

WE ARE VICTORIOUS

address by Comrade Joe Slovo,

"We have every reason to believe, to hope that, within the very next future, a free democratic South Africa will be realised".

These words marked the culmination of a stirring address by Comrade Joe Slovo, our Army Chief of Staff when he visited the bases of Umkhonto We Sizwe recently. The same words had aroused a standing ovation for a delegation of the South African Communist Party at the congress of the Congolese Party of Labour in Congo Brazzaville.

"We are under attack, yet the strength of our organisation has risen like never before. For people who do not grasp what is happening, these events can be seen as a big blow. At the same time we cannot deny the fact that the enemy has won some substantial victories.

On the other hand, these very victories are an indication of the strength of the ANC. The last eight years have put the movement on a mark it has never been before. While it would be foolish to think that we are at a point of victory, nevertheless, it is accepted by everyone that there can be no long-term solution without the ANC".

DIALOGUE

Already racist spokesmen are posing the question of a dialogue with the ANC. The racist foreign minister, Pik Botha, has also made such a vague suggestion to the president of Mozambique, Samora Machel.

As Comrade Joe Slovo pointed out, the gestures do not necessarily mean that we are at a point of victory. We should not think that there can be sincerity in the racist's gestures to talk to the ANC.

However, Comrade Joe Slovo highlighted two points:

- That the present events point out that we are an indestructible force. And the enemy had come to accept that fact.
- That the enemy wants to gain time, to adjust, to emerge from the economic and political quagmire in which it finds itself enmeshed.

The present peace initiative which gave birth to the Nkomati accord is evidence to this point. The regime has never been interested in any peace with Mozambique. It was just a desperate bid to defuse the threat of the mounting armed offensive posed by Umkhonto we Sizwe. This shows that we are a force to be reckoned with.

Inside South Africa the regime has been involved in a constitutional ploy which 'opened' the doors of the white parliament to willing Indian and 'Coloured' puppets. The aim, as the current racist president once stated, is to involve all population groups in the country's defence. That is the crux of the 'reform'. It is no reform but an increased burden on the apartheid slave.

In the background of all these manoeuvres, the racist regime finds itself in a deep economic crisis. Gold, South Africa's major source of foreign

exchange, has fallen to its lowest mark ever \$350 an ounce. By mid 1984, within just six months, 31% of South Africa's industry was declared insolvent. The economic situation was worsened by workers' strike actions in the past three years. Labour unrest in the mining industry has also made its mark.

Therefore we can safely claim that the financial and economic crisis the regime finds itself in today is definitely as a result of our work — it is our victory.

OIL

South Africa is the only country in the world which produces oil from coal. The prestigious Sasol project was set up as a solution to oil sanctions imposed by the international community against the racist republic. Despite astronomical sums spent on research and tests, Sasol has proved unproductive and highly inflationary. In an article in the Rand Daily Mail (May 5 1983) it was revealed that about ten cars with clogged carburettors are received daily in major service stations in Pretoria. The damage is caused by ethanol and alcohol additives found in Sasol petrol.

It is an open secret that, despite the racists' boast of self-sufficiency and guaranteed oil supplies, it is involved in scandalous pirating of oil. In one incident the racists made an out of court settlement of R40m following the Salem affair. According to a research conducted by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Shipping Research Bureau, the oil embargo has cost the regime about \$1,55Bn.

A mafia gang of robbers and pirates has been set up to be in charge of buying and stealing oil for the regime. The Protection of Information Act prohibits the disclosure of the activities of these bandits in the South African press. The same applies to their budget account. It cannot be vetted by parlia-

ment or audited by the exchequer. The same regime is a well-known, and reliable customer for arms smugglers. This is despite the much acclaimed self-sufficiency of Amcor.

Having briefly highlighted the regime's problems with regard to oil and military technology in the background of the drooping value of gold, it is interesting to note that expenditure on oil and military consume more than a quarter of the racist budget. Therefore we can safely claim that the financial and economic crisis the regime finds itself in today is definitely as a result of our work — it is our victory.

South Africa is entering a stage of being ungovernable, true to the call made by the Commander-in-Chief of our people's army, Comrade O.R. Tambo, to render the enemy's instruments of power unworkable. An impressive campaign against the black local authorities culminated in a massive rejection of the 'Coloured' and Indian tri-ethnic parliament by the respective communities.

As the racist regime relies on its army, police for survival, our people support Umkhonto we Sizwe.

OPPOSITION

The voice of opposition is increasing, assuming new and higher levels of organisation each passing day. The political mass upsurge inside South Africa is evidence of the fact that nothing can stand in the people's way — nothing can stop the people's forward drive to freedom. As the people cannot be destroyed neither can the ANC.

As the racist regime relies on its army, police for survival, our people support Umkhonto We Sizwe. Our people's army has contributed massively to the present crisis gripping the regime. Since Umkhonto We Sizwe's three year programme (1979-82) to date, fuel

depots have been set aflame. Many electrical installations and transformers have been blown up. The Koeberg nuclear station which was built by huge debts from western countries, was visited by the gallant soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe in December 1982. The nuclear reactor encasings were rocked by four powerful bomb explosions.

By safety standards the reactors cannot be operated without exposing human life to nuclear radiation within 80Km radius. Atlantis, a 'Coloured' township, is being built despite the fact that it is within lethal range. Considering the sums invested, to the fascist regime the loss of human life is secondary.

The irony of Koeberg is that it will contribute only 10% to the South African electricity power. There is something wrong here. Maybe it explains the fact that the International Atomic Energy Board cannot be allowed to visit and inspect the installation. The racists are still unwilling to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The racist president, Wapen Botha, admitted last year that the striking capacity of MK is growing. He said the South African Defence Force has suffered heavier casualties within six months in military personnel against MK than in its eighteen year colonial war in Namibia. Following this statement in June, by September 1983 promotions were announced within the SADF into vacated posts. In the meantime we are expected to believe that only Ras died in the Pretoria bomb blast, and that no racist general died in the raid at Voortrekkerhoogte. Only one Black woman is supposed to have been injured.

Confronted on all fronts by our people, the racists are seeking other sources of income to prolong their unjust rule. This year a 10% general sales tax was levied on our people to supplement the regime's inflationary budget. This burden on our people came

just months after the IMF \$2Bn loan. As of this writing, the regime is desperately negotiating other loans with the Swiss bank.

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VICTORIES

These are the victories of our people, although they may seem insignificant. These victories have shown that the political super-structure cannot go unperturbed by these shock waves rocking the very foundation of apartheid rule.

There is also a subtle campaign to improve the image of apartheid by a malevolent scheme of granting 'Coloureds' and Indians second partnership in the white parliament. This move cannot be seen as a compromise of apartheid. What is compromised in apartheid when there is every guarantee that within the constitutional fraud the executive president will always be a white racist?

The executive president will have sweeping power to veto any decision which is not in the interest of apartheid. In the event of a vote of no confidence against him, which can only be voted for separately by each ethnic parliament, he has the power to dissolve parliament and appoint new members.

The white racists have a 20 member majority in the 50 member electoral college. The electoral college elects the state president who in turn nominates his cabinet ministers. This is the same constitutional proposal which scored 64 interjections on its first day of reading in the white parliament. It had to be shelved so that the honorary members of the white parliament could not contravene the Riotous Assemblies Act as tempers were running high.

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What we see are signs of a decaying political system, a slave system which has outlived its era. This clearly strