeois politicians like the Black Congressional Caucus and other bourgeois liberals to co-sponsor the event in New York.

For many familiar with the history and current policies and practices of the ANC and SACP and who are extremely wary of their ties to the Soviet Union the question around the ANC often boils down to "well there is no one else to support, no one else who is really taking the gun in Azania. And, as for the Soviet connection, it is necessary if the Azanian people are ever going to achieve liberation, after all who else is going to give them guns?" In response to the necessity of Soviet aid in order to achieve liberation, one would be better off seriously examining the question of what country in the world has *ever* been independent of imperialist distortion and domination after being "aided" by the Soviets. And as far as the usual protest of "there's no one else to support" what is particularly marked about the Soviet attempts in South Africa is the attempt to attack, exclude and generally push out of the way any revolutionary nationalist forces who may oppose their schemes. This, combined with the whole history of revisionism in Azania, ought to shake the dust out of the minds of those who feel that this is the way to *oppose Imperialism*.

Parallels Between South Africa and Israel

The tragedy of the Palestinian people gains added poignancy when one realizes that a shroud of silence has descended over the situation. As a result, most of the world views the Palestinians from a Zionist perspective. Indeed, the hegemony of the Zionist viewpoint is so effective that where the truth does surface, it encounters an audience indoctrinated by the Zionist world-view. The message simply does not sink in. The Palestinian tragedy is the latest version of earlier tragedies that befell American Indians, Aborigines and Tasmanians. It is amazing how one watches atrocities being perpetrated against Red Indians in old Westerns without moral outrage and revulsion. But this is 1981 and not 1881 or 1781, and the world cannot afford to ignore an issue of such great import. The human tragedy of four million Palestinians and the highly volatile nature of the conflict demand a new perspective, concern and effort.

The world has two immediate crisis regions: Palestine and South Africa. Both crises arise from common causes and both call for urgent attention. Yet, despite the close parallels and similarities, the same world that almost universally acknowledges the human tragedy of South Africa and justly condemns apartheid refuses to extend this perception and concern to the Palestinian people. The human rights of the Africans in South Africa and the Palestinians in Israel and in the occupied territories are violated by the simple act of denial. The humanity of Africans in South Africa is denied and so is their peoplehood. Africans in South Africa have become an abstraction denuded of their humanity; they have become a "danger", a "threat", a "problem", "labour units" and "superfluous appendages". The Palestinians have been transformed into a similar set of abstractions and, as a result, their peoplehood has also been denied. Thus, Levi Eshkol, a former Israeli Prime Minister could ask: "What are Palestinians?" And another Israeli Prime Minister, Golda Meir, could state: "There is no such thing as Palestinians . . . they do not exist." The land of South Africa, like the land of Palestine, was simply declared empty – the natives did not exist. In South Africa, the Dutch settlers became Afrikaners, appropriating the identity of the land. Palestine became

Israel and with this change in name the Palestinians were obliterated as a people. By defining the identity of the natives in negative terms, e.g., non-Europeans and non-Whites in South Africa and non-Jews in Israel, the settlers linguistically cleared the land.

Denying the humanity of the natives is the *sine qua non* of settler-colonialism. Yet, an equally important aspect is the assertion of a special superiority over the native. The most pernicious claim to specialness is the one that invokes God. This invocation is the total and ultimate justification. People become agents of God's will; human acts are transmuted into a divine calling and responsibility is avoided. Actions and the consequences of those actions become unquestionable and unassailable. This is the claim of Zionists and that of Afrikaner Nationalists: they claim to be chosen peoples, the elect of God put in this world to fulfill a divine mission. These claims also have a virulent racist component.

There is no problem in demonstrating the racism and the denial of the human rights of the African majority in South Africa. Apartheid is official and *de jure*. Since the Africans are an overwhelming majority, the democratic premise is clearly violated. Racism and the violation of human rights, however, are less clear in Israel. Within Israel proper, the Palestinians have been reduced to a minority and the world has become accustomed to the difficult, if not intractable, problem of minorities. Laws like apartheid laws do not exist and the Palestinian "minority" – referred to as Arab or non-Jewish – is supposed to enjoy the blessings of Israeli democracy. Of course, in the occupied territories, military considerations, or rather security considerations, are claimed to create special circumstances which justify deviation from normal democratic practice and respect for human rights.

To test the fairness of this perception, we must look at how the Palestinians, as a people, have actually fared at the hands of Zionists. More to the point, we have to pose the question: are there parallels, or even an identity, between the conditions experienced by Palestinians under Zionist rule and those experienced by Africans in South Africa under Afrikaner Nationalist rule?

The issue of Palestinian rights cannot be properly addressed by cataloguing an endless series of violations: a deeper understanding of the *nature* of the state of Israel is necessary. The state of Israel is a settler colony created by some European Jews whose dream it was to found an exclusive Jewish colony in Palestine. According to Israel Zangwill, one of the founders of political Zionism, it was a movement begun by "a people without land" in search of "a land without people". The problem, of course, was that Palestine was *not* a "land without people"; it was populated by over half a million Arabs. This is the crux of the Palestinian issue. An exclusive Jewish state could only be realized by displacing the non-Jewish people already there.

Approximately two million people lived in Palestine before the outbreak of the 1947-1948 war, including approximately 600,000 Jews who owned 1.5 million dunums of land, or seven percent of the total area. After the fighting ended in late 1948, only 156,000 Arabs, out of a total of 900,000 who had lived there before the fighting broke out, remained in the land occupied by Israel, which constituted 80 percent of the area of Palestine. Another 500,000 Palestinians were driven out after the 1967 war. Displacement and colonization in pursuit of the Zionist dream continue unabated.

The treatment and fate of Palestinians in the occupied territories after 1967 constitute a reprise of what happened after 1948. This is, in fact, a continuation of the basic policy objectives whose realisation is only possible through military means. Palestinians in Israel came under military rule after the 1948 war and remained so until 1966. Palestinians in the occupied areas came under military rule after the 1967 war and remain so to this day.

During the 1948 war, Palestinians were driven out through terror. Those who remained were relegated to an inferior status by reason of their non-Jewishness in a Jewish state. Their human rights were denied; their properties and land were expropriated. The law outlawed them. Palestinians became pariahs in the land of their birth and for the vast majority their diaspora had begun. All this happened with a deafening silence from the world community, especially the Western countries which had just gone to war against Nazi injustice.

The June 1967 war extended Israeli military rule to the occupied areas of the Golan Heights, Gaza and the West Bank. Again, the fundamental human rights of Palestinians and other Arabs under Israeli occupation were vio-

lated despite the "protection" of international law. Thousands of Arabs, mostly Palestinians, were again displaced. For thousands of Palestinians this was a second displacement after the first one in 1948.

Since June 1967, over 60,000 Israeli citizens have settled in some 100 locations, including East Jerusalem, in clear violation of Article 49(6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention. These settlements continue. The World Zionist Organization has this year offered a plan calling for an expenditure of \$187 million to expand existing settlements and create new ones. The plan suggests creating 70 new settlements that would increase the Jewish population to 100,000. Much higher population figures have been mentioned by other Zionist sources.

Jewish settler organizations have become a law unto themselves. They create irreversible facts. Two organizations are in the vanguard of the settlement movement: the Kach movement led by the American-born Rabbi Kahana which openly calls for the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel, that is, Eretz Israel; and Gush Emunim, the largest settlement movement with very close ties to the government. "As reverent Jews and devoted Zionists, they believe that the West Bank, which they call by the biblical names of Judaea and Samaria, was given by God to the Jews of the Torah." These are not just settlements on unoccupied Arab lands; they often entail expropriation of Arab land and properties and the displacement of Arabs by Jewish settlers. Between a quarter and a third of Arab land has thus been expropriated. The official government position is to deny expropriation with the assertion that these are Jewish lands to begin with.

The colonial relationship that exists between Israel and the occupied territories is especially pronounced in the economic field. The occupied territories serve as a source of cheap and tractable labour. There is a clear plan to attach the inhabitants of the occupied territories to the Israeli economy. The occupied territories also provide Israel with a market for its goods. The occupied territories obtain over 90 percent of their imports from Israel. The trade surplus in Israel's favour is tremendous: \$513 million from 1967-74. In classical colonial fashion, the economies of the occupied areas are distorted to serve Israeli interests.

Even the modest industry of the occupied territories is hostage to the Israeli economy. The *Jerusalem Post* of January 29, 1975, observed: "... the dependence of the territories on the Israeli economy goes much further ...

a substantial part of the modest industry existing in the territories is working on jobbing orders placed by Israeli manufacturers and merchants, and would be unable to find alternative markets." Palestinian agriculture has also been distorted to serve Israeli interests, in addition to being devastated by massive land expropriations, expulsions and displacements. Palestinian crops have been destroyed by the "Green Patrol", an arm of the Agriculture Ministry that has sprayed poison on fields, thereby destroying many acres of wheat, barley and olive groves. While Israel has prohibited the raising of agricultural products that will compete with its own crops, Palestinian agriculture has also been hurt by competition from Israel, where the government provides farmers with a 15 to 30 percent subsidy plus credit advantages to facilitate modernization. Thousands of former Palestinian farmers are now day labourers on Israeli farms where they are underpaid and generally abused. The worst case of exploitation and abuse involves *Palestinian children as young as eight and ten years old who rise at two and three a.m. for hire on Israeli farms.*

One of the first acts of the Israeli occupation was to open employment agencies to recruit Palestinian workers for jobs in Israel. This was necessitated by a trend, common to all developed capitalist countries, whereby the local workers are becoming or have become an "aristocracy of labour". These workers consider many unskilled positions to be below their dignity and thus migrant labour must be imported to do the dirty and underpaid work. All occupied territories workers are underpaid and veriously exploited, but particularly underpaid and exploited are those unable to find jobs through ordinary channels who participate in "illegal" labour exchanges, gathering "every morning in a series of agreed-upon junctions and meeting places . . . These are part of the 30 thousand unorganized workers, whose gathering every morning constitutes the stock-exchange of manual labour." Many of these workers sleep in the warehouses and other structures where they work and are locked in every night. Forty percent of their wages are deducted for insurance funds, yet they are entitled to no benefits and do not receive any. Between 1968 - 1974, Israel deducted \$260 million. A telling incident of these labour practices is offered by Danny Rubenstein of *Davar* in a May 18, 1976 article: ". . . an Arab worker is extremely movable, one can fire him at one moment and transfer him from one place to another; he does not strike and he has no 'claims' as the Israeli

worker has. In short, in many economic respects, the workers of the territories are a treasure for the Israeli economy."

Violations of Palestinian human rights are a constant and pervasive feature of Israeli rule. Civilian assaults are common and humiliation is part of the order. Under the guise of searching for weapons, Palestinian women have been undressed in the streets and left naked by Israeli security personnel. Palestinian social institutions are forced into a dependent relationship with those of Israel. The Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, permit an Israeli military commander to order the demolition or sealing up of a building if there are reasonable grounds to believe that the building has been fired from or used by an inhabitant to commit or abet the commission of a violent act prohibited under the Defence Regulations. This Draconian law has been used as a licence to terrorize. Decisions to blow-up or board-up buildings are made arbitrarily without any judicial determination of guilt or innocence. Many who are later acquitted have had their houses blown-up. The latest incident was the destruction of buildings implicated in the May killing of six Jews and the wounding of 16 in Hebron. Some of the houses blown-up in retaliation by the army turned out to "belong to the family of Idris Hirbawi, an Arab whose grandfather saved more than 20 Jewish families from attack by Arab rioters in 1929 by giving them shelter in his house.

Collective punishment is another Israeli tactic. Intimidation and terrorism are used as "deterrents" against whole neighbourhoods or communities.

Even South Africa, as we shall presently see, does not go this far. Imposition of curfew on a whole village or neighbourhood is another form of collective punishment that is particularly arduous since most occupied territory workers have to commute daily to Israel for work. A 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. curfew has the most serious economic repercussions.

Another form of collective punishment is the closing of social institutions such as schools. Recently, the Bir Zeit University, the only independent Palestinian university on the West Bank with 1200 students, was closed because the students' observance of Palestine Week was considered by Israeli military government officials to be an incitement of the student body against Israeli authorities. This is yet another example of the convoluted logic *à la* South Africa that refuses to recognize that the occupation and its inherent repressiveness

are the true incitements.

Palestinian leadership is systematically emasculated by the military practice of routine expulsions from the occupied territories. These expulsions are arbitrary and particularly cruel since no forewarning is offered; one is simply separated from home, family and friends.

Administrative detention is another prevalent practice by which suspects are held, sometimes for years, without any charges being brought against them. Palestinian political prisoners are held in inhuman jail conditions and, by all accounts, tortured systematically in order to induce confessions. Last July, there were news reports of the death of two Palestinian prisoners who were a part of a group that went on a hunger strike to protest prison conditions at the infamous Nafha prison. They were force-fed and died as a result. Nafha prison is roughly the equivalent of South Africa's Robben Island, a prison for special prisoners believed to be community and political leaders. The prisoners who went on a hunger strike made no political demands, but asked simply for the same conditions as those of Jewish criminal convicts.

While there is something unwholesome about comparing oppression, exploitation and violations of human rights, a casual acquaintance with the South African situation suggests close parallels, if not an actual identity, between the situation of Palestinians under Zionist rule and that of the Africans under Afrikaner Nationalist rule. Both peoples are victims of racial discrimination; both peoples have been robbed of their land; both peoples have their labour ruthlessly exploited and both peoples have been denied the most fundamental of all human rights: the right to self-determination.

Whereas South Africa has laws which are clearly racist, Zionist racism is informal, *de facto* and deceptive. Whereas the victims of apartheid enjoy international sympathy and support, the victims of Zionism are viewed with suspicion, if not outright condemnation. Whereas South Africa receives general opprobrium and is fast becoming a pariah in the community of nations, Israel continues to bask in international respectability and is touted as an outpost of civilization and democracy.

Let us take a closer look at the parallels between the Zionist treatment of Palestinians and the Afrikaner treatment of Africans in South Africa.

From its very inception, the South African

Parliament has been used by the Whites as an instrument to exploit and oppress Africans. The South African Act of 1909, to which Parliament owes its existence, states in sections 26 and 44 that every member of Parliament must be "a British subject of European descent." The African majority is thus excluded on purely racial grounds.

In essence, therefore, South Africa is a state for Whites just as Israel is a state, not for Jews, but of Jews. In South Africa, the question of whiteness is of paramount importance; in Israel, the question of who is Jewish is even more important.

Laws were passed to sanction this *de facto* situation to help realize the impossible Zionist dream of "a land without people for a people without land." On this, Lustick observes: The *raison d'être* of the State of Israel in Zionist ideology is the "ingathering of the exiles" (*Kibbutz Galluot*) — to make it possible for most if not all the Jews of the diaspora to settle in the "Land of Israel".

Both Israel and South Africa stand in clear violation of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards another in a spirit of brotherhood."

As a corollary to its Whites-only privilege, South Africa also violates other provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in this case, Article 16 (1), which states: "Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution." The (South African) Immorality Act of 1927 violates this Article by prohibiting any carnal intercourse outside marriage between Europeans (Whites) and Africans.

The ostensible purpose of these two laws was to ensure sexual morality, but the real purpose was to foster racial discrimination by maintaining the purity of the White race and preventing Coloureds from "infiltrating".

Israel does not have such laws, but, as in other instances, it is not the presence or absence of a law but actual practice that tells the story. One such story about an Arab man who married an Israeli Jewish woman was reported early this year. This is the story of Daniela Amrani, who married Hassan al-Qaisiyyeh. Richard Ben Cramer, the author, observes

that: "There are no miscegenation laws. But mixed marriages here are counted in the tens, not the thousands." When the couple applied for a marriage certificate in Hebron, the *Kadi* (magistrate) at first refused to issue the certificate, explaining that "it's a problem of the military government." They finally obtained one, thanks to the intervention of Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh. Her parents were hysterical at the news. "We'll kill him, the Arab. We'll call the police and tell them to kill him," the mother said. "I'll call the military government in Hebron and they'll put him in Jail," her father added. Israeli authorities, civilian and military, echoed the same sentiments, but they were armed with the authority and power to harass, intimidate and persecute.

Africans in South Africa do not have any of the rights of citizenship, simply because the current political system and its laws do not recognize them as citizens. Africans are seen as labour units whose presence is justifiable only by the labour requirements of Whites. Laws exist to enforce this absurd contention. The Bantu Land Act of 1913 and the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 together set aside some 13 percent of the total area of South Africa for exclusive occupation by Africans. The 1913 Act demarcated certain areas, known as "reserves," for Africans and forbade the transfer to, or lease of land by, other races within these reserves. At the same time, Africans were prohibited from acquiring land elsewhere. Now, Africans will be able to exercise sovereignty and reclaim their rights of citizenship within these areas.

Conversely, 87 percent of South Africa (the best land, mineral resources and all major urban and industrial centres) is designated as "white South Africa." Officially, all Africans in "white South Africa" are temporary sojourners, there only to sell their labour in accordance with the needs and requirements of the white community. Fifty percent of the African population has traditionally resided in "white South Africa" and their presence could not be simply wished away. The Group Areas Act with its latest amendment of 1966 was passed to solve this problem. It effectively denies Africans all citizenship rights in "white South Africa" and carefully regulates their presence on a racially segregated basis. Africans are, therefore, migrant labourers in 87 percent of their country. They have no rights nor even a basis on which to claim rights since they are officially foreigners. It is from this anomaly that all their disadvantages and disabili-

ties derive.

Within the white areas, an African's freedom of movement is restricted; he has to account for his presence there and is faced with the constant threat of arbitrary expulsion. The Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, as amended, controls the influx of Africans into urban areas and controls their conduct while there. Section 10 of this Act makes it an offence punishable by a fine, imprisonment or "repatriation" for an African to remain longer than 72 hours in an urban area, unless he is able to show that (a) he has resided in the area continuously since birth; or (b) he has worked continuously in the area for the same employer for ten years; or (c) he has lawfully resided continuously in the area for at least 15 years; or (d) the African is the wife, unmarried daughter, or minor son of a male falling under (a); (b); or (c); or (e) permission has been granted by a labour bureau for him to remain.

Even when an African legally qualifies to be in an urban area, he still cannot move freely within that area: he can be restricted to or barred from certain parts of the area and is subject to night curfew. Urban residence for Africans is not a right but a privilege, and as such, it can always be withdrawn for, among others, any offence carrying a minimum penalty of six months in jail or a fine equivalent to \$115. It can also be cancelled by the courts if they find an otherwise qualified man to be "idle and undesirable," a phrase that can cover prolonged unemployment through no fault of his own.

Ultimate control of Africans in the urban areas of "white South Africa" is achieved through the "pass system." A pass is a document which all Africans over the age of sixteen are legally required to carry. It indicates, among other things, permission to be in that particular area of "white South Africa", place of employment or permission to seek employment, tax-payment status and personal details. All Africans must produce their passes on demand and refusing to do so, for any reason, constitutes an offence punishable by a fine or imprisonment. The pass system is an old established feature of South African history; but when the present Nationalist Government launched its policy of "modernizing" racial discrimination, the old pass system was replaced in 1952 by a statute bearing the misleading title of the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act which, instead of abolishing passes as its title suggested, streamlined them and made them even more

onerous to Africans, and extended them to African women for the first time. As the history of African political struggle so clearly demonstrates, the pass system is the one feature of South Africa's racist legal system which Africans perceive as the very embodiment of their dispossession and denial of their humanity.

For reasons of security and military occupation, Palestinians are subjected to a similar brand of discrimination. First, Israel is officially a state of and for the Jews. The status of Arabs is thereby defined. Since Zionism attached great importance to land, the Jewish National Fund was created to acquire land for exclusive Jewish possession and use. The Jewish National Fund's mandate was to purchase, develop and settle lands as the inalienable property of the whole Jewish people. Land acquired in this way cannot be sold or leased to a non-Jew.

As we have already seen, Arab workers from the occupied areas have to carry identity cards which they are required to show on demand. They are in Israel only as migrant workers and must return to the occupied territories every night or face arrest. To travel, Arabs need permits. Thousands of Arabs who live in Israel are denied citizenship. Dr. Shahak estimates their number to be 60 to 70 thousand. Their children are also denied citizenship. Instead of a passport, Palestinians are issued a travelling card which is valid for exactly one year and one day. If they remain outside the country for a longer period, for whatever reason, they are not allowed to return.

Housing and residential discrimination and segregation are common in Israel. For example, the town of Carmiel was founded in 1965 on land confiscated from the Arab village of Deir al-Assad. "This town is reserved, by law and officially, for Jews. Arabs are prohibited by law not only from living there, but even from opening a business there." They are, however, allowed to work there and "they are actually building the houses in which they are forbidden to dwell." Housing discrimination is now running amok.

As should be expected, South Africa has many laws to curb or nullify any political activity by blacks. The most important and most notorious was the "90-day detention law" (Section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act, 37 of 1963). This Act empowered a senior police officer to arrest without warrant and detain any person for whom there were reasonable grounds to suspect that he had committed, or had information about the commission of,

sabotage or other offences listed under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful Organization Act. This 90-day detention period was renewable. In 1965, this Act was withdrawn and replaced by a 180-day detention law; then, in 1976, it was transferred from the Criminal Procedure Act to the Internal Security Act to cover political crimes. This 180-day law has now been superseded by the Terrorism Act of 1967 which permits indefinite detention of political suspects without trial.

By these laws, South Africa has made political activity by Africans almost legally impossible. There is no longer any need to declare a state of emergency which disrupts and alarms and most importantly, lowers the confidence of overseas businessmen and investors. Now the government uses political "surgery," i.e., it arrests and detains the political leaders and potential activists, outlaws organizations or simply restricts the movement of those individuals deemed likely to engage in political activity by confining them to their homes, and limiting their contact with other people. "Banned" persons are also usually prevented from making speeches, publishing or being quoted in newspapers, and, in effect, become the political "living-dead."

Such security laws encourage the abuse of detainees. There is now a great deal of evidence which demonstrates that torture is commonly inflicted on political detainees and is sanctioned by the government. In fact, torture has become an administrative practice in South Africa and a routine part of the interrogation process. Torture encompasses both physical and psychological techniques, including long periods of solitary confinement, physical assaults, denial of sleep for very long periods, round the clock interrogations, threats and intimidation and the ever-prevalent electric shocks. The result of these policies is that a large number of political detainees die in police custody. Between 1963 and 1972, 22 political detainees died in "mysterious" circumstances while detained by the security police. Between August 1976 and September 1977, 20 political detainees are *known* to have died in security police custody; but this figure is probably low since some people, known to have been detained, have simply disappeared. In September 1977, the whole world was shocked by the death of the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, while in police custody. However, he was just one of many Black Consciousness leaders to meet such a cruel fate. And, while police brutality is particularly directed at political

prisoners, it is also routinely applied to the Black population as a whole.

Of course, Israel does not have such specific, politically-repressive laws, but there are less openly stated laws and practices which have the same practical consequences. As already seen, Palestinian leaders can simply be expelled by the military authorities. Regulation III of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations provides for the detention of any person named in the military governor's order for an unlimited period, at any detention camp mentioned in the order and Article 87 of the Security Order. The grounds for administrative detention under the Defence Regulations are "to secure public safety, the maintenance of public order or the suppression of mutiny, rebellion or riot." Under Regulation 109 of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations, a military governor "may force any person to live in any place designated by the military governor or to remain at his or her place of residence for an appointed period of time, 'requiring him to notify his movements, in such manner, at such times and to such authority or person as may be specified in the order ...'" The detained person is allowed counsel, but neither the detained person nor counsel are permitted to know the reasons for suspecting that the person is a security risk.

There are many reports of Israeli torture of Palestinian detainees and prisoners. Other organizations, such as the highly-regarded Lon-

don *Sunday Times* Insight Team, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International and others, have also come to similar conclusions. Of course, Israel denies these charges but has repeatedly refused to allow outside investigations.

As Palestinian resistance has intensified, Israeli repression has escalated. This past July 30, the Knesset approved an amendment known as the Prevention of Terrorism Law that makes it a crime for Israelis, particularly Arab Israelis, to express public sympathy or identification with a terrorist organization. Under this law, carrying Palestinian flags or singing Palestinian anthems can lead to three years in prison. Israeli Prime Minister, Menahem Begin, recently stated that he wanted Israeli universities to expel Arab students who openly support the Palestine Liberation Organization and added that, if necessary, he would initiate legislation to force them to do so.

The world, especially the Western world — and the United States in particular — cannot continue to connive at Israeli transgressions and violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people. Those who oppose apartheid ought to extend their principles to all similar practices. The fate of the Palestinian people and world peace depend on it. The minority of courageous Jews (some with impeccable Zionist credentials but now alarmed and dismayed) who are speaking out require and deserve support.

BCM on Marxism-Leninism and National Liberation

The whole world is agreed that the South African state is a system of oppression. Oppression South-African-style is writ as large on the world scene as the monstrous systems of nazism and fascism once were. Fascism? Well, in fact the system of apartheid is fascism created by capitalist-imperialism in its colonial peripheral area.

Capitalist-imperialism in its fascist form is based on a racist ideology. South Africa is the last bastion of naked capitalist-imperialist-racist oppression. The task of liberation in South Africa is therefore of worldwide importance and is correspondingly complex and difficult. The nature of the oppression is clearly colonial, capitalist and racist. The battle is therefore drawn along political and socio-economic lines. The blacks, who are the really op-

pressed in the South African system, must consequently struggle both to gain national self-determination and to establish a just socio-economic system where exploitation of man by man and on the basis of race is totally obliterated.

Since the middle and late sixties a new force, the BMC, has weighed into front-line position in this struggle in South Africa. But it would be the height of irresponsibility and folly if BMC does not recognise that it was the style and content of its leadership that inspired so many workers, peasants, young intellectuals and students from the black community in Azania to defy the South African fascist monster and face murder, arrests, and exile in the present decade.

Though black educational institutions in S.A. were ravaged and depleted by the raids, arrests, and bannings of the late fifties and early sixties, they suffered nothing like the systematic and relentless suppression which the fascist regime directed against the black political organisations like the PAC.

Cultural Resistance

It is true that the almost total suppression of the black political leadership and the brutalities that went with it – especially the Langa and Nyanga butcheries and the Sharpeville massacre – temporarily stunned the black masses and rendered them passive, apathetic and almost inactive in comparison to the euphoric plethora of mass meetings and activities of the fifties. Open mass assemblies and large meetings were in fact banned. But the culture of resistance and defiance was throbbing in the townships. Black women played a leading role in galvanizing the people's cultural life by forming entertainment groups which spanned up all over. Instead of the earlier all-male singing groups like the Ink Spots, Wood Peckers and the famous Manhattan Brothers, we saw in the early sixties the flowering of female-dominated ensembles like the Dark City Sisters, Mahotella Queens etc. Following an old Azanian tradition these women artistes had generally a male 'groaner' in the group. The vigor of this cultural ferment gave rise to new types of musical expressions like the throbbing Mbaqanga or Mqgashiyo and Malombo Jazz. These musical expressions rallied the black masses and were powerful channels through which the masses found free expression for their frustrations, hopes and aspirations. I need not elaborate because the BCM is aware how significant the cultural factor was for its own emergence and how powerfully it propelled its development.

Black church personnel had suffered very minor molestation at the height of fascist reactionary violence. As the cultural stirrings moved black society and generated more confidence, the sermons of the priests and ministers in black society became sharper and more daring in demanding justice and condemning injustice. Young black churchmen were demanding autonomy of decision and thinking within their denominations. Moreover many black churchmen had become school managers and from this position they could influence the younger generation in the schools. Teachers were able to obtain and read much of what would to-day be considered subversive literature. Discussions among students at all levels was free

and unfettered. In 1966 – '67 many discussions circles existed in Soweto and these were particularly active at week-ends. They consisted of intellectuals, businessmen, and political activists. Youth groups also flourished as well as self-help organisations. I presume this situation existed in townships all over the country. The black intelligentsia both in the schools and in the churches pushed the political situation created by the Afrikaner nationalists to its logical conclusion: black autonomy was a fact and it was to be defined only in terms of the Blacks' autonomous demands and needs. No fooling about. Black man you're on your own, was the rallying cry.

Thus did the Black Consciousness Movement arise. The Black Consciousness Movement is a South African phenomenon par excellence. It arose from the material conditions of the life of black people in South Africa not, of course, without the influence of international factors which might have acted as triggering mechanisms, e.g. the American blacks' civil rights movement and the glorious victories won by the struggling peoples over Portuguese imperialism. This popular ferment of ideas and aspirations crystallised in the middle and late sixties into organisational forms catering for the different levels and sections of black society.

Township culture is essentially a workers' culture. Therefore in itself the Black Consciousness Movement reflected the hopes and aspirations of the black working class, and these elements were subsequently distilled by the black intelligentsia into idea forms: philosophy of black consciousness, black theology, black poetry etc. The emergent political ideology and practice centered around the antagonism between oppressed and oppressor.

The style of BCM was aggressive, resourceful, and assertive. This gave the BMC its cutting edge. As a movement it was open-ended. Its hub was a number of ideas which formed the basis for its various organisations. Thus with its programmes the BCM reached the broad masses. Under its inspiration and leadership mass struggles and rebellions took place and culminated in the mass revolts of June 16, 1976 which were sparked off by student unrest.

Leadership of the Proletariat

If we study the international scene, we shall notice that after the mass struggles and rebellions of the late sixties in Europe and the US,

there were efforts everywhere to form Marxist-Leninist parties. The period from 1970 to about 1975 is rich with documents setting out a policy and programme proclaiming or proposing the foundation of a Marxist-Leninist organisation or party – sometimes several of these per country or even per city. It is, therefore, not surprising that after the mass revolts and struggles of the late sixties and the seventies the BCM should be seriously addressing itself to the problem of revolutionary organisation for the purpose of liberation. The Azanian revolution must in its total programme include the national question, hence the word: liberation. Our revolution must go through national liberation to social emancipation. Our national-democratic struggle must be a moment in our total revolutionary effort.

The fact is that the mass struggles and rebellions in Azania have revealed the absence of a revolutionary vanguard capable of leading the people's struggle to its logical conclusion of the seizure of power and the establishment of a socialist order. The fact that BCM asks itself questions about revolutionary methods of organisation shows that it recognises that it also is not a revolutionary vanguard, but that it is prepared to take the necessary steps to fill that role. It was difficult, if not impossible within the SA situation to develop a revolutionary policy and programme. Reading of revolutionary literature was strictly taboo and punishable by law. But the masses have shown that they need and demand revolutionary leadership. So, what is to be done?

There are three important stages: propaganda, agitation, armed struggle or insurrection. Propaganda is internal and external. Internal propaganda is mainly done through reading scientific revolutionary texts e.g. Marxist-Leninist classics and discussions within the ranks of the organisation. External propaganda is done mainly through publications, conferences, public addresses and such like. This is done with the main aim of rooting the revolutionary organisations in the working class, to make it a part of the proletariat and to constitute the proletariat as a class. The proletariat – both industrial and agricultural – is the subject of revolution. Agitation ranges from the

protests to strikes and industrial sabotage. Even desultory provocative armed attacks can still be counted as agitation. The main aim of agitation is disruption of the capitalist system and imperialist power so that they are rendered weak and confused and are softened for the smashing blows of the people's armed brigades. The armed struggle is the ultimate level of the people's struggle, it is its logical conclusion. It is the most difficult part of the struggle and must be systematically and relentlessly carried out in a protected people's war.

All these stages require meticulous preparation and persistent practical political and organisational work. This demands that the members of the revolutionary organisation must be always purposeful and decisive. They must also be aggressive, combative and assertive in securing the final victory of the people and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as a classless society. They should use a democratic and comradely style in relations with other revolutionaries and towards the masses and in resolving contradictions among the people. They should be resolute in building up universal human values and in maintaining proletarian internationalism.

These are general remarks. Particular problems like the proper relation between principles, strategy, and tactics and the correct relationship between the vanguard and the masses are dealt with both in theoretical texts and discussions which are beyond the scope of this paper. Long study and discussions have still to be carried out and useful material will be made available at the different stages of the process – hopefully with equally useful suggestions. The BCM will have to study its own history and take stock of its present situation so that it may be possible to see how the principles of Leninist or revolutionary organisation can be realistically applied in its work. The fundamental question is: is it possible to transform an initially non-revolutionary organisation into a revolutionary one without virtually dissolving it? What are the revolutionary elements in BCM as it stands, on which revolutionary structures can be built up and revolutionary ideas grafted onto? These are some of the questions which must be faced squarely and answered honestly.

Structure and Organisation of the Communist Party

Document of the Communist International

Third Congress, 1921 (Compiled by an Azanian Marxist-Leninist)

General Principles

1. The organisation of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the vanguard, the advanced post of the proletariat, through all the phases of revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realisation of Socialism, i.e. the first stage of Communist society.

2. There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organisation for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes, the organisation of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar condition of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organisation of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the equality of the conditions of the proletarian class struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the International Communist movement, creating a common basis for the organisation of the Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis, it is necessary to develop the organisation of the Communist Parties but not seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones and to aim any absolutely correct form of organisation and ideal constitutions.

3. Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie and to wrest the power from its hands is for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. Accordingly, the determining factor in the organisation activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries must be the upbuilding of such organisations as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes both possible and secure.

4. Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organisation of the Communist Party is the organisation of Communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

The Question of Good Leadership

To be a good leader, the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly the principal task of our organisational work must be — education, organisation and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5. The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the everchanging conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires absolutely the closest association with the proletarian masses. Without such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but at best, will tail behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organisation must be attained through democratic centralisation.

On Democratic Centralisation

6. Democratic centralisation in the Communist Party organisation must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire Party organisation. Centralisation in the Communist Party organisation does not mean formal and mechanical centralisation but a centralisation of Communist activities, that is to say, the formation of a strong leadership, ready for a war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralisation is the centralisation of the "power" in the hands of an industrial bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organisation. Only the enemies of the

Communist can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian class struggle and centralising the Communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power nor any contest for supremacy within the Party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

In the organisation of the old, non-revolutionary labour movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois state, namely, the dualism between the bureaucracy and the "people". Under this baneful influence of the bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour and the splitting up of the organisation into dualism and formalism influenced by the bourgeois environment.

The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome this contradiction by systematic and persevering political and organising work and by constant improvement and revision.

7. In transforming a Socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralisation should not merely exist on paper, but carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and, therefore, likely to stimulate opposition to all centralisation, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

On the Duties of Communist Activity

8. The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organisation and the membership become joined through the daily common work in the party activities.

Regular participation on the part of the members in the daily work of the Party is lacking even today in lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these Parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9. In the first stages of its Communist transfor-

mation every workmen's party is in danger of being content with having accepted a Communist teachings and having replaced of the officials belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of the Communist program is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If The Communist activity is lacking and the passivity of the mass of members still remains, then the Party does not fulfil even the last part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist program, for the first condition of an earnest carrying out of the program is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.

The art of Communist organization lies in the ability of making use of each and everyone for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party members and of constantly attracting through its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement. Further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hands not by virtue of its might, but by its authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge and capabilities.

10. A Communist Party must strive to have only really active members, and to demand from every rank and file Party worker that he should place his whole strength and time, insofar as he can himself dispose of it under existing conditions, at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services.

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides Communist convictions, formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member; likewise, the regular payment of the established fees, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

Cells and Nuclei

11. For the purpose of carrying out the Party work every member must as a rule be also a member of a working smaller group, a committee, a commission, a broad group, fraction or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meeting of the members of the local organisation, of course, goes without saying; it is not wise to try, under conditions of legal existence, to replace these periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the mem-

bers must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparation of these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or though comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilizing as well as the preparations of the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass actions of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership, divided among the great mass of smaller groups of workers, even the most laborious endeavours to take part in the class struggle of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence these revolutionary forces of the proletariat into a single united capable Communist Party.

12. Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities; for timely agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

The Communist nuclei are the kernel groups for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc. wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nucleus is enlarged into a fraction and its work is directed to the kernel of the group.

Should it be necessary to form a wider opposition fraction or to take part in the existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through a special nucleus. Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

Obligatory Party Work

13. -The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organisation of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist Mass Parties. It cannot be carried out all at once; it demands unwavering perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that this new form

of organisation should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organisation according to a formal scheme into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily Party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

It is recommended that the Party should take counsel with several capable organizers who are also convinced and inspired Communists, and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centers of the country, and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that, trained organizers or organizing committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of these groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organisations, working groups, nuclei and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and capable of execution. Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations in what way these tasks are to be carried out. They must be warned at the same time of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14. This work of reorganising must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organisation. It must first be proved in small cases that the nuclei formed in separated important factories and trade unions are functioning properly and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the chief branches of the Party activities and have in some degree become consolidated (for instance, in the formation, communication, women's movement or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployment movement etc.). Before the new organisation apparatus will have acquired a certain practice the old frames of the organisation should not be heedlessly broken up. At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organisation work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places demands not only a legalized Party but also on every unlegalized Party.

Until widespread network of Communist nuclei, fractions and groups of workers will be at work at all central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the Party

will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labors for the carrying out of this task.

The Party and Struggle

15. This fundamental organisation task impose the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of these comrades who are active in the leadership of their organisations of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that comrades – men and women – should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavor to find out any mistake committed in their own activities on the basis of experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forget for a moment the object of the struggle.

16. Our whole Party work consists either of direct struggles on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialization of this work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For the lowly Parties have done little in the matter against secret service men. The instruction of our Party comrades has been carried on, as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter, and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party program and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole system of the Party organization, in all the working committees of the Parties, in order to obtain an ever higher degree of specialization.

17. To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the Party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

18. The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organisation in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading committee (for instance, monthly report of the local branches to the corresponding Party committee).

Party Reports

Each nucleus, fraction and group of workers must send its report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers (respectively to the leader) to which they belong, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from which the order was received.

The report must always be made on the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order demands written report. The reports must be concise and to the point. The receiver of the report is responsible for having such communication as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody and that important reports be sent in without delay to the corresponding Party organ.

19. All these reports must naturally be limited to the account of what the reporter has done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which may have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly such considerations as may give rise to a modification or improvement of our future work, also proposals for improvement necessity for which may have made itself felt during the work, must be included in the report.

In all Communist nuclei, fractions and groups of workers, all reports, both those which have been handed in to them and those that they have to send, must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organizations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers' organizations and chiefly the organization of the "Socialist" parties.

On Propaganda And Agitation

20. Our chief general duty is to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary

propaganda and agitation. This work and its organisation is still, in the main, being conducted in the old formal manner, by means of casual speeches at the mass meetings and without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interests and aspirations, and especially out of their common struggles.

The most important point to remember is — that Communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character. Therefore, Communist watch words (slogans) and the whole Communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve the correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators but also all other Party members must be carefully instructed.

21. The principal forms of Communist propaganda are:

- (i) Individual verbal propaganda.
- (ii) Participation in the industrial and political labor movement.
- (iii) Propaganda through the Party Press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal and illegal Party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house within the area of Party influence must be omitted from this canvassing. In larger towns, a special organized outdoor campaign with posters and distribution of leaflets usually produces satisfactory results. In addition, the fraction should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops accompanied by a distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must be able to create the necessary special organs.

22. In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitation must be constantly on the lookout

for new forms of propaganda in order to meet these backward workers half-way and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The Communist propaganda with its watch-words (slogans) must bring out the budding, unconscious, incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers.

Leading the Masses

At the same time, Communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands of aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of Communist propaganda.

23. Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our Communist organization appears as courageous, intelligent, energetic and ever-faithful leader of the labour movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all the elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labor, wages, etc. The Communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working-class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which in its turn is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through an everyday performance of such elementary duties and participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real Communist Party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so-called pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of parliamentary possibilities or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the Party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploited is essentially necessary not only for the conquest, but in a still hig-

her degree for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the Communist Party will be able to become the vanguard of the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

24. The Communists must be mobilised in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts, and other mass dismissals of workers in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for the Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of workers for slight improvements in their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them on the plea of the Communist program and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be, for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalists, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse for non-participation in the struggle. At the same time our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to nonsensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participators in their struggles.

Struggle Against Reformism

25. The Communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful, to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism and then fall into the negative attitude of commonplace syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the Yellow Amsterdam International, i.e. the reformist social-democrats.

The Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of every aspect of the question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all working agreements (over wages & working conditions), they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of the tariffs (wage agreements) recommended by the

Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat, and it is a well-known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hands of the workers by all manners of working agreements. Therefore it behoves the Communists to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of their aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating agreements which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the trade union organizations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which in themselves are to be commended.

Therefore the opposition on principle against such activities would be ill-advised. But the Communists should point out to the workers that the manner of collection of these funds and their use as advocated by the Amsterdam leaders is against all the interests of the working class. In connection with the sick benefit etc., the Communists should insist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all volunteer funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sick benefit by paying contributions, it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments, for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their small bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

26. In the struggle against Social-Democratic and petty-bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labour parties, one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in the most energetic fashion and the best way to do this is by depriving them of their following, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavour to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently, attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is by no means sufficient to call the Amsterdam Leaders (i.e., leaders of the reformist trade unions) yellow. Their yellowness must be proved by continual and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade unions, in the International Labour Bureau of the League of

Nations, in the bourgeois ministries and administration, their treacherous speeches at Conferences and Parliaments, the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in the Press, and above all, their vacillations and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behaviour of the Amsterdam Leaders in simple-worded speeches and resolutions.

The Trade Unions

The fractions must conduct their practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not at all allow the excuses of the minor trade union officials – who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors – to hamper their march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of removal of all real or imaginary obstacles put in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

27. The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the Communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organisations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lecturers and counsels and put up candidates for elections, capable, experienced and energetic comrades. The Communist organisations must, through their fractions, also make careful preparations in connection with all workers meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, political festivals and such like arranged by the hostile organisations. Whenever the Communists convene their own workers' meetings, they must arrange to have considerable groups of Communists distributed among the audience and they must make all the preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda results.

28. The Communists must also learn how to draw unorganised and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. With the help of our fractions, we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organisations, as for instance, educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, war victim's organisations, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers' associations may be formed outside

the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent and under the control of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathizers).

Youth and Women

The Communist youth and women's organisations may also be helpful in rousing the interests of many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually inside the Communist Party through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, Sunday rambles, etc., distribution of leaflets, increasing circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their small and bourgeois inclinations.

29. In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers as sympathisers of the revolutionary proletariat, the Communists must take use of their special antagonism to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win those intermediary groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. The Communists must also endeavour to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organisations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts or may have influence over the petty-bourgeois working peasants, over those who work in the home industries and other semi-proletarian classes. These are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, and must be unmasked. All everyday occurrences which bring the state bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty-bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction must be made use of in a judicious and energetic manner in the course of Communist agitation. Each local country organisation must carefully apportion among its members the duties of house to house canvassing in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farmsteads and isolated dwellings in their district.

The Army

30. The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adapta-

ble to the peculiar conditions in each country. Anti-militarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental and only assists the bourgeoisie in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy every kind of military institution of the bourgeois state, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle clubs, citizen' guard organisations, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed, not against the military training of the youth and workers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonism revealing themselves as they do in the material favoured positions of the officers as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that the future is inextricably bound up with the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating against the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class-war and especially against its volunteer bands.

Whenever the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible, every favourable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever they possess a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example in the officer corps, they must be unmasked before the entire population, and made so despicable and repulsive that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their isolation.

The Organisation of Political Struggle

31. For the Communist Party, there can be no period in which its Party organisation cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilizing every political and economic situation, as well as the changes in the situations, organisational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the Party may be, it can nevertheless take advantage of exci-

ting political events of extensive strikes affecting the entire economic system, by radical propaganda systematically and efficiently organised. Once a Party has decided to thus make use of a particular situation, it must concentrate the energy of all its members and Party in this campaign.

Furthermore all the connections which the Party possesses through the work of its nuclei and its workers' groups, must be used for organising mass meetings in the centers of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the Party must do their utmost to convince the audience that only Communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must prepare these meetings very thoroughly. If the Party cannot for some reasons hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organised by the strikers or any other sections of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority or a large part of any meeting to support our demand, these must be well-formulated and properly argued in motions and resolutions being passed; attempts must be made to have similar resolutions or motions adopted in ever-increasing members, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way, we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognize our leadership.

After all such meetings, the committees which participated in the organisational preparations and utilized their opportunities, must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committees of the Party and draw the proper conclusion from the experience or possible mistakes made, for the future. In accordance with each particular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved must be made public by means of posters and handbills or leaflets distributed among the workers proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organised groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots, as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distributing of handbills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned are wont to gather, also in impor-

tant points in the town, employment offices and stations; such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions.

33. The Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist leaders of the working class by means of extensive campaign, and to rally the majority of the working masses to the Communist banner. Campaigns must be organised in various ways depending upon whether the situation favours actual fighting, in which case they become active and put themselves at the head of the proletarian movement, or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

Methods of Propaganda

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors on selection of the organizational methods for such actions. For example, the method of publishing a so-called "open letter" was used in order to win over the socially decisive sections of the proletariat in Germany to a greater extent than had been possible in other countries. In order to unmask the treacherous socialist leaders, the Communist Party of Germany addressed itself to the other mass organisations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of the proletariat, whether they, with their alleged powerful organization, were prepared to take the struggle in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious destitution of the proletariat and for the slightest demands even for a pitiful piece of bread.

Whether the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organizational preparations for the purpose of making such an action reach among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade union officials of the Party must bring the demand made by the Party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat, to a discussion at their next factory and trade union meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or

groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our Party press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short or detailed daily articles, tracing the various phases of the question from every possible point of view. The organization must continually supply the press with the material for such articles and pay close attention that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the Party campaign. The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the Party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion according to the direction of the Party leadership of the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and Party workers.

In case the united, organizationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the Party succeed, within a few weeks, in including the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organizational task of the Party to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favour of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particular trade union character an attempt must be made, above all, to increase our organizational influence in the trade unions.

To this end our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well-prepared direct action against the local trade union leaders in order either to overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organized struggle on the basis of the demands of our Party. Wherever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institutions exist, our groups must exert influence through plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils also to decide in favor of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organizations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat under the Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favorable resolutions were adopted.

The New Leadership

The new leadership consolidated under Com-

unist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organized workers, and this power must be utilized to give an impetus to the leadership of the socialist parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

In those industrial regions where our Party possesses its best organizations and has obtained the greatest support for its demands, they must succeed by means of organized pressure on the local trade unions and industrial councils, in uniting all the evident economic isolated struggles in these regions, as well as the developing movement of the other groups, into one co-ordinated struggle.

This movement must then draw up elementary demands entirely apart from the particular craft interests, and then attempt to obtain the fulfilment of these demands by utilizing the united forces of all organizations in the district. In such a movement the Communist Party will then prove to be the leader of the proletarians prepared for struggle, whereas the trade union bureaucracy and the socialist party who would oppose such a united, organized struggle, would then be exposed in their true colors, not only politically, but also from a practical organizational point of view.

34. During acute political and economic crises the Communist Party should attempt to gain control of the masses. It may be better to forego and specific demands and rather appeal directly to the members of the socialist parties and the trade unions, pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with their employers in spite of the attempts of their bureaucratic leaders to avoid a decisive struggle. The organs of the Party, particularly the daily newspapers, must emphasize day by day, that the Communists are ready to take the lead in the impending and actual struggle of the distressed workers, that their fighting organization is ready to lend a helping hand wherever possible to all oppressed in the given acute situation. It must be pointed out daily, that without these struggles there is no possibility of increasing tolerable living conditions for the workers in spite of the efforts of the old organizations to avoid and to obstruct these struggles. The Communist fractions within the trade unions and industrial organizations must lay stress continually upon the self-sacrificing readiness of the Communists and make it clear to their fellow workers that the fight is not to be avoided. The main task, however, is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the

situation. The various nuclei and fractions of the industries and crafts which have been drawn into the struggle must not only maintain the closest ties among themselves, but also assume the leadership of all movements that may break out, through the district committees as well as through the central committees, furnishing promptly such officials and responsible workers as will be able to lead a movement, hand in hand, with those engaged in the struggle, to broaden and deepen that struggle and make it widespread. It is the main duty of the organization everywhere to point out and emphasize the common character of all the various struggles, in order to foster the idea of the general solution of the question by political means, if necessary. As the struggle become more intensified and general in character, it becomes necessary to create uniform organs for the leadership of the struggles. Wherever the bureaucratic strike leaders have failed, the Communists must come in at once and ensure a determined organization of action — the common preliminary organization — which can be achieved, under capable military leadership, by persistent advocacy at the meeting of the fractions and industrial councils as well as at mass meetings of the industries concerned.

Organizing The Workers

When the movement becomes widespread and owing to the onslaughts of the employers' organizations and government interference it assumes a political character, preliminary propaganda and organization work must be started for the election of worker's councils which may become possible and even necessary.

It is here that all Party organs should emphasize the idea that only by forging their own weapons of the struggle can the working class achieve its own emancipation. In this propaganda not the slightest consideration should be shown to the trade union bureaucracy or to the old socialist parties.

35. The Communist Parties which have already grown strong, and particularly the big mass Parties, must be equipped for mass action. All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions, must always tend to organise the experiences of those movements in order to bring about a close union with the wide masses. The experiences gained by all great movements must be discussed at broad conferences of the leading officials and responsible Party workers, with the trusted (trade union) representatives of large and middle industries, and in this manner the

network of communications will be constantly increased and strengthened and the trusted representatives will become increasingly permeated with fighting spirit. The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible Party workers, with the shop delegates, are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass action, in keeping with the circumstances and the actual strength of the Party.

Without building closest ties between the Party organization and the proletarian masses employed in the big mass actions, a really revolutionary movement cannot be developed. The ultimate collapse of the undoubtedly revolutionary upheaval in Italy last year which found its strong expression in the seizing of factories was certainly due to a great extent to the treachery of the trade unionist bureaucracy, unreliability of the political party leaders, but partly also to the total lack of intimacies of organisation between the Party and the industries through politically informed shop delegates interested in the welfare of the Party. Also the English coal-miners's strike of the present year (1921) has undoubtedly suffered through this lack to an extraordinary degree.

On the Party Press

36. The Communist Press must be developed by the Party with indefatigable energy. No paper may be recognised as a Communist organ if it does not submit to the directions of the Party.

The Party must pay more attention to having good papers than to having many of them. Every Communist Party must have a good, and if possible, daily organ.

37. A Communist newspaper must never be a capitalist undertaking as all the bourgeois, frequently also the socialist, papers. Our paper must be independent of all the capitalist credit institutions. A skillful organisation of the advertisement, which render possible the existence of our paper for lawful mass Parties, must never lead to its being dependent on the large advertisers. On the contrary its attitude on all proletarian social questions will create the greater respect for it in all our mass Parties.

Our paper must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public. They must not yield to the criticism of the petty-bourgeois writers or journalist experts in striving to become "respectable".

38. The Communist paper must in the first place take care of the interests of the oppressed and fighting workers. It must be our agitator and the leading propagator of the proletarian revolution.

It will be the object of our paper to collect all the valuable experience from the activity of the Party members and to demonstrate the same to our comrades as a guide for the continual revision and improvement of Communist working methods; in this way it will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

It is only by this all-embracing organizational work of the Communist paper, and particularly our principal paper, that with the definite object in view, we will be able to establish democratic centralism and lead to the efficient distribution of work in the Communist Party, thus enabling it to perform its historic mission.

39. The Communist paper must strive to become a Communist undertaking i.e., it must be a proletarian fighting organization, a working community of the revolutionary workers, of all writers who regularly contribute to the paper, editors, typesetters, printers and distributors, those who collect local material and discuss the same in the paper, those who are daily active in propagating it, etc. A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into a real fighting organ and a strong working community of the Communists.

A Communist should be in closest connection with his paper when he has to work and make sacrifices for it. It is his daily weapon which must be newly hardened and sharpened every day in order to be fit for use. Heavy material and financial sacrifice will continually be required for the existence of the Communist paper. The means for its development and inner improvement will constantly have to be supplied from the ranks of Party members until it will have reached a position of such firm organization and such a wide circulation among a legal mass Party, that it will itself become a strong support of the Communist movement.

It is not sufficient to be an active canvasser and propagator for the paper, it is necessary to be a contributor to it as well.

Every occurrence of any social or economic interest happening in the workshop — from an accident to an general workers' meeting, from the ill-treatment of an apprentice to the financial report of the concern — must be immediately reported to the paper. The trade union fraction must communicate all important deci-

sions and resolutions of its meetings and secretariats, as well as any characteristic actions of our enemies. Public life in the street and the meetings will often give an opportunity to the attentive Party members to exercise social criticism, on details which, published in our paper, will demonstrate even to indifferent readers how we follow the daily needs of life.

The Paper and Workers' Daily Problems

Such communications from the life of workers and working-class organizations must be handled by the board of editors with particular care and affection; they must be used as short notices that will help to convey the feeling of an intimate connection existing between our paper and workers' lives; or they may be used as practical examples from the daily life of workers that help to explain the doctrine of communism. Wherever possible, the board of editors should have fixed hours at a convenient time of the day when they would be ready to see any worker coming to them and listen to his wishes or complaints on the troubles of life, which they sought to note and use for the enlightenment of the Party.

Under the Capitalist system it will of course be impossible for our papers to become a perfect Communist workers' community. However, even under most difficult conditions it might be possible to obtain a certain measure of success in the organization of such a revolutionary paper. This has been proved by the 'Pravda' of our Russian comrades during the period of 1912—1913. It actually represented a permanent and active organization of the conscious revolutionary workers of the most important centers. The comrades used their collective forces for editing, publishing, distributing the paper, and many of them were doing that from their earnings. The newspaper in its turn furnished them with the best things they desired, with what they needed for the moment and what they can still use today in their work and struggle. Such a newspaper should really and truly be called by the Party members and by other revolutionary workers "our newspaper".

40. The proper element for the militant Communist press is direct participation in the campaigns conducted by the party. If the activity of the Party at a given time happens to be concentrated upon a definite campaign it is the duty of the organ to place all its departments, not the editorial pages alone, at the service of this particular campaign. The editorial board

must draw upon material and sources to feed this campaign, which must be incorporated throughout the paper both in substance and in form.

41. The matter of canvassing subscription for "our newspaper" must be made into a system. The first thing is to make use of every occasion stirring up workers and of every situation in which the political and social consciousness of the workers has been aroused by some special occurrence. Thus, following each big strike movement or lock-out, during which the paper openly and energetically defended the interest of the workers, canvassing activity should be organized and carried on among the participants. Subscription lists and subscription orders for the paper should be distributed not only in the industries where the Communists are engaged and among the trade union fractions of those industries that had taken part in the strikes, but also whenever possible, subscription orders should be distributed from houses by special groups of workers doing propaganda for the paper.

Propaganda Amongst Workers

Likewise following each election campaign that arouse the workers special groups appointed for the purpose should visit the houses of the workers carrying on systematic propaganda for the workers' newspaper.

At time of latent political and economic crises manifesting themselves in the rise of prices, unemployment and other hardships affecting great numbers of workers, all possible efforts should be exerted to win over the professionally organized workers of the various industries and organize them into working groups for carrying on systematic house to house propaganda for the newspaper. Experience has shown that the most appropriate time for canvassing work is the last week of each month. Any local group that would allow even one of these last weeks of the month to pass by without making use of it for propaganda work for the newspaper will be committing a grave omission with regard to the spread of the Communist movement. The working group conducting propaganda for the newspaper must not leave out any public meeting or any demonstration without being there at the opening, during the intervals, and at the close with the subscription list for the paper. The same duties are imposed upon every trade union fraction at each separate meeting of the union, as well as upon the group and fraction at shop meetings.

42. Every Party member must constantly defend our paper against all its opponents and carry on energetic campaign against the capitalist press. He must expose and brandmark the venality, the falsehoods, the suppression of information and all the double-dealings of the press.

The social-democratic and independent press must be overcome by constant and aggressive criticism, without falling into petty factional polemizing, but by persistent unmasking of their treacherous attitude in veiling the most flagrant class conflicts day by day. The trade union and other factions must seek by organised means to wean away the members of trade unions and other workers' organisations from misleading and crippling influence of these social-democratic papers. Also the canvassing by means of house to house campaign for our press, notably among industrial workers, must be judiciously directed against the social-democratic press.

On the Structure of the Party Organism.

43. The Party organization spreading out and fortifying itself must not be organized upon a scheme of mere geographical divisions, but in accordance with the real economic, political and transport conditions of the given district. The center of gravity is to be placed in the main cities, and the centers of large industries.

In the building up of a new Party, there usually manifests itself a tendency to have the Party organisation spread out at once all over the country. Thus disregarding the fact that the number of workers at the disposal of the Party is very limited, these few workers are scattered in all directions. This weakens the recruiting ability and the growth of the Party. In such cases we saw an extensive system of Party offices springing up, but the Party itself did not succeed in gaining foothold even in the most important industrial cities.

44. In order to get the Party activities centralised to the highest possible degree, it is not advisable to have Party leadership divided into hierarchy with a number of groups subordinate to one another. The thing to be aimed at is that every large city forming an economic, political or transportation center should spread out and form a net of organizations within a wide area of the surroundings of the given locality and the economic political district adjoining it. The Party committee of the large center should form the head of the general body of the Party and conduct the organisational ac-

tivity of the district, directing its policy in close connection with the membership of the locality.

The organizers of such a district elected by the district conference and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party are obliged to take active part in the Party life of the local organization. The Party committee of the district must be constantly reinforced by members from among the Party workers of the place, so that there should be close relationship between that committee and the large masses of the district. As the organisation keeps developing efforts should be made to the effect that the leading committee of the district should at the same time be the leading political body of the place. Thus, the Party committee of the district, together with the Central Committee, should play the part of the real leading organ in the general Party organization.

Party Committees

The boundary lines of the Party districts are not naturally limited by the area of the place. The determining factor should be that the district committee be in a position to direct the activities of all the local organizations within the district in a uniform manner. As soon as this becomes impossible the district must be divided and new Party districts formed.

It is also necessary in the large countries to have certain intermediate organizations serving as connection links between the Central Committee and the local. Under certain conditions it may be advisable to give to some of these intermediary organizations, as for example, an organization in a large city with a strong membership, a leading part, but as a general rule this should be avoided as leading to centralization.

45. The larger intermediary organizations are formed out of local Party organizations: country groups or of small cities and of districts, of the various parts of the large city.

Any local Party organization that has grown to such an extent that while it is existing as a legal organization it can not longer conduct general meetings of all its membership, must be divided.

In any Party organization the members must be grouped for daily Party activities. In large organizations it may be advisable to combine various groups into collective bodies. As a rule such members should be included in one group at their place of work or elsewhere, and should

have occasion to meet one another in their daily activity. The object of such a collective group is to distribute Party activity among the various small or working groups, to receive reports from various officials and to train candidates for membership.

46. The Party as a whole is to be under the guidance of the Communist International. The instructions and resolutions of the Executive of the International on methods affecting the affiliated Parties are to be directed firstly, either (1) to their Central Committee of the Party, (2) through this Committee to some special committee or (3) to the members of the Party at large.

The instructions and resolutions of the International are binding upon the Party, and naturally also upon every Party member.

The Central Committee

47. The Central Committee of the Party is elected at a Party Congress and is responsible to it. The Central Committee selects out of its own midst a smaller body consisting of two sub-committees for political activity. Both these sub-committees are responsible for the political and current work of the Party. These sub-committees or bureaux arrange for the regular joint sessions of the Central Committee of the Party where decisions of immediate importance are to be passed. In order to study the general and political situation and gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party, it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason, differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the smaller bureau (Polit Bureau) should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry on a firm and sure policy, it must be able to rely upon its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee.

Carried on such a basis the Central Committee of the Party, especially in cases of legal Parties, will be able in the shortest time, to form a firm foundation for discipline requiring the unconditional confidence of the Party membership and at the same time will be able to do away with trends manifesting vacillations and deviations that make their appearan-

ce. Such abnormalities in the Party may be removed before reaching the stage where they should have to be brought up before a Party Congress for a decision.

48. Every leading Party committee must have its work among its members in order to achieve efficiency in the various branches of work. This may necessitate the formation of various special committees, as for example, committees for propaganda, for editorial work, for the trade union campaign, for communications, etc. Every special committee is subordinated either to the Central Committee or to the District Committee.

The control over the activity as well as the composition of all committees should be in the hands of the given district committees, and, in the last instance, in the hands of the Party Central Committee. It may become advisable from time to time to change the occupation and office of those people attached for various Party work, such as, editors, organizers, propagandists, etc. provided that this does not interfere too much with the Party work. The editors and propagandists must participate in the regular Party work in one of the Party groups.

Party Reports

49. The Central Committee of the Party as also the Communist International, is empowered at any time to demand complete reports from all Communist organizations, from their organs and individual members. The representatives of the Central Committee and comrades authorized by it are to be admitted to all meetings and sessions with deciding voice. The Central Committee of the Party must always have at its disposal plenipotentiaries (i.e., Commissars to instruct and inform the leading organs of the various districts and regions not only by means of their circulars and letters, but also by direct and verbal and responsible agencies on the questions of politics and organization).

Every organization and every branch of the Party, as well as every individual member, has the right of communicating his respective wishes, suggestions, remarks or complaints directly to the Central Committee of the Party or to the International at any time.

50. The instructions and decisions of the leading Party organs are obligatory for the subordinate organizations and for the individual members. The responsibilities of the leading organs and duty to prevent either delinquency or abuse of their leading position, can only partly be determined in a formal manner. The

less their formal responsibility (as for instance, in unlegalized Parties) the greater the obligation upon them to study the opinion of the Party members, to obtain regular and solid information, and to form their decisions only after mature and thorough deliberation.

51. The Party members are obliged to act always as disciplined members of a militant organization in all their activities. Should differences of opinion occur as to the proper mode of action, this should be determined, as far as possible, by previous discussions inside the Party organization, and the action should be according to the decision thus arrived at. Even if the decision of the organization or of the Party committee should appear faulty in the opinion of the rest of the members, these comrades in all their public activity should never lose sight of the fact, that it is the worst form of undisciplined conduct and greatest military error to hinder or to break entirely the unity of the common front.

It is the supreme duty of every Party member to defend the Communist Party, and above all, the Communist International, against all the enemies of Communism. He who forgets this, and on the contrary, publicly assails the Party or the Communist International, is a bad Communist.

52. The statutes of the Party must be drawn in such a manner as not to become a hindrance but rather a helping force, to the leading Party organs, in the Communist development of the general Party organizations and in the continuous improvement of the Party activity. The decisions of the Communist International must be promptly carried out by the affiliated Parties, even in the case when corresponding alteration in the existing statutes and Party decisions can be adopted only at a later date.

Legal and Illegal Activity

53. The Party must be so organized that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggles. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organization capable of avoiding fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy concentrated upon a given point, but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilized as to attack on the spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organization to stake everything upon rebellion and streetfighting or only upon conditions of severe repression. The Commu-

nists perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods, and even in cases when it might be possible, this foresight cannot be made use of in many cases for reorganization, because the change as a rule comes quickly and frequently quite suddenly.

54. The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp all the importance of the task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or the illegal fight in general. The Communist organizations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal task.

On the other hand, illegal Parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activities towards the building up of a Party organization which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organizations which ignore these vital truths run the risk of becoming merely groups of conspirators wasting their labors in futile tasks.

Both these tendencies are erroneous. Every legal Communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal Communist organization must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labor movement, in order to become, by means of intensive Party activity, the organized and the real leaders of the great revolutionary masses.

The Military and the Political

55. Both among legalized and underground Party circles there is a tendency for the unlegalized Communist organizational activity to evolve into the establishment and maintenance of a purely military organization isolated from the rest of the Party organization and activity. This is absolutely erroneous. On the contrary, during the pre-revolutionary period, the formation of our militant organizations must be mainly accomplished through the general work of the Communist Party. The entire Party must be developed into a militant organization for the revolution.

Isolated revolutionary military organizations, prematurely created in a pre-revolutionary period are apt to show tenden-

cies towards dissolution because of the lack of direct and useful Party work.

56. It is of course imperative for an illegal Party to protect its members and Party organs from being found out by the authorities and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collection by contribution and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use the same extent as the legal Party. It can, nevertheless, through practice acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

On the other hand, a legal mass Party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities (viz. it must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files and must, in most cases, destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers.)

It is assumed in the circles of the legal as well as the illegal Parties, that the illegal organizations must be in the nature of a rather exclusive, entirely military institution, occupying within the Party a position of splendid isolation. This assumption is quite erroneous. The formation of our fighting organization in the pre-revolutionary period must depend principally on the general Communist Party work. The entire Party must be made into a fighting organization for the revolution.

57. Therefore, our general Party work must be apportioned in a manner which would ensure, already in the pre-revolutionary period, the foundation and consolidation of a fighting organization commensurate with the needs of the revolution. It is of the greatest importance that the directing body of the Communist Party should be guided in its entire activity by the revolutionary requirements and that it should endeavor, as far as possible, to gain a clear idea of what these are likely to be. This is naturally not an easy matter, but that should not be a reason for leaving out of consideration this very important point of Communist organizational leadership.

Readiness for Mobilization

Even the best organized Party would be faced with very difficult and complicated tasks if it had to undergo great functional changes in a period of open revolutionary risings. It is quite possible that our political Party will be called upon to mobilize in a few days its forces for the revolutionary struggle. Probably it will have to mobilize, in addition to the Party forces, their reserves, the sympathizing organizations,

viz. the unorganized revolutionary masses. The formation of a regular Red Army is as yet out of the question. We must conquer without a previously organized army through the masses under the leadership of the Party. For this reason even the most determined effort would not succeed should our Party not be well-prepared and organized for such an eventuality.

58. One has probably seen that the revolutionary central directive bodies have proved unable to cope with revolutionary situations. The proletariat has generally been able to achieve great revolutionary organization as far as minor tasks are concerned, but there has nearly always been disorder, confusion and chaos at headquarters. Sometimes there has been a lack of even the most elementary "apportioning" of work. The intelligence department is often so badly organized that it does more harm than good. There is no reliance on postal and other communications. All secret postal and transport arrangements, secret quarter and printing works are generally at the mercy of lucky or unlucky circumstances and afford fine opportunities for the "agents provocateurs" of the enemy forces.

These defects cannot be remedied unless the Party organizes a special branch in its administration for this particular work. The military intelligence service requires practice and special training and knowledge. The same may be said of the secret service work directed against political police. It is only through long practice that the satisfactory secret department can be created. For all this specialized revolutionary work, every legal Communist Party must make preparations, no matter how small. In most cases such a secret apparatus may be created by means of perfectly legal activity.

For instance it is quite possible to establish secret postal and transport communications by a code system through the judiciously arranged distribution of legal leaflets and through correspondence in the press.

59. The Communist organizer must look upon every member of the Party and every revolutionary worker as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason he must allot him a place which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present Party work and not more drilling which the practical worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist the best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle.

The Cultural Revolution and Literary Theory

*Part II – By Hawrey Sarkawt,
a Kurdish Marxist-Leninist*

Literature, and humanistic studies generally, are to large extent backward-looking in comparison with engineering of the sciences. Quite often they seem to be more interested in the past than in the present. Reactionary "golden age" schemes are a regular epidemic in these areas of studies. Elaborate studies are propagated as a pretext for looking away from the present – and the future – and for burying one's head in some presumed literary, philosophical or historical great age located invariably in the past.

People who work in these fields are removed from the process of production. They have no direct links to the productive forces. Their work is solely in the superstructure which in general tends to lie behind the progress of the productive forces and the changes of the relations of production. Outwardly there seems to be no comparable progress in these fields – a fact which has made them particularly prone to theories, antagonistic to the very idea of progress. "How can we talk about literature progressing?" we are often told. "Is it really possible to write *better* than Homer and Shakespeare?" is a question which even people who call themselves Marxists in these fields often raise.

This is not to say that scientists and engineers are always revolutionary or even progressive in their outlook. It is simply that being nearer to the production process and to material reality – through experimentation in the case of the scientists – they tend to be more practical and less likely to lose touch in a drastic way with reality. In fact, their very nearness to production often leads them to develop an economic outlook that tends to put an excessive emphasis on the role of the productive forces and particularly technical forces. When this emphasis reaches the point of becoming one-sided and totally denies any active role to the superstructure, then it is most likely to lead to the development of a reactionary political outlook.

Antonio Gramsci has made a distinction between what he called traditional and organic intellectuals which corresponds roughly to the

division between those who work in the humanities and those who work in science and engineering. The point made here is that the first group of intellectual because of their distance, if not divorce, from reality are most likely to form an idealist outlook – a disease succinctly diagnosed by Engels who said that "because everything is transmitted to them through ideas, they think that, in the final analysis, they are based on ideas".

The question is how to bring those who work in the field of literature and culture closer to reality. It is how to make literature and culture play an active role thus advancing the superstructure in the service of the *political* dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist *economic* base. This was the first task to which the cultural revolution devoted itself. The issue was critical and in need of a full-scale revolution precisely because the economic outlook was threatening to take charge of the economic base – the productive forces –, transform the socialist political system and render the cultural superstructure totally passive. Marxism is an all-embracing outlook; one-sidedness transforms Marxism into its opposite – revisionism. Unless the socialist economic transformation at the base and the political revolution at the level of the superstructure to ensure the correct direction of the advance toward the new communist society, revolution would be interrupted and the whole economic and political system would *revert back* to capitalism.

Where is reality? It is down at the base. It is where the masses are. It is in the factories and the fields where the workers and peasants are in direct contact with it struggling daily to transform it. The cultural revolution attempted to solve the writers' divorce from reality in two ways: (A) By encouraging all writers to go to the masses and to have direct contact with the workers and the peasants and (B) by encouraging the workers and the peasants themselves to become writers. The first method was more limited in scope at first since it appeared to be more of a rectification of writers who were already so divorced from the masses and from practice that they had developed a bourgeois, idealistic outlook. It was, however, an essential first step because those writers were in

actual charge of nearly the whole cultural superstructure. People who stayed behind closed doors – and in high offices – the bureaucratic new bourgeoisie, in fact, that looked condescendingly on the masses, derived its privileges ultimately from the exploitation of the masses, and sought to transform the system in a way that ensured the continuation of those privileges, and, thus, joined the counter-revolutionary camp of those who wanted to bring about a total restoration of capitalism.

Literature by the Masses

The second method of the mass participation in the making of literature was a great movement that is unprecedented in literary and cultural history. It produced a rich harvest of plays, stories, novels and poems and a large number of outstanding worker-writers. Literature was finally rescued from the hands of the bourgeois literati to become a product of the masses, and to be written for the masses. It also passed over the long centuries of domination by the bourgeois, feudal and other exploiting classes to be linked once again to its original sources in the folk creations of the labouring people.

While mass participation in literary creation had its antecedents in Soviet literature during the first five-year plan period of 1928–1932 and during the Chinese Great Leap Forward of 1958, its scale and radicality during the cultural revolution were unparalleled. Similarly, rectification campaigns had taken place several times in modern Chinese literary history, the first major one going back to 1942 in Yanan with the struggle against bourgeois writers continuing ever since.

The cultural revolution, however, was the culmination of both of these methods. It was an attempt at the complete overthrow of the domination of the bourgeoisie in the field of culture and, at the same time, an attempt at the creation of a new kind of writer – a proletarian writer who will not be the bourgeois specialist of the old type, but one who is primarily a *worker* who also writes and creates literature. The cultural revolution was a step in the direction of abolishing the distinction between manual and mental labour in the domain of literature.

Mass participation, it must be added here, was not confined to the literary field. Since all humanistic studies were plagued by idealism and divorced from practice, the masses were encouraged to participate also in the writing of history and philosophy.

Masses Challenge Bourgeois Authorities

During the great movement to repudiate Lin Piao and criticize Confucianism the workers, the peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals actively participated in writing articles on the reactionary nature of Confucianism that bore directly on a contemporary political struggle. Thousands of articles were also written to show the application of philosophy, particularly dialectical thinking, to everyday situations and daily struggles in factories and schools, universities and communes. In the field of literary criticism also there was a great resurgence of mass participation where workers and peasants would write what they thought of any classical or contemporary work, challenging the so-called "authorities" in those fields.

Contemporaneity of theme was the great matrix that helped to confine the literary and, in fact, all humanistic studies to reality and to lead them away from idealism and metaphysics. The new revolutionary drama produced during the cultural revolution was to be specifically on contemporary themes. Model heroes were, according to Mao's instruction to be found in present day reality. Centuries old Confucianism could only be fought in conjunction with struggle against the contemporary reactionaries. Philosophy could only be learnt in its application to every-day life. Every humanistic study had to be linked with the effort to clarify the real conditions and to push them forward towards the consolidation of socialism and the advance to communism. Thus the whole cultural superstructure became more focused, more highly activated, and more directly political. The aim was to seize the consciousness of the masses and to transform the ideas of the cultural revolution into a *material force* that would prevent the restoration of capitalism and ensure the movement forward.

Struggle Between the Old and the New

This leads us to the second great advance of literary theory during the cultural revolution which was in its solution of the relationship between the old and the new in the field of literature and culture. Although a guideline was taken from Mao's formula of making the old serve the new" explained in the *Yenan Talks*, the relationship took in new and more complex elaborations in the cultural revolution. Mao himself, in fact, participated directly in advancing ideas in this field and in connection with concrete literary issues. Back in 1944 during the first experiments with reforming traditio-

nal opera, Mao congratulated the group which initiated those experiments and showed his full support:

"History is made by the people. Yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) present the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera."

Once again in 1951 in connection with a film entitled *The Life of Wu Hsun* Mao directly intervened linking the specifically literary problem with the fundamental political issue of class struggle and drawing certain conclusions that overshadowed the theory and the whole course of development of the cultural revolution:

"The appearance of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, and particularly the praise lavished on Wu Hsun and the film, show the degree of ideological confusion reached in our country's cultural circles.

In the view of many writers, history has developed not by the replacement of the old by the new, but the straining of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, not by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who had to be overthrown, but by the negation of the class struggle of the oppressed and their submission to these rulers in the manner of Wu Hsun."

The question Mao had raised at the end of the essay became fundamental fifteen years later in the revolutionary upheaval:

"Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communist claim to have grasped?"

One can regard the cultural revolution, in fact, as the culmination of these struggles and as the summation of the historical lessons learnt from them.

"Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it

must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society."

The solution of the relationship between the old and the new is here linked directly to the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution.

This instruction of Mao's was made to be the theoretical basis of the revolutionization of the classical Chinese opera. This was an artistic form that, unlike other forms such as cinema, poetry and the novel, had not been revolutionized and suffered from "quite a few problems". It was a popular artistic form that was used on a nationwide scale to propagate feudal and bourgeois culture. The solution was to retain the form and transform the content. Hence, the model revolutionary operas on contemporary themes.

At the same time that the old bourgeois and feudal culture is destroyed or remoulded and replaced, a new proletarian socialist culture is produced.

"We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as the literature and art of the 1930's (in the Kuomintang areas of China). At that time, the left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Berlinsky, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art..."

Some Conclusions

Many ideas come out in this passage which should be carefully read. First, bourgeois-democratic culture however progressive in a particular historical moment is exploitative in content and reactionary when compared to proletarian-socialist culture. Secondly, the overestimation of European and Russian clas-

sical literature (which was essentially bourgeois in content) by Stalin had bad effects on Soviet literature. Thirdly, even socialist literature of the past must not be blindly worshiped and blindly imitated. It must certainly not replace literary creation reflecting contemporary conditions of the working people and the contemporary course of the class struggle.

These three key ideas, together with the exposure of the big revisionist figures in the field of literature like Sholokhov which the report advocates, represent a definite advance in Marxist aesthetic theory.

One of the great achievements of the cultural revolution was that it developed socialist literary theory bringing it to a completely new stage. All Marxists will have to look at literature and art in a new, more advanced way after the experience of the cultural revolution. An attempt will be made here to enumerate some of those advances:

Art and Reality – Art has always been regarded as a reflection of reality. Socialist realism in commonly known definition is the truthful depiction of reality in its revolutionary development. The cultural revolution put great emphasis on the relationship of art to *present-day* reality. "To find men truly great and noble-hearted", Mao had said, "one must look here to the present". Never was the contemporaneity of literature more immediately felt than during the cultural revolution.

Literature and Revolution – As part of the superstructure that plays such an active role in the cultural revolution, literature reaches the stage where it is more than a catalyst or external force or even "the cog and screw in the revolutionary machine" of Lenin in 1905. It is, in fact, *the very domain* where the revolution takes place.

Art and Ideology – Nothing reveals the ideological nature of art and the whole cultural superstructure more accurately than the complex struggles of a revolutionary process. At the stage we are discussing the clean break of Marxist ideology from all previous ideologies is reaffirmed and re-applied more widely in the field of culture. Socialist culture and socialist literature mark a continuation only in form, but a break that is complete in content with previous cultures and previous literatures.

Culture and Revisionism – Lastly, the cultural revolution unmasks the revisionist, and hence ultimately bourgeois reactionary nature of such figures as Lukacs, Sholokhov, Simonov and Stanislavsky thus advancing the strug-

gle against revisionism in the cultural field forward. Just as in the political domain, the bourgeoisie in the field of culture works its way back to domination first through revisionist ideas before revealing its true reactionary character.

The cultural revolution is said to have begun with an article in a Shanghai newspaper criticizing the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* by Wu Han, the historian and the vice mayor of Peking. Yao Wen-Yuan, the author, accused Wu Han of down-grading the peasantry and glorifying feudal officials by heroically depicting a feudal minister, Hai Jui, who had stood up to the emperor and was, as a result, dismissed from his post. Furthermore, Yao implicitly levelled the most serious charge of sabotaging collectivization in agriculture at Wu Han who, by having Hai Jui support distributing land among the peasants, had attacked the establishment of the people's communes. He accused the play of using a distorted picture of history in order to "make veiled criticism of contemporary people". Yao, however, did not spell it out in that article that the "contemporaries criticized" by the play were no less than the party leadership and Mao Tse-Tung himself, and that Hai Jui was a thinly disguised symbol for the rightist general, Peng Teh-huai, who was dismissed in 1959 from his post as defense minister for attacking the party's line on the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes.

Yao's article was reprinted within three weeks in two major dailies initiating a wide campaign against Wu Han. Yet, while many other critics joined the attack, the press still published articles in his defense. Wu Han finally appeared to give in by producing a self-criticism admitting that he had adopted a bourgeois standpoint in his academic research and vowed to correct his mistakes. This was rejected, however, as veiled "counter-criticism" by a published symposium of Shanghai intellectuals, and the campaign continued for another three months.

So far the attack on Wu Han could still be regarded as part of a wider campaign against bourgeois and revisionist writers and intellectuals that had started in 1964. Events took a sharp turn in April 1966. During that month it became clear that the rectification campaign of the intellectuals was transforming into a much wider political upheaval.

Beginnings Of Cultural Revolution

First, there were two early signals. One, a speech by Kuo Mo-jo, one of China's most renowned writers and the president of the Academy of Sciences, that indicated a new major rethinking or even upheaval was approaching. It was a self-initiated self-criticism in which Kuo disavowed the 'many millions of words' he had written throughout his literary career.

The second signal was a series of editorials in *People's Daily* on the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, which they attributed to the birth of a privileged stratum of cadres. By making use of its dominant *political* position, this new class had transformed the socialist system of collective ownership into systems of its own private ownership. Economically, the Soviet Union was socialist only in name, but capitalist in essence. The restoration had been achieved through those who were no longer socialist in outlook, and had gained a predominant position in the political and ideological sphere. This provided a 'serious historical lesson' for China, the articles warned. In order to prevent a similar transformation of the socialist system, the fiercest struggles had to be waged in the political and ideological levels. 'Bourgeois and feudal ideas still retained a considerable influence in literary and art circles, historical circles, philosophical circles, economic circles, educational and journalist circles'. Unless these bourgeois elements were prevented from usurping leadership in their particular areas of activity, capitalism would be restored to China just as it was restored in the Soviet Union:

"It is precisely under the slogans of 'putting economics first', 'putting technique first', 'putting one's work first' and 'putting specialists first', and by relying on the many bourgeois elements and political degenerates who claim to be 'specialists' and 'scholars', that the Krushchev modern revisionist clique has usurped the leading positions in all spheres of work."

The attack on Wu Han spread wider with an article on April 16 in the *Peking Daily* criticizing "*Three Household Village*" a column in a Peking newspaper written jointly by Wu Han, Liao Mo-sha and Teng T'o who was the secretary of the Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The most important attack on Teng T'o was by Yao Wen-yuan, the same writer who had initiated the Wu Han campaign. From a detailed textual analysis of the two columns, Yao pro-

ved that the three writers had colluded and conspired to propagate ideas aimed at reversing the decisions taken in 1959 by which Peng Teh-huai was dismissed. They were a continuation of Wu Han's *Hai Jui* articles and play, but in a new form. "Three Family Village" and "Night Talks" also satirized the policies of the Great Leap Forward and the communes, and ridiculed Mao personally. Yao also suggested that the rightest trio had more important backers in the party ranks.

Abolition Of Exams

The next important events were the abolition of the examination system of entrance to universities, and the postponement of student enrolment for half a year in 1966. Plans were announced for major reforms in education. The old educational system was attacked for being elitist and prejudiced against students of worker and peasant origin, for encouraging careerism and personal advancement, for depoliticizing students by compelling them to bury themselves in books at the expense of politics and for promoting cramming and learning by rote.

The first cultural revolution rally was attended by 10 000 people in Shanghai. Plans were announced to struggle for control of the ideological and cultural fields in the city, and the bourgeois representatives and authorities in those fields were named. Thus a new phase of the campaign began characterized by denunciation and exposure of leading party officials and administrators in the fields of culture, propaganda and education. The period which lasted for three months introduced the wide use of wall posters, known as the Big-Character Posters, and the mobilization of mass rallies that culminated finally in the formation of a new revolutionary organization called the Red Guards.

The next important official to be denounced was Chou Yang who had been the Party's chief figure in the culture and propaganda departments since the 1930s. This initiated a particularly vigorous campaign through newspapers, big-character posters and mass meetings. Denounced by name, Chou Yang was described as the 'big red umbrella covering all monsters'. Many in the literature, art, film, journalism and propaganda fields were dismissed for being his followers. Chou Yang was also linked to P'eng Chen, who was still not personally named, and was accused of acting on his orders.

Meanwhile the educational reform movement continued with plans and proposals for shortening courses and periods of study, implementing part-work part-study programs, eliminating courses that were 'divorced from production and reality', remoulding the outlook, of the teaching staff and abolishing the 'bourgeois system of titles and ranks' among professors.

Revisionist Military Thinking

Other areas of reform were economics and military thinking. The economic theories of Sun Yeh-fang were criticized for advocating profits, bonuses and the system of material incentives. Similarly, in the army, the revisionist ideas of abrogating political work and building an army fashioned on the Soviet model were traced back to Peng Teh-huai. He, and his followers, were accused of using "modernization" as a pretext for opposing Mao's line on a people's army that was linked to the masses, was highly politicized and participated in socialist construction and mass work. By putting military technique first, they wanted to copy foreign models, principally the Soviet model, and change the PLA into a bourgeois army.

During this campaign of 'making the army a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought', 10 000 fully-armed militiamen swam across the Yangtse river in emulation of Mao's own celebrated swim that had initiated mass swims across the country.

On August 5 Mao produced his own big-character poster titled "Bombard the Headquarters". Widely publicized throughout China, it explicitly pointed to the chief *political* target of the cultural revolution.

Three days later a central committee document concerning the cultural revolution, the famous 16-point decision was published. The "16-points", which have been described as the basic program of the revolution, clarified the chief tasks and targets under what later became the celebrated slogan of "Struggle-criticism-transformation":

"At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road ... to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' ... and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base."

All these targets came within the wider aim of the revolution which was 'to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work'. Success was seen to be dependent upon whether or not 'the Party leadership dared boldly to arouse the masses', and while certain methods for ensuring the outcome of the revolution were given, mass participation and mass initiative were regarded as vital.

The 16-Points Document

In response to the publication of the "16-points" the people began, within a very short period of time, to hold mass rallies the first of which, in Peking's Tien An Men, totalled over a million people. After a Shanghai rally of similar size, the Red Guard organizations appeared and covered the capital with big-character posters proclaiming the end of all bourgeois remnants. Three days later, the *People's Daily* editorial titled "It's Fine", echoing Mao's enthusiastic words for the spontaneous peasant uprisings of 1927 that had pointed the way to the first Chinese revolution, applauded the activities of the Red Guards and considered any opposition to them equivalent to opposing Mao himself.

The Red Guards

On October 1st, the 17th anniversary of the revolution, Mao himself attended the celebrations greeting a million and a half participants. Rallies continued throughout November, increasing steadily in size, until they reached the figure of two millions. A new experience was said to have developed and was described as extensive democracy. What it meant was the power of the masses to air their views fully through debates, posters and the mass media, and their power to criticize and supervise the work of the party and of the government. The scale at which this was achieved was described as "a new contribution by Chairman Mao to Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship" by which "the people's democratic rights (were) being fully realised in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune".

In the last week of November, a long pamphlet widely circulated throughout Peking demanded the dismissal of Liu Shao-ch'i, the president, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the general secretary of the party, both politburo members. A wall poster which came out nearly a

month later contained a self-criticism by Liu in which he admitted sending work teams to universities in Peking in order to suppress the cultural revolutionary work there during the months of June and July. The poster, however, dismissed Liu's self-criticism as "superficial".

A joint New Year editorial by the *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* compared the cultural revolution with the October revolution calling it 'the greatest event in the sixth decade of the 20th century' which had 'opened a new era in the history of the international communist movement'.

Continuing the Revolution Against Capitalist Restoration

The article maintained that after the victory of the October revolution, it was impossible to solve the series of problems connected with maintaining proletarian political power, and to discover the theory and practice of continuing the socialist revolution under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. Since then, there had been a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union that provided a negative lesson for China, and clarified the tasks of the new stage in the Chinese revolution.

The article continued to describe how Mao himself sided with and supported the Red Guards when 'they were attacked and assaulted from all sides' by those who put forth the bourgeois line.

The editorial, finally, enumerated three tasks ahead of the revolution in 1967. First, to continue the cultural revolution in factories and communes under the slogan, "grasp the revolution and promote production". Second, to carry on the cultural revolution in the schools, and in the cultural sphere, and to promote in a planned way the integration of the students, teachers and intellectuals with the worker-peasant masses. Finally, to develop extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These were the dramatic events of the first year of the cultural revolution. We shall now go back to the specifically literary polemics of that year before describing the revolutionization of drama in the final section of this essay.

The April 18 editorial evoked a wide response, giving rise to a steady flow of letters and articles. One of the more celebrated of these articles, another *Liberation Army* Editorial titled

"Never Forget the Class Struggle", described it as 'an acute, protracted struggle on the question of "who will win" in the realm of ideology, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie'.

Sugar-coated Bullets

The clear lesson to be drawn was that the struggle between the two lines was such a recurrent event that it had gained the status of a law of development of socialist culture. Victory in those campaigns, moreover, determined whether or not the society as a whole was going to stay on the socialist road or it was going to change colour. This was an enemy armed not with guns, but with the 'sugar-coated bullets' of bourgeois ideas, bourgeois culture and bourgeois way of life. It did not threaten the overthrow of socialism by force, but the 'peaceful evolution' back to capitalism through the corruption of the leading communists in power by bourgeois ideology and their degeneration into bourgeois elements. Hungary and the Soviet Union already provided the serious historical precedent for what should not be dismissed as a mere 'scholar's rebellion' or 'paper polemics':

"In fact, every counter-revolutionary restoration starts in the realm of the mind — including ideology, the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art — so as to win over public opinion. This was the way Khrushchov revisionism usurped the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. Likewise, in Hungary in 1956, it was a number of revisionist and bourgeois writers, artists and intellectuals who organized the Petofi Club and acted as the shock force in the counter-revolutionary riots."

With the appearance of the first big-character poster, and the dismissal of P'eng Chen, the revolution entered a new, more intensely political, stage. The literary and cultural campaign was nearing victory, and a new target was looming in the horizon — the seizure of state power.

"We criticize the system of exploitation, the exploiting classes, imperialism, modern revisionism, all reactionaries, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists.

We criticize the representatives of the bourgeoisie, and bourgeois "scholars and authorities".

We criticize the bourgeois conception of history, bourgeois academic theories, pedagogy,

journalism and theories of art and literature, and all bad plays, films and works of literature and art.

In sum, we criticize the old world, the old ideology and culture, and old customs and habits which imperialism and all exploiting classes use to poison the minds of the working people, we criticize all non-proletarian ideology, all reactionary ideology which is antagonistic to Marxism-Leninism, to Mao Tse-tung's thought".

This was the climax of the critical, and destructive, spirit of the cultural side of the proletarian cultural revolution. In order to build the new, the old has to be destroyed, and it has to be destroyed *first*.

An example of the new proletarian writing that was going to replace the old bourgeois and revisionist literature was a novel by Chin Ching-mai about the life and heroic death of an ordinary PLA soldier, Ou-yang Hai. The novel, with that name, differed at first encounter from the previous literature in having an active class-conscious hero with a poor peasant background. In this it was an advance upon even such previously highly-acclaimed works as *The White Haired Girl*, the first modern opera to achieve wide popularity in China. On closer reading, however, the book suffered from a one-sided emphasis on individualistic 'self-cultivation' which accounts for its rejection in the later stages of the cultural revolution. The blooming of the new literature had to await the production of the revolutionary operas.

He was not fully exposed, however, until he began to work actively for capitalist restoration by encouraging and protecting writers who attacked the Great Leap Forward and defended Peng Teh-huai, by sabotaging the efforts to revolutionize the theatre and by looking back to the literature of the 1930s and reviving the erroneous bourgeois ideas connected with the literature of that era. Mao's interventions in 1962, 1963 and 1964 which led to the dismissal of a number of Chou Yang's closest followers and which elicited a self-criticism from Chou Yang himself, were seen as stages in the struggle against the bourgeois line culminating finally in his fall in the summer of 1966 in the midst of the cultural revolution.

It is enlightening to follow the course of the case against Chou Yang as a negative example that reveals a great deal about the literary theory of the cultural revolution. At the outset Chou Yang was accused of promoting bourge-

ois European literature and feudal Chinese literature and opposing the socialist transformation in the field.

Together with the slavish worship of bourgeois European culture, Chou Yang was accused of advocating the wholesale promotion of ancient Chinese culture, particularly feudal art and literature.

Chou Yang was also accused of having systematically attempted to corrupt revolutionary writers and to transform socialist into bourgeois literature through ideological corrosion and peaceful evolution. He was against delving deep into the life of the masses, and advised young people not to go to the villages and factories. What he advocated, in fact, was that writers should stay in their studies behind closed doors in order to "improve their skill" and become specialists. Furthermore:

"He was against giving prominence to politics and pursued the policy of 'the three highs' — high salaries, high royalties and high awards . . . Chou Yang opposed the party's cultivation of the younger generation. He preached a kind of 'three-famous' principle — famous writers, famous directors and famous actors."

So when he fell, the whole stifling establishment fell with him, creating the necessary conditions for the development of Marxist literary theory to a new stage.

The creation of new proletarian culture, however, was by no means an easy task. The Chou Yang clique had to be bitterly fought at the same time that imperialist and revisionist culture were being constantly repudiated. Imperialism, revisionism and Chinese reactionaries in the guise of Communists formed an unholy alliance. They had to be smashed as a necessary condition for the development of the new socialist culture.

Struggle in Field of Drama

The fiercest and most fruitful battles took place in the field of drama. As a tool for the cultural elevation of the masses, drama was dangerously susceptible to transforming into a device for their bourgeoisification. This was already pointed out by Mao who back in his Yanan Talks had warned that in the process of elevation the masses must follow 'their own line of ascent' and not be 'raised' to the level of feudalists or bourgeois intellectuals. Chou Yang and his group followed the time-honoured tactic of depoliticizing the theatre and deforming it into a vehicle for mere entertainment. They

substituted what Roger Howard has called the anaesthetizing function of drama for its agitational function.

The central problem in the theatre was the theatrical workers themselves. As intellectuals, they were mainly drawn from the petty bourgeois class and inevitably brought some of their bourgeois, and at times even feudal, outlook to their work. So together with the reform of the content of drama, there had to be an ideological reform of the outlook of those working in the field.

This, however, was a difficult and protracted task. In the periods of deadlock, a high tide of revolutionary upsurge, as in the Great Leap Forward or the cultural revolution, would sweep away the unreformed intellectuals and put the masses in command of all the aspects of literary and artistic creation. In the field of drama, this aspect of the struggle often manifested itself as a conflict between the amateur and the professional theatrical groups, described below:

“Professionals and amateurs are officially supposed to learn from each others’ good points on an equal footing. The professionals regard the amateur companies as technically primitive while the officials fear them as cultural power bases that may escape their supervision. In the cultural revolution the worker and peasant amateurs, together with radical Party members and sympathizers among professional theatre workers, destroyed the old Ministry of Culture and briefly opened the way to a resurgence of agitational amateur theatre.”

The struggle between the two lines continued in a variety of forms between the years 1949 and 1966. In essence the bourgeois line predominated during this 17-year period, with the proletarian line waging a series of successful battles against it. Victory, however, did not come until the close of the period and the commencement of the cultural revolution. For the first time, the real leaders of the bourgeois line – those in charge of the Ministry of Culture and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Party – were unmasked, repudiated and overthrown. As the culmination of a series of long and bitter struggles, the cultural revolution was a great victory. Its success was unparalleled in Chinese history. The working class and the masses were in full command. Once we see the basic contradiction of the whole epoch as one between the bureaucrats and the people, then we can understand better how the two-line struggle was reflected in the drama of the epoch.

During the first decade, the revolutionaries had two aims: first, to produce plays reflecting the workers’ and peasants’ efforts in the socialist transformation of society, and secondly, to reform the most popular theatrical form – traditional opera, along the line already established in Yenan. Progress, however, was slow in both areas, due mainly to the obstructions put up by the bourgeois line. Most of the drama of the fifties reflected the conflict between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’, the ‘backward’ and the ‘advanced’ methods of work in which all the problems encountered were finally resolved *for* the masses through the intervention of the officials, the bureaucrats or the expert intellectuals. ‘The recourse to the expert in the drama of the fifties’, as Howard puts it, was a subtle tactic by which the bourgeois line propagated its influence in the field. Things were still done *for* the people and not by them – essentially a disguised continuation of the ‘good’ feudal official theme that figured in so many examples of traditional opera.

Although several attempts were made throughout the decade to produce plays that gave a more active role to the masses, the main line continued to prevail. It was not until the Great Leap Forward that revolutionary, agitational drama was attempted on a wide scale, setting itself up as the *alternative* to the old, bourgeois drama.

As the struggle intensified in the eight-year period separating the two great movements, the bourgeoisie recognized the threats to its dominance and fought back desperately.

Socialist Education Movement

In 1962, Mao initiated the socialist education movement. He laid down the basic aim of the movement as the prevention of capitalist restoration. From then on Chiang Ching began her active involvement in the reform of traditional opera. The fight was fierce, and, although the 1964 Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes was an indication of the success of her efforts, the cultural officials still held nearly all the ropes tightly in their hands. They were all too eager to bring the whole affair to a close. When Mao himself stepped in and accused them of acting as ‘high and mighty bureaucrats’, the struggle took a sharp new turn.

Mao, in fact, had intervened twice in those years issuing two important instructions, that were later widely publicized in the cultural revolution.

The first instruction dated December 13, 1963 was a clear indication that the socialist education movement had been sabotaged in the sphere of art and culture. 'Problems abound', it asserted, 'in many cultural departments where very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation' and where 'the dead still dominate'. It singled out drama as an area where those problems were even more serious. Mao's instruction ended with the following question: "Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?"

It was later known that by 1964, Mao had already come to the conclusion that in China, as previously in other socialist countries, there had developed an antagonistic contraction between "the bureaucrat class" on the one hand and "the working class" on the other, which could *only* be resolved in the course of a cultural revolution.

One of the key advances of literary theory in the cultural revolution, upon which the other components of the theory could be built, was based upon the idea that socialist literature represented a radical break with old literature as well as with contemporary, bourgeois and revisionist, developments. In the Chinese context this theoretical position translated itself into the concrete overthrow of the 17-year domination of anti-socialist theories and practices. Those were said to be 'a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art, and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930's (in the Kuomintang areas of China)'. The three strands had amalgamated and formed a historically continuous line which, dominating in the republican era (of 1949 onwards), went back to the thirties from where it could ultimately be traced back, by way of the Soviet theories, to the old bourgeois ideas of the nineteenth century and especially the ideas of the Russian bourgeois literary critics — Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. True socialists had to make a clean break with that tradition:

"The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art."

In other words, it is not enough to change the economic base of society, the whole ideological and cultural superstructure must also be transformed. The proletariat must exercise its dictatorship over the latter as well as the former, so that no traces of bourgeois, and feudal, ideas are left. On this very point, in fact, the Chinese and the Soviet practices most radically differ. The cultural revolution that started in the Soviet Union in the late twenties was stopped short. It was immediately followed by a 'Great Retreat' that initiated a long-term domination of diametrically opposed policies, and left the earlier phase behind more as a temporary aberration. From the mid-thirties onward, Stalin re-affirmed the old cultural policies and new conservatism set in over the whole cultural sphere. As was recognized in the first open Chinese criticism of this aspect of Stalin's policies, 'he uncritically took over what are known as the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad'. What Stalin did, in fact, was to substitute bourgeois literature for socialist literature and the ideas of bourgeois literary critics for socialist literary criticism. This was a grave mistake that paved the way for the triumph of revisionism, first, in the cultural sphere and consequently for the return of capitalism. Clearly, a lesson had to be drawn from Stalin's experience.

The old Bourgeois Culture and Socialism

The consequences of the lesson are what bourgeois and revisionist observers usually describe as Red Guard 'excesses' and Red Guard 'trampling on culture'.

A Russian writer gives a breast-beating account of how negatively the Chinese regard western bourgeois authors of previous epochs, from Shakespeare down to Tolstoy. After shedding enough tears for what he calls 'world culture', he finally moves on to recount Chinese criticisms of soviet writers. This takes us to the second major advance in literary theory during the cultural revolution which entailed the open break with revisionist theories and practices in literature and art. Revisionism, as distinct from openly bourgeois ideology, disguises its nature. It declares itself to be socialist but is, in fact, bourgeois ideology, and, hence, a more dangerous, because more concealed, form of that ideology. For the first time, Marxist theorists confronted the famous revisionist writers and tore the masks off their faces. Sholokhov, Simonov, Ehrenburg, Lukacs and others were repudiated and their real nature as

revisionist propagandists were revealed. The initiative in this campaign was also taken by Chiang Ching who in her key speech of 1966 said that they 'must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai', but should go after 'the big ones' like Sholokhov whom she called 'the father of revisionist literature and art' admitting that his novels had 'exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers'.

Character Portrayal

The third area in which there was breakthrough in literary theory centered around the question of character-portrayal. Already in the *Yenan Talks*, Mao had refuted the bourgeois humanist ideas on the depiction of literary characters, rampant among writers at the time. 'is there such a thing as human nature?' he had asked rhetorically. And the answer was 'of course, there was' – but, not as an abstract concept, rather as a concrete embodiment in human beings who, in a class society, inevitably belong to one class or another. Therefore, there is no human nature that is *out there*, in an abstract realm, above the classes of society. Just as human nature differs from class to class, so does the very concept of human nature. As a Marxist revolutionary, Mao concluded, 'we uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence'.

Translated into literary doctrine what Mao califies is that there can be no typical characters that represent Humanity or "complex human feelings" or 'true men' or any of the other similar ideas advocated by the Yenan writers at the time. Human nature is not one and the same everywhere and all the time. Men are not the same and even 'their joys and sorrows' are not alike. As Lu Hsun had remarked, 'the poor never have to worry about losing money on the stock exchange, and an oil magnate does not know the trials of an old woman collecting cinders'.

In practice, what the "humanist" theories amounted to was the promotion of bourgeois and feudal classes. By so-called 'deepening' of the personality and depicting 'the good aspects' of bad persons and 'the backward ideas' of heroes, the "humanist" writers neglected social relations and adopted an idealist for-

mula that had the effect of extolling the exploiters and downgrading the masses.

Socialist literature openly demands the portrayal of heroes from the working and peasant classes – the positive characters. The feudals and the capitalist should be portrayed as what they are – negative characters. In the contrast between the two, emphasis should clearly be given to the positive characters.

The eight revolutionary model works produced on these principles during the cultural revolution includes the Peking operas *Taking the bandit's stronghold*, *On the docks*, *The red lantern*, *Sachiapang*, and *Raid on the white tiger regiment*, the ballets *The white-haired girl* and *The red detachment of women* and the symphonic work *Sachiapang*.

The following excerpt is the best description of how the victors regarded the nature of the upheaval that they brought about:

"Symbolized by the sparkling successes of the model revolutionary theatrical works, the proletarian revolution in literature and art is an important component part of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is different from the system of exploitation with another. It is different from the bourgeois "Renaissance" which replaced one system of exploitation with another. It is different from the bourgeois "Enlightenment Movement" which left the system of exploitation intact. And it is different from China's "May 4th Movement" which was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in content. The series of model revolutionary theatrical works personally fostered by our respected and beloved comrade Chiang Ching has created images of proletarian heroes unknown in history, driven off the representatives of the landlords and bourgeoisie who dominated the stage for thousands of years and enabled the real masters of history to enter the realm of literature and art. Thus begins a new era in the history of literature and art."

The very process of producing the model operas entailed an advance in Marxist literary theory which was the fourth major breakthrough – the theory and practice of collective authorship.

The cultural revolution, witnessed for the first time the application of collective authorship in the field of drama – and film production – in a practical and highly successful way. The new method was singled out by Chiang Ching in her 1964 speech as 'the key to tackling the problem of creative writing' for the theatre:

“In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the writing of liberetti for Peking opera. Playwrights are few and they lack experience of life. So it is only natural that no good plays are being created. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the professional theatrical artists and the masses.”

This three-in-one combination, she went on to add, was her observation of an already existing practice among playwrights and theatre workers:

“Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was created and I found that they did it exactly like this. First, the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of what life was really like. They even took part in military operation to round up enemy spies. When the play was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow military command took part in discussion on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in turning out in a fairly short time such a good play that is a topical reflection of real life struggle.”

The successful revolutionization of the opera depended on collective writing and, indeed, re-writing. Each model opera went through several versions and was constantly being rewritten until the “final” model form was established.

Collective Writing

In the process, the collective method was also proving to be a great practical success. The idea, however, was not new. Even as early as 1960 Chou Yang, for example, had to admit its radical significance. The impetus, of course, was that unparalleled movement of mass literary activity in the Great Leap Forward of 1958. As S.H. Chen has explained, together with the increase in grain and steel production, there was a phenomenal increase in the production of poems and songs. The ‘million poem movement’, as it was called, was not a mere hyperbole; it was a statistical accuracy based on real figures that were later to become like the fulfilment of production quotas.

In Shanghai, for example, the number of participants in literary creation jumped in one

year – from 1957 to 1958 – from 889 to over 200 000, having produced in that year more than five million works. Even in a small town in the Hopei province, which may be taken as a rough national average, over 6 thousand participated in writing poems and songs producing over 83 thousand throughout the year. This gives the average of more than 13 poems per person which, with a national population of 600 million, turns the movement into a multimillion poem movement.

The new literary movement was an attempt to create new folk poetry – poems and songs produced by workers and peasants to match the advance in material production. The people’s Communes which were established in 1958 wanted to make a deliberate linkage with the ancient communal life and to tap the very sources of the ancient folk poetry.

The great success of this poetry and song movement brought new advances even on the theoretical level, and helped to clarify certain aspects of the Marxist theory of art and literature. The imbalance that Marx has pointed out between artistic production and material production was clarified and understood in a better perspective. Bourgeois writers and critics have a great attachment to the passages in which Marx explains this particular idea and use them regularly either to downgrade socialist literature or to raise old – feudal or bourgeois – literature to the sky and set it up as the model or exemplary literature.

Marx did not live in a socialist society, and he did not refer to socialist literature. What he was discussing was the essential antagonism of capitalism to literature and to artistic creation generally. Therefore, in spite of the huge advance of the productive forces under capitalism, there was a great retarding of culture – symptomatic of the general lag of consciousness – in the system. Bourgeois culture never *seems* to reach the standards of the culture of the older epochs where the development of the forces of production and the cultural superstructure were more in line with each other, and where the division of labour had not so drastically set in.

As socialist society works towards the *resolution* of these contradictions – between the base and the superstructure, between manual and mental labour – a new era in literary production is ushered in whereby it is possible to produce works that far surpass all the forms of ancient literature. The Great Leap Forward, and later the cultural revolution, were to provide examples of such an era.

Power of the Cultural Revolution

In any wide movement of mass literary activity artistic quality will certainly differ from poem to poem. There is, however, no doubt about the tremendous literary and artistic success of the movement as a whole. Like any successful literary revolution, it had a very powerful social impact. It created new emotions, new thoughts and new images of popular heroes, all of which in travelling the creative route from the masses and back in a heightened literary form to the masses, created a virtually new spiritual life. For the first time, the masses were going to express poetically their own role as the creators of life and the movers of history. The foolish old man celebrated in the famous Mao article was one of the most widely admired popular heroes created during this literary movement. He became the symbol of the people's persistence in achieving what seemed to be impossible.

Linking itself with the old Chinese folk poetry, the new collectivist mass poems and songs surpassed the old bourgeois individualist poetry both quantitatively and qualitatively. The cultural revolution extended the practice more widely into the field of drama and witnessed the complete and overwhelming victory of the principle of collective authorship in all literary activity. The old bourgeois principle of private authorship was banished forever, and with such revolutionary consequences that even bourgeois observers could not deny.

What has become quite clear, in fact, is that literature has never played as great a role in any revolution and in any previous historical epoch as it did in the cultural revolution. The "paradox" that escapes the bourgeois observers is that during those very years the old concept of literature, and the old practice of literature, received their severest blows. The cultural revolution was the greatest celebration of socialist literature at the same time that it was the greatest repudiation of bourgeois and revisionist literature.

It was the final nail in the coffin of literature as a private, individualist kind of activity. Lenin's long-forgotten cry of "Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen!" was now put into practice. The "famous old names" of modern Chinese literature — Mao Tun, Pa Chin, Lao She, etc. — revealed their true colors by fighting the revolution which eventually swept them all aside. Only Kuo Mo-jo, through a deceitful self-criticism, managed to escape. The fame and fortune hunters who had sunk into the mire of luxury and revisionism during the period of domination of the revisionist line in literature after 1949, were themselves hunted down and thoroughly repudiated.

The biggest blow, in fact, was aimed at the professional writers who were entangled in the Liu Shao-chi/Chou Yang literary-cultural apparatus. Much to the dismay of bourgeois and revisionist observers, they all lost their positions almost overnight. A Chinese Petofi Club was not going to see the light.

The cultural revolutionaries were not only cultural 'barbarians', they were also cultural 'xenophobes'. They did not just 'disfigure' classical Chinese opera, but also 'failed' to appreciate Mozart, Shakespeare and Tolstoy — 'world Culture', in fact, as the Russian observer bemoaned. This double-targeted achievement of the cultural revolution infuriated the bourgeoisie and the revisionists everywhere. No other great revolution has swept away so many cultural freaks and monsters, so effectively and in so short a time.

What did it put in their place? A Marxist-Leninist analysis of socialist and pre-socialist culture, the principle of collective authorship, i.e. the application of the mass line in literature, and socialist art, as exemplified by the revolutionary model operas. These are no mean achievements in the space of three tumultuous years. The understanding and creative application and development of these achievements provide the acid test for the true colors of any intellectual or cultural worker in our era.

British Colonialism and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Ireland

The co-writers of the two part article on the Irish Struggle, who wish to remain anonymous, requested IKWEZI to dedicate this article to the memory of COMRADE NICK, a British revolutionary who was firmly dedicated to the liberation of Ireland from British Imperialism, and a supporter of the Azanian liberation struggle and the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Part I

British Colonialism And the Stuggle For Self-Determination And Uinity in Ireland

Introduction:

The question of national independence in Ireland has been a central issue of Irish history for over 800 years and though at times other issues have gained prominence or been created to confuse and cloud this, they have proved incapable of hiding the nature and crucial importance of foreign domination and imperialism in Ireland. This article is intended to show through a brief look at English colonialism in Irish history, the prime role of the struggle for self-determination over all the other problems facing the Irish people.

Early Attempts at Colonization

The European peoples who constituted the Celts of Ireland had a relatively well developed type of society in which the clan system existed as the social structure. (The Celts inhabited many parts of Western Europe. In Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Cornwall they were known as Gaels.) This system had been in Ireland for many centuries before the first attempts at colonization, and in fact remained until the later plantations (colonizations) by Cromwell in 1600's. The first colonies were established by Viking raiders who had been attacking the Gaels sporadically for 300 years before their defeat by the Irish clans led by Brian Bone in 1014. A century later the ground was prepared for England's invasion when the Pope granted the English the right to possess Ireland (for the crown and church) and the English monarchy had the problems of an unsatisfied greedy section of the nobility. This was the illegitimate barons and feudal nobility who could not achieve their aims within the confines of England's realm without posing a threat to the mo-

narchy. These problems were solved by an Anglo-Norman invasion in 1170 and a colony was established around the present capital of the Republic of Ireland, called the Pale. Within the Pale the English interests were safe but outside this relatively small area the Anglo-Norman invaders soon integrated into Gaelic society and English domination was threatened by their divided loyalties.

Oppressive laws against the Irish people, which put them under London's parliamentary rule and outlawed their culture, were passed in London but had little effect in Ireland at this time, there being no one to enforce them. For the next eight centuries the English monarchy proclaimed its sovereignty over Ireland, although its control was for a long while limited. With the reformation in Europe Protestantism was founded and whilst this had an important effect on the rest of Europe at this time Ireland remained catholic. The English monarchy changed hands and religions many times in the following centuries and whilst in the 1500s various uprisings took place in Ireland these were easily put down and English domination gradually extended. The towns of Londonderry and Belfast were established in the north of Ireland as symbols of English domination. In the 1640s whilst a bourgeois revolution took place against the monarchy in England the Irish clans rose demanding national independence, but they did not receive support from the lords and other important sections of the Anglo-Irish. With the Irish forces divided the anti-royalists who had gained control in England defeated the Irish clans and forced them from their lands and on these stolen lands the first major plantation of colonists took place.

It is interesting to note that Protestantism played a brutal role in Catholic Ireland. These colonists brought in by Cromwell to occupy the stolen lands of the clans of the N.E. Ireland were Protestants and non-conformist elements. Many of these were lowland Scottish, though elsewhere in Ireland the depopulated lands were used to pay off debts and this encouraged English landlords and speculators to take the cheap land to establish estates for themselves.

The revolution in England had been under the control of the mercantilist semi-industrial

bourgeoisie and against the old feudalist landlords and parasitic monarchy (parasitic on the bourgeoisie as well as everyone else) and hence the revolution was not completed. It was not long before the monarchy was restored in England with King James II and as a catholic he raised hopes for the oppressed Irish catholics.

Once again Ireland was to bear the brunt of the wars of the English ruling class. James was soon ousted by the state oligarchy and church, and so fled, first to France and then to Ireland to raise a catholic army to re-establish himself. The English bourgeoisie sent for aid to William of Orange in Holland who they appointed King of England and set himself to re-conquer Ireland, even though it had not been liberated from English rule. With James' unsuccessful siege of Londonderry (which was occupied by Protestants) and his defeat by William at the battle of the Boyne two folk tales originated which now form part of Protestant present day supremacist ideology. In fact the defeat of the Catholic James II by the Protestant William of Orange received the Pope's blessing. When the Irish armies were finally defeated most of them were exiled and the English parliament introduced more oppressive anti-catholic legislation.

These penal laws, as they were known, also affected the non-conformist and dissenter sects in the N.E. of Ulster, many who had been involved as the more radical elements in the 1640 anti-monarchy struggle in England, and led to an exodus of them to America. What these laws effectively did was to create a caste system under which the catholics were doubly oppressed, being regarded as a lower class than the protestant peasants, and an ascendant protestant superior caste. This protestant ascendancy has continued to exist through until today and has been the foundation stone to continued British rule. Throughout the Irish struggle catholicism has had a radical democratic content for the Irish people, though the catholic hierarchy has always had a reactionary nature and fulfilled this role, and it was against this radical element that protestant ascendancy stood.

England's Economic Domination of Ireland's Economy

With this latest conquest Ireland was now firmly established as an English colony and served as a testing ground for colonial policy.

Whatever benefits colonialism brought Ireland, if it did bring any, they were purely unin-

tentional. It did not at this time develop existing trade and manufacturing, instead import and export controls were used by England to destroy Irish trade. The successful beef and woollen trade was crippled by legislation to give superiority to its English competitors. One of the very few Irish industries allowed to continue unhindered was the linen industry, and this only because its English counterpart was unable to compete with the French and Dutch linen industry. It also happened that the linen industry was based in the protestant N.E. of Ireland. Ireland's economy was reduced to that of subjugation to the requirements of the English industry, becoming a supplier of raw materials.

One other result of economic strangulation of Ireland was to raise the importance of the potato to become the staple diet of the Irish peasant, thus creating conditions in which famine was inevitable with any failure of the potato crop. With the trade restrictions and hardships endured by the peasants, discontent and rebellion against the landlords and English grew. With the English Army committed and losing in the American War of Independence (1770's) the English Parliament was forced to make concessions to the parliament it had set up in Ireland, and in which a Patriotic Opposition had been formed by Henry Grattan demanding reform. This parliamentary reform gained Ireland a certain degree of autonomy, but only formal, and the movement Grattan led soon became divided and faded away in disillusionment.

In England a change of government led to the introduction of more liberal policies and for Ireland. This meant a relaxation of the penal laws and the sectarian divisions they had created. The unification of the discontented petit bourgeois, and later the peasants, was achieved by the formation of the Society of United Irishmen led by Wolfe Tone, a Protestant. Its demands for Catholic emancipation, agrarian reform, independence and adherence to the "Rights of Man" gained widespread support in Ireland and opposition in England.

When the French revolution took place England was aware of the threat of the newly inspired revolutionaries in Ireland and realised the necessity of crushing them. Legislation was passed to outlaw the bands of armed volunteers and force them to disband by threat of English military force, this being followed by conscription to the English Army fighting the French revolutionaries.

This conscription met with fierce opposition, intensified by the fact that the peasantry and the petit bourgeois supported the French revolution. Only by terrorism, coercion and concessions was England temporarily able to quieten this. The rising influence of the United Irishmen proved able to unite the Catholic and the Protestant and in an attempt to break and split this threat the leadership was arrested and convicted or forced into exile. In Ulster, sectarian land feuds which had been sporadic for many years previous, in 1795 led to the "Battle of the Diamond" where Catholic peasants were defeated by a small band of protestants encouraged by the Protestant hierarchy, in a small land feud. To celebrate this catholic defeat the local protestant hierarchy founded the Orange Society. In the Orange Society the protestant bourgeoisie and English government had a weapon to use against the United Irishmen and Catholic peasant organisations which had proven invaluable to English rule ever since, it has been referred to as the first fascist organisation in history.

Wolfe Tone made various attempts to return to Ireland with French aid to liberate the country from English rule and in 1798 a general insurrection took place led by the United Irishmen. It failed due to poor organisation and ill fortune, Tone being unable to land the French fleet and the uprising being expected by the English. It was as usual brutally put down and depicted by the protestant ruling class as an attempt to destroy protestantism. With its defeat the English parliament disbanded the Irish parliament and passed the Act of Union, uniting the two countries under London rule formally as part of Britain and attempting to stabilise by subjugation Ireland for English imperialist interests. As the United Irishmen had been defeated and with Wolfe Tone dead the subjugation of the Irish people attained a harsher form still.

Parliamentary Struggle For Independence and Further Rebellion

Entering into the 1800's Ireland's economy was still controlled by England and hence was very undeveloped, being a supplier to English industry for the most part. The landlord tenant social system prevailed in Ireland still at this time and the dispossessed peasantry suffered extreme poverty. It was with the rapid development of the industrial revolution in England and conflict of interests this brought out in Parliament between the feudalistic landlords

and industrial bourgeoisie that the radical Irish reformer, Daniell O'Connell, with Catholic support, obtained Catholic emancipation in 1829 (though at the same time O'Connell's organisation was suppressed). Catholic emancipation was a victory for the radical reformers and a blow to the reactionary Orange Order and its right wing Tory allies, but it was of little immediate consequence to the Catholic peasantry. All the peasantry were bound by law to pay tithes to the church, and in Ireland it was to most peasants an alien church (it Protestant and they Catholic) which demanded not a proper tithe but extortionate tithes that the peasants had to pay on top of their rents.

While O'Connell was involved in parliamentary reform in London a series of anti-tithe rebellions took place but the unarmed peasants were not able for the army and militia brought in to deal with them. Between 1832-34 these tithe wars were successful in obtaining a lower tithe and as such were a victory for the peasants' struggle, along with O'Connell's attempts to gain reform and a repeal of the Union Act (hindering Ireland to the English Parliament) the Young Ireland movement arose demanding repeal of the Act or separation.

While O'Connell carried on the parliamentary struggle in London with support from the radical English Charterists, in Ireland the Young Ireland Movement soon gained strength. The recognition of foreign domination and the need for national independence were never far from the surface of the consciousness of the Irish people, and O'Connell, to maintain his credibility, was forced to organise this consciousness into mobilisation for repealing of the Union Act. The Repeal Agitation held massively supported monster meetings as they were known and with the support it gained from radical and reforming elements in England and elsewhere it was seen as a threat to the London government.

Troops were sent over to Ireland and O'Connell's new movement was broken, as much by O'Connell himself as by the English. The movement mobilised by O'Connell was virtually destroyed by him because of its political consequences which O'Connell refused to accept, these being armed insurrection and separation from England, which he imagined to be counterposed to Catholicism. The latter reason succeeded in alienating the Protestant involvement in the Repeal Agitation.

Colonialism Laid Bare and the Ensuing Revolutionary Struggle

In 1846-8 the seeds of English colonial rule came to fruition. With the peasant population's forced dependence upon the potato as their staple diet, crop failures occurred. A third of the population starved to death and another million emigrated, some of these dying on passage to America. The English attempts to relieve this famine had no real sympathetic basis, the lowering of grain prices only meant that more grain had to be produced to raise the money to pay rents. The landlords extended their estates by evicting all those peasants who could not afford to pay the rents, this included most peasants, and all land held by peasants exceeding a quarter acre was confiscated before they could receive poor aid. In the famine years grain exports from Ireland to England were the largest ever and the export of cattle continued as before. There was in fact no shortage of food in Ireland.

During these years of famine the Young Ireland Movement and other organisations continued agitation and received support from the English charterist movement and an inspiring example from the French declaration of a republic and overthrow of the monarchy.

A general uprising against English rule and to gain independence was planned in 1848 but yet again the leaders were arrested and plans seized before any struggle had taken place. The English had once again moved in time and when the leaders were arrested demoralisation and famine prevented the rising taking place. Rural agitation and sporadic terrorism by small bands of peasants continued and for a few years (1850-54) this agitation was organised into a parliamentary struggle by the Tenants League but whilst it received massive support from the peasantry its leaders betrayed it and were bought off.

It was another good example of how parliamentary struggle alone was no use, colonialism and imperialism would never be defeated by ballot papers.

During the American Civil war thousands of Irishmen gained military training (on both sides, though mostly with the North), and the Fenian movement was set up amongst the exiled Irish, spreading to Ireland. It took its name from a Gaelic folk hero Finn Maelool and intended to unify and liberate Ireland and the Irish people. It was a revolutionary movement with certain socialist allegiances and it received support for its aims from the International

Workingmens Association, the first International founded by Marx. The Fenian movement in Ireland was swelled by the return from America of Irish Fenians and an insurrection was awaited, but the English arrested all the leaders and the movement was badly set back, becoming divided.

Two years later in 1867 another insurrection was planned, but poor communication and bad organisation resulted in the English authorities being well prepared in advance. The rising was doomed before it began. After this latest rising Fenian activity continued but was not capable of posing any new threats to English domination. The Fenians did by their actions induce the English Prime Minister to disestablish the Protestant church in Ireland in 1869, thus removing one of the many injustices suffered by the Irish Catholics (the Protestant church claiming tithes and submission from all the Irish).

However, the greatest service the Fenian movement gave was the reawakening of the desire for national independence through whatever means necessary, with its ideals coming from the rising of 1798 and Wolfe Tone. It revoked the spirit of struggle against English rule which had been crushed and defeated. An amnesty movement to free the imprisoned Fenians gave birth to a Home Rule parliamentary struggle which played an important part in the English parliament for over 40 years. Also in Ireland, in 1879, there sprung up Michael Davitt's Land League which demanded radical land reforms in response to the increasing expansion of the landlords estates at the expense of the peasants holdings. The landlords found pasture farming more profitable than arable farming and this required more land, with less labour, meaning evictions and less land for the peasants enforcing extreme poverty or emigration upon them.

The Amnesty Movement

The amnesty movement drew more support for the Fenians than they previously had before the risings of 1865-67 and amongst this support were many English workers and the I.W.A. (International Workingmens Association), which was what the English parliament least wanted. To diffuse this, and recognising the conditions which gave rise to such support for the Fenians, the English Prime Minister, Gladstone, granted certain limited land reforms and an amnesty for many Fenians. But the question of national independence remained unanswered and so on the sentiments of

Fenianism the Home Rule movement was founded and soon achieved electoral success in Ireland. The Home Rule Party was effectively led by a southern Protestant, Charles Parnell, and was in a position in the English parliament, divided between Tories and Gladstone's Liberals, to play a decisive role in obstructing all parliamentary business until home rule was accepted by Gladstone. In Ireland the Land League was supported by the home rule party and agrarian agitation and terrorism began again to demand more land reform; the peasants suffering another famine in 1879. Gladstone tried to oppose and outlaw the peasants resistance through parliament but was prevented by the Home Rule Party. With the threat from the Tory opposition and Irish parties Gladstone tried to secure his position by proposing a home rule bill for Ireland to take away the support the Irish parties had. Before home rule went any further the Tories were elected to parliament with the support of the landed aristocracy and industrial bourgeoisie, and together with the newly formed Protestant reactionary Unionist Party, created no illusions about their policies for Ireland. The Tories successfully kept the Home Rule party at bay by discrediting Parnell (its leader), which resulted in splitting of the Home Rule party. With Parnell's demise and death the ideal of independence was distanced once more.

Another Home Rule bill proposed when the Liberals returned to power never stood a chance in the English two house parliament. The Irish Home Rule Party degenerated with its divisions and when sections of it were re-formed into the United Irish Party in 1900 national independence was reduced to a phrase.

With the Liberals in power once more in 1906 the Home Rule bill was once more raised and this time the response was more telling. The most reactionary elements in Ireland and England mobilised to oppose home rule. In England the imperialists of the Tory party attacked home rule for Ireland as unpatriotic, and in H.E. Ulster the reactionary Orange Order called upon the most rank sectarianism of the protestant workers, to oppose it. Amongst the leaders who mobilised the reactionary forces were M.P.'s and in particular Edward Carson, (regarded as the founder of the six county sectarian statelet), who threatened armed insurrection from Protestants if the Home Rule bill were passed. He also had the support of British Army officers in Ireland and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) which he had organised.

Whether the Liberals under their new leader Lloyd George would have ever wanted home rule is unlikely but they were saved from being forced to admit this by the beginning of the first major inter-imperialist war in 1914. England was one of the foremost aggressors and was supported by the politically bankrupt and degenerate United Irish Party of Redmond. Support for Redmond had been steadily diminishing and the Irish Fenians and socialists had begun organising workers in Ireland, being involved in mass lock-outs and strikes and setting up armed workers militias.

Nationalist groupings formed up, amongst them, Sinn Fein, and James Connolly and other revolutionaries worked towards organising an uprising to claim national independence. In 1916 in the middle of the inter-imperialist war the Irish revolutionaries began the uprising and for several days held key positions in the capital against the English forces. It was counter-revolutionary elements and poor communication once more that led to the uprising being isolated and crushed by the English forces. The execution of the leaders of the uprising, including a wounded Connolly who had to be strapped to a chair, once more showed the barbaric nature of British imperialism and forced the question of Ireland's independence to the forefront once more. The heroic struggle led by Connolly and other revolutionary and patriotic leaders was not defeated by *British murder, and the unity of national independence* with the working class struggle achieved by Connolly showed its strength again in 1918.

The elections in Ireland were contested by Sinn Fein who gained a massive victory even though some of their candidates were still in jail from 1916. The Sinn Fein M.P.'s abstained from Westminster (Westminster is the seat of English government) and set up their own parliament, Dáil Eireann, in defiance of England. The British army was sent in to prevent the Dáil from meeting but arrests and forcing Republicans on the run only succeeded in provoking a guerilla war that the British could not militarily win. They tried to crush the resistance but the Irish Republican Army (IRA) had its roots in the people's desire for national liberation and freedom, and even the murderous thugs of the Black and Tans (so-called because of their mixed uniforms) who were a fascist type terror band, were unable to defeat this resistance. The war continued for two years and during this time the British army allowed sectarian po-

groms against the Catholics in Belfast, organised by the reactionary state forces there. It was evident to Lloyd George and the English parliament that a new strategy was necessary for British imperialist interests to survive in Ireland. This new solution was a plan to divide Ireland and give a small degree of formal independence to twenty-six of the thirty-two counties of Ireland and the remaining six counties to have home rule under the Protestants to protect imperialist domination of Ireland. This plan was decided in England's parliament in 1920 and in the 1921 truce backed up with a threat of total invasion if the IRA did not accept it. The Irish Republican Army split over the decision of many of the leaders to accept the Treaty drawn up and a civil war ensued.

The two opposing forces were the anti-treaty IRA and the pro-treaty IRA, who had British military assistance in defeating the anti-treaty forces, and in 1923 they were forced to surrender. In 1925 the partition of Ireland was finally completed with the creation of the six county Protestant police state and a twenty-six county "Free State" economically dominated by England. British imperialism had survived its most serious threat and had a stalwart support in the six county statelet, though at last part of Ireland (the twenty-six counties) had a degree of formal independence.

British Imperialism Consolidates and Leads to Revolutionary Resistance

The defeated anti-treaty forces divided into the IRA and De Valera's parliamentary Fianna Fáil party, which came into government in 1932. Through the Irish parliament (Dáil Eireann) some of the formal ties with Britain were broken, such as allegiance to the English crown and constitution, all Ireland being claimed by De Valera and renamed Eire. In 1949 the Irish Republic was declared and this was detrimental to the claims for a United Ireland, but the constitutional claims made by De Valera on the six counties had hardly been serious anyway. The Irish economy was well under the foot of British imperialism and though Ireland remained "neutral" during the second inter-imperialist war it did not mean that the Irish people had any substantial degree of liberty from foreign domination. The IRA were unable to pose any threat to British imperialism, though they were sporadically active, and the British encouraged De Valera to be as ruthless with them as possible. In the six counties (often wrongly referred to as Ulster), the fascistic Orange State had ensured its parliamentary

stability by gerrymandering the electoral boundaries and putting the Catholics, who constituted a third of the population, in a position of having a disproportionately low level of representation. The Protestant ascendancy remained and Catholics were discriminated against at all levels, and though briefly in 1932 Catholic and Protestant workers joined in common struggle against unemployment, the spectre of sectarianism soon arose again with vicious anti-catholic pogroms.

These are the conditions which led up to the present struggle, and rather than disappearing, the nature of British imperialism and its watchdog in the six counties has become as clear as ever.

In the early 1960's the subjugation of the Catholics in the six counties met resistance in the formation of a civil rights movement demanding equality for Catholics. The Protestant hierarchy could only exist on inequality and the only equality it could offer working class Catholics was to treat them all with equal amounts of contempt and brutality. The civil rights marches (which were supported by some more radical Protestants) were attacked by the state forces and its allies of the Orange Order, the two frequently having the same membership.

As the civil rights movement gained momentum and met with the sectarian state brutality, Protestants encouraged by the state carried out anti-catholic pogroms in Belfast. The Catholics were forced to defend themselves as best they could and self-defence organisations sprung up, and out of the ashes of the hunt and their oppression rose the IRA to take up the struggle. The interests of British imperialism were threatened by this instability and in 1969 the British Labour government sent in its troops to try and stabilize the six county statelet, which it now regarded not so much as a British colony as an integral part of the British state. The whole national question began to arise again as it became clearer that civil rights would not be achieved until imperialism was defeated and self-determination achieved. The British army was sent in under the peacekeeping but could not maintain the peace between the oppressive Orange state and oppressed Catholics, and on 31st January it showed how it intended to keep the peace.

A civil rights march in (London)Derry was opened fire on by paratroopers and 13 unarmed civilians murdered, another dying later. The six counties government was abandoned and direct rule from London reestablished.

Summary of Present State of British Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Throughout the last 13 years the British army have attempted to crush the people's resistance by oppression and occupation in the six counties. But this resistance, led by IRA and the smaller Irish National Liberation Army, will not be crushed. British imperialist governments both Labour and Tory have tried to find solutions, but there is no pro-imperialist solution, only withdrawal from Ireland totally to allow re-unification and self-determination.

It is against this background of English colonial oppression and Irish resistance that some see British imperialism as having a progressive role to play in the six counties and look to the power structures of the Orange sectarian statelet for reform and progress. The façade of democracy in the six counties can be seen as that when the election of the late IRA officer Bobby Sands and Owen Carron proved incapable of changing at all the English parliament's policy of oppression in the six counties. The trade union movement is dominated by protestants who realise that the raising of the national question in the trade unions would destroy the present false unity. Because of sectarian economic policies unemployment amongst Catholics is four times higher than amongst Protestants, and their trade union representation is lessened further, in the sectarian based unions.

Working class unity is not to be achieved on any significant level whilst the protestant ascendancy, on which the six counties is based, remains. As regards the "two nations theory", it declares the six counties as a separate nation within Ireland with a distinct national identity. This not only ignores the Catholics in the six counties who constitute over one third of the population there, but accepts the fascistic ideology of Protestant supremacy as being a people's culture, instead of a tool of British imperialism and the Protestant hierarchy used to maintain the division of the Catholic and Protestant working class in Ireland. The division of Ireland into the six and twenty-six counties may not appear to have very such effects upon the people of the twenty-six counties, but by the very division itself it denies their aspirations for national unity. The economy of the Republic of Ireland has traditionally been controlled by British imperialism, and whilst an economic boom occurred and other imperialist powers moved in, and Ireland joined the E.E.C., the independence of Ireland's economy is very little nearer. The present economic crises of capitalism has drawn out the Anglo-

Irish links more, particularly with relation to the six county twenty-six county links, both economic and political. Even border security collaboration in order to crush the Republican movement have shown the nature of the pro-British imperialist lackeys of the government of the twenty-six counties. Whilst the economic benefits to British imperialism from the six counties are negative it is now a part of the British state and as such cannot be lost. The British concerns for the Orange state it created is nil, in fact for British imperialism the ideology of Orangeism is retrogressive as it will not adapt to the changing needs of capital and creates instability now by its backwardness.

We must learn from the heroic struggle of the Irish people against British imperialism in order to defeat our class enemies, and can look for inspiration to the determination and sacrifice with which the Irish people have waged their struggle.

Victory to the heroic struggle of the Irish People against Imperialism.

Part II

The Armed Struggle in Ireland and its Revelvance to Azania

Can the Azanian Revolution follow the classic example of the countryside surrounding the city. Azania is a highly industrialised country with many large cities. Is it not possible that while attempting to establish revolutionary bases in the countryside we might also have to combine it with some kind of revolutionary warfare in the cities. Most of the armed struggles in the world today follow the classic example of the countryside surrounding the cities. The Irish struggle is the only one of its kind where the battlefield is the city itself. The Irish revolutionaries have been able to tie down 25000 British soldiers and other counter-revolutionary forces in the heartland of Imperialism itself! This is a major contribution to the revolutionary warfare — of equal importance in our view as Mao Ze Dong's Theory of Peoples War — that is little understood by the revolutionary forces of the world. The Azanian struggle can learn from the Irish struggle of how to conduct revolution in the cities while preparing revolutionary bases in the countryside. It is obvious that we cannot ignore struggle in the cities at any stage of our struggle.

“... In Europe, the majority of the people are centred in the cities and the villages in those countries depend on the cities. In some of the Latin American countries, cities greatly outnumber the countryside. Therefore, for Japan as well as some of the European countries, their revolutionary road is the road of insurrection in the cities.”
(Zhou Enlai)

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The armed struggle of the Provisional I.R.A. (Irish Liberation Army) against British Imperialism in Northern Ireland is of obvious importance for communists who attempt to draw lessons from the guerilla struggle. Although armed struggle has a long history in Northern Ireland it is clear that the present day Provisionals operate on vastly different lines to the “Flying Columns” of Tom Barry’s days when large bodies of men, “irregulars”, marched the countryside in the manner of a conventional army. Modern technology, the helicopter in particular has transcended this manner of organisation. Gone also is the regional structure — where everybody knew everybody else — in favour of the tight “cell” system favoured by underground organisations the world over. Just as importantly the Provisionals have rejected the elitist concept of armed struggle which saw armed struggle as the only legitimate form of struggle against the British political struggle and said that armed struggle in itself would lead to success. In short the masses would not need to liberate themselves, the armed vanguard would do this for them.

Indeed so successfully have the Provisionals explicated Chairman Mao’s famous dictum that the guerilla must “swim like a fish in water” that British Imperialism is faced with Taber’s “radical contradiction” “there is only one means of defeating an insurgent people who will not surrender, and that is extermination. There is only one way to control a territory that harbours resistance, and that is to turn it into a desert. Where these means cannot for whatever reason, be used, the war is lost.”

If we accept that international repercussions make the wholesale liquidation of the nationalist population not politically possible then we must note whether the pool which the Provisionals swim in can be drained. Can the British defeat the I.R.A. politically.

Terrorists or Freedom Fighters

It has been a persistent propaganda argument of British Imperialism that the I.R.A. are a small isolated group of terrorists and gangsters

manipulated by “Goodfathers” living in luxury in Southern Ireland. Any support from the nationalist people could be explained — at least until the massive support shown to the I.R.A. in the 1981 Hunger Strike — by the fear of I.R.A. intimidation. This is the picture that the hysterical British media (and even sections of the chauvinist British Left) (4) portray of the I.R.A. For a more sensible analysis of the IRA and the Irish struggle we can turn to their main immediate enemies, the British Army. In so doing we can safely assume that the IRA will not be credited with undue credibility! In 1978 the IRA stole a secret British Army report from the mail. It is entitled “Northern Ireland Future Terrorist Trends” and is signed by Brigadier J.M. Glaver. Here are some extracts from it: “The IRA will probably continue to get the men it needs. They will still be able to attract enough people with a leadership talent, good education and manual skills to enhance their all round professionalism.”

A far cry from the “mindless terrorists” portrayed in the British media. It goes on to say: “The movement will retain popular support sufficient to maintain secure bases in the traditional areas.”

It is pertinent to recall here that this was written in 1978 in a far less favourable political situation for the IRA. The mass support for the IRA and INLA Hunger Strikers not only gave the IRA a huge (if inevitably temporary) political boost but also allowed the organisation to pick and choose high quality recruits to maintain and promote the war against the British. In this way the success of the British Government in denying the restoration of political status to Republican prisoners of war can be seen as a pyrrhic victory. The IRA has gained in international support, finance and membership. Ideologically it, and the nationalist people as a whole have gained in that the reactionary roles of the Catholic Church, the southern regime and the reformist middle class catholic socialdemocratic and Labour Party SDLP has been estranged from the nationalist people. The deaths of the ten hunger strikers will not be in vain. In fact we can give increased weight to the report.

We can also agree with Paragraph 64 which suggests, “the Provisionals campaign of violence is likely to continue while the British remain in Northern Ireland.”

It is fair to say then that the Provisional IRA are in a credible position to increase “the cost of exploitation and of political control — the

expense of maintaining the bureaucracy and the police and military forces that must be used to put down the rebellion.”

In this way the campaign of the IRA can “create an intolerable situation for the occupying power or its puppet government.”

How do the Provisional IRA themselves see the situation in the newspaper “An Phoblacht” “Republican News”, the publication of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA. It is predicted, that, “1982 is going to be a year of increased repression in Ireland as a whole... our enemies rely on repressive laws and overwhelming military might, they rely on censorship and intimidation and they rely on the illusion of legitimacy which they claim from their special position of being the status quo. That status quo is supported and blessed by other institutions in society with vested interests in a cowed or, if it comes to it, a coerced people.” These institutions as we have mentioned before are the Dublin regime, the Catholic Church, the British state and the SDLP.

If the Republican Movement anticipates an increase in already heavy repression their response has been far from passive, “every enemy attack needs to be repused, and any progress at all requires an offensive — in its present phase now into its fourteenth year.”

IRA on Offensive

Indeed the provisionals are on the offensive. The political gains made by the PIRA and the nationalist people through the heroic hunger strike for political status have been carried forward by the Provisionals with a highly successful series of attacks in the capital of the imperialist heartland — London. The great British public can withstand a bombing blitz of commercial property in Belfast or Derry but bombs in London are certainly not cricket! In the space of a few months a Provisional Active Service Unit has blown up a bus full of British soldiers *injuring 31, placed a bomb in the car of Lieutenant General Sir Stewart Pringle, a leader of the hated Marine Commandos who murdered 14 unarmed civilians on a demonstration in Derry in January 1972 — “Bloody Sunday”, seriously injuring him, placed devices in Oxford Street, London, killing a not very “expert” bomb disposal man and disrupting the city for days (the police received hundreds of bomb threats), blown up the London flat of Attorney general Sir Michael Hovers, a man responsible for framing Republicans who are not incarcerated in Britain’s mainland prisons and planting a booby trap device at an ar-*

my barracks. So desperate were the police to locate the A.S.U. that, apart from arresting Irish people at random, they decided to search 389000 lock up garages in the London and Home Counties area. The search resulted in two murder victims being found and over eighty people charged with various criminal offences but no IRA/ASU explosives!

“After six weeks of searching the London police are now at the last stage of their quest for a cache of 360 lbs of explosives which they say the IRA have stashed in a London garage. So far, 387254 garages have been searched and another 2000 remain to be checked. The cost of the search is estimated to be close to 5 millions Pounds and has uncovered 18 stolen cars, one stolen motorbike, one stolen horse, several Borstal escapees, an assortment of minor stolen items and two bodies, but so far no explosives. Now what if the IRA has moved this exclusive explosives from a garage that had not been searched to one that had already been searched?” (Republican News).

Humor aside, it is obvious that the Fuller report assessment of “increasingly professional A.S.U.’s (14) was correct both in Ireland and Britain. Past are the days when a Brendan Behan would come over the ferry to Britain with his “Sinn Fein conjuror’s antics” and be arrested almost immediately. It is obvious from the very scale of operations in Northern Ireland that the A.S.U.s there are also “increasingly professional”. The number of operations there are too numerous to mention and the increasing desperation of the Brits and the police — the overwhelming Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary (R.U.C.) can be seen in wholesale round ups of Republican sympathisers in vain attempts to gain intelligence. Meanwhile the standard statement “the A.S.U. returned safely to base” appears constantly in prepared statements sent to A.P./R.N. by the IRA.

It is true that the majority of these operations by the IRA are of a relatively minor nature, the execution of a member of the “security forces” here, a sabotage there, but this is truly the “War of the Flea”. The Provisionals with a few hundred soldiers (“swimming” amongst the sympathetic nationalist population) are capable of tying up the time, energy and money of a vast array of imperialist military might. Short of liquidating the nationalist people en bloc, as the protestant ultra-right para-military forces such as the Ulster Volunteer Force, (U.V.F.) and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (U.F.F.) would undoubtedly like to do, the British imperialists and its internal base, the

Loyalists, are faced with the prospect of eventual collapse as the innumerable flea bites continue to suck the blood from the imperialist monster. Like any guerilla army engaged in protracted war, and this is the Republican Movements strategy, the emphasis is not on the guerillas to win a decisive military victory but not to lose the capability of maintaining low intensity operations. Merely by continuing the war the IRA are creating adverse political conditions for the enemy which will lead to his eventual defeat.

To this point some political points generally applicable to any guerilla movement have been discussed: the masses perception of the regime as illegitimate, the relationship of vanguard to masses, international support and so on. These are not specific only to the Irish struggle. Let us now consider some specificities of this struggle.

Comrade Guevarra considers that the Cuban revolution "contributed three fundamental lessons to the conduct of revolutionary movements in America. They are:

1. Popular forces can win a war against the army.
2. It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist the insurrection can create them.
3. In underdeveloped America the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting. (16).

Countryside and City

It is clear that whilst points one and two are applicable to the Irish struggle and indeed permeate it, condition 3 is not. The theory of enveloping the cities from the countryside was of course explicated by Chairman Mao and proved successful in the prolonged struggle of the Vietnamese people against French and American imperialism. It is not a suitable strategy for Ireland, a small geographical area with a predominantly urban population. (Although small farms do exist). Whilst the IRA carry out many operations in Armagh and Crossmoglen named "bandit country" by the British because of the high number of incidents — the struggle is predominantly of an urban nature. This presents the IRA with some problems.

Usually in the period of struggle the insurgent army attempts to set up the now classic "red base" areas. This was a feature of the Chinese, Cuban and Vietnamese uprisings and is happening in El Salvador at this moment. In the base area the rebelling army can establish, as far as limits will allow, a just social and economic system, albeit on a small scale and con-

duct political education amongst the masses. Most importantly the base area provides a relatively secure point from which to launch operations against the enemy. This is not to say that the insurgents will engage in static combat to protect land, far from it, this is the tactic of a regular army. The guerilla army will simply melt away to establish a new base area leaving behind a population generally hostile to the national army. In urban conflict, however, there can be no base areas in the sense of the guerilla army liberating large geographical areas. However, this does modify strategy. According to George Jackson urban society's very technological complexity actually encompasses a fundamental weakness. A minor dysfunction at one level can penetrate many others: "there is simply no way for an established government to defeat an internal, determined, aggressive enemy. Especially in an urban society. The mechanics, logic and logistic of urban people's guerilla warfare cannot be defeated."

In a letter to the Afro-American revolutionary of the sixties, George Jackson, his brother, Jonathan describes the skyscrapered streets of America where the street is a canyon. A canyon in which pig cars in the Miami riots were trapped and bombed with kerosene bombs and chunks of concrete from the skyscraper tops. Though this option is out in Ireland readers will note that the compressed ranks of terraced houses form a rabbit warren from which the sniper can appear and just as quickly vanish. In short almost all the strategy of urban guerilla warfare is similar to that in its rural equivalent. *It is tactics where differences appear.* Again Jackson: "whereas the classic types of the Third World movements generally relied upon the strangling of provincial capitals, where the enemy colonial power tended to concentrate itself, in urban guerilla warfare where the colonies can be said to be situated within the city, the process on tactics will be unique." Jackson then poses the question: "In a comparison of the classical wars of liberation fought in the outlying colonies a vital question is immediately brought to our attention: does it work in such a totally different setting?"

A theoretical examination indicates that it does. In fact urban people's guerilla warfare may prove to be an even more effective tool than the classical type. The same advantages are present, the same possibilities, plus some that exist simply because the fight is taking place within the cities, the nerve centers of the nation."

Concretely "the twisting side streets, gang-

ways, connecting roofs, manholes, storm drains and steel trees – will hide a guerilla army just as effectively as a forest.”

In Ireland this theory has been elucidated in practice. In areas where the British and the R.U.C. cannot solely patrol “no go areas” the Provisionals have instituted an embryonic form of law to deal with gangsters and informers. Periodically they liberate a village for a period both as a show of military strength and as propaganda objective. In their efforts to neutralise the IRA the British and their internal security allies fire plastic bullets, live rounds and riot gas indiscriminately at the people so alienating them still further. Short of imposing martial law (which would further alienate the population and also indicate the British imperialists’ lack of legitimacy) the provisionals cannot be stopped from penetrating the inner-city security barriers to strike against economic targets. Power and train lines crossing the imposed “border” between North and South are systematically cut. All this adds to another factor which George Jackson stresses, that of time.

“The establishment forces cannot survive the prolonged unrest that is steadily building. Profits fall, the law of diminishing returns is eventually reached and from there, the establishments force and energy goes into its last stages of life, while our new revolutionary culture is building musical chairs where each go round excludes some element of their control factors.”

Political Factors and Guerilla Warfare

In short then the political factors pertaining to urban guerilla warfare are identical to those of the rural situation. Broadly to alienate the regime from the people and increase the cost of the oppressors domination. These aspects of guerilla warfare have been and are being carried out by the Provos. It is clear that the IRA has learned the lessons of the great rural guerillas struggles and has added a new dimension in practice by applying them to the urban context. As Jackson notes the base area in the urban setting is inside the city. This means that unlike the rural situation where the guerilla army will eventually move, when strong enough, into a phase of conventional war. The objective in the urban situation is to so, politically and economically destabilise the city that it becomes ungovernable by normal measures, and eventually ungovernable at all for the oppressor regime. The revolutionaries will step into this vacuum, create an inevitably relatively transient period of dual power and eventually gain control of the state power. It goes without saying that out of the crisis a civil war will ema-

nate. In the case of Ireland this poses two problems for the Provos. They must neutralise the southern regime and its repressive apparatus and also the loyalist population. The southern regimes of Haughey, and particularly Fitzgerald, have been somewhat unstable. The H-Block Hunger Strike contributing in no small way to this. Whilst there is no doubt that the southern army and the police would come down on the side of reaction it is also true that the Provos have made inroads in support amongst the southern population. The situation amongst the loyalists is more complex. From one united bloc at the beginning of the present phase of the war the unionists are now split into numerous (about 11) political and para-military organisations with a variety of policies – integration with Britain and Ulster U.D.I. being two options. A predominant figure who has helped to precipitate this split and who has gained from it is Ian Paisley’s Democratic (sic) Unionist Party. Paisley has been active not only in the church and politically but in organising the support of various loyalist para-militaries in a “Third Force” to “Defend Ulster”. It is fair to say that this increasingly influential bloc is prepared to use Britain to maintain Protestant ascendancy and privileges. Privileges which have a long history.

Protestant Ascendancy

The origins of Protestant ascendancy in North East Ireland lie considerably back in history. Cromwell invaded Ireland in 1649, by 1650 the suppression of resistance was largely complete and the first Scottish and English settlers had been implanted in the North East as a stable base for British rule. A base considerably strengthened by the fact that within a few years many rank and file settlers had sunk to the level of penury around them and has been forced to sell their land to the officer caste. In this manner land, and power, lying in the hands of a few. This in essence prefigures the relationship of loyalism to its present day working class adherents.

In this manner then the British state implemented an “internal base” in Ireland which would remain tied, economically, culturally and ideologically to Britain.

There seems little doubt that the IRA – which re-started as a defense organisation to defend the Republican population from loyalist terror – will have to defeat militarily this bloc. The road ahead for the Provos is long and hard and studded with enemies. So far they have shown an undoubted ability to overcome these obstacles.

Having said this it would not do to ignore the fact that whilst the socialist rhetoric, and to a lesser extent, vague socialist ideas are a compartmental part of Republican ideology the influence of Marxism in the organisation is minimal. Although predominantly composed of working people the Republican Movement as a whole – political and military – is guided by petit bourgeois politics. It is this political orientation which has led the movement into an alliance with the Catholic Church. An alliance of a more critical nature, however, after the disastrous role of the Catholic Church in influencing Hunger Strikers relatives to override the strikers wishes to fast to death. Due to its lack of a Marxist orientation the R.M. is unable to sustain a systematic, critical and independent working class line. As Lenin says the guerilla struggle "... must be ennobled by the enlightening and organising influence of socialism. And without this latter condition, all, positively all, methods of struggle in bourgeois society bring the proletariat into closer association with the various non-proletarian strata above and below it and, if left to the spontaneous course of events, become frayed, corrupted and prostituted.

Strikes if left to the spontaneous course of events become corrupted into "alliances", "agreements", between the workers and the masters against the consumers. Parliament becomes corrupted into a brothel where a gang of bourgeois politicians barter wholesale and retail "national freedom", "liberalism", "democracy", "republicanism", anticlericalism, socialism and all other wares in demand."

National Liberation and Socialism

We have seen this process occur in so many instances that it would be foolish not to consider carefully Lenin's analysis. If socialist ideology is looking for a rational national liberation movement it will inevitably be unable to complete fully not only any moves to a proletarian dictatorship but also to real national liberation.

Even a superficial glance will indicate that no fundamental change in favour of the toiling masses has occurred in this area. In Ireland also the lack of a revolutionary vanguard organisation indicates a potential unfinished process of national liberation. This is not to say that the Provisionals/I.N.L.A. cannot win a victory against British Imperialism – indeed with the lack of support from "socialists" and the working class in the imperialist country – the processes occurring in Ireland itself are of prime importance. But the present political orientation of the Republican Movement will hold it

back from a decisive victory.

However, this is by no means an inevitability. There is a dialectic between the struggle for national liberation and socialism. The Provisional IRA is a far different grouping today than when it split from the official IRA. The Officials were condemned for advocating "extreme socialism" and a "socialist dictatorship", whilst the Provisionals claimed to uphold a hard line, i.e. petit bourgeois republicanism. At this time an elitist concept of armed struggle pertained and the Provos were dismissive of "politics". It is inconceivable at this period that questions such as women's rights, education, housing, and unemployment could have occupied the P.I.R.A. as they do today, but whilst still realising that these are not separate from the struggle for national liberation but can only be solved by it. The Officials – now Sinn Fein Workers Party do little else but minor agitation on these issues and have long ago given up talk of armed struggle and national liberation. Their idea that the Protestant and Catholic working classes can be united on these issues before the expulsion of British Imperialism which guarantees the Protestant ascendancy inevitably makes the S.F.-W.P. a mere tool of imperialism. Their analysis inexorably leads them to the conclusion that the British presence in Ireland can have some progressive characteristics. This led to the split from the officials of the I.R.S.P./I.N.L.A. who are probably the most formally "leftist" elements engaged in the Irish struggle.

The I.R.S.P. have however completely failed to put even a clear socialist line and have liquidated themselves in the H Block/Armagh Committees which were active in support of the Hunger Strikers.

With the IRSP (as with Sinn Fein) it is clear that ideological struggles are taking place within the organisation. What the political bases of the struggles are we can only surmise; that they are organising is obvious from the expulsion of a faction from IRSP in Ireland in 1981 and of individual comrades in England. Certainly some IRSP members are opposed to liquidation of the group into the broader mass movement.

In conclusion then we can see that Provos (and INLA) are engaged in a protracted campaign against the Irish presence in Ireland. Even according to the British Army they have the will and capacity to achieve this end. The fact that pressures emanating from the struggle may push the Provos leftwards as a whole or that a faction may split should not be discarded. It is clear that the IRA has sufficient mass support to at least maintain the war and to step it up periodically.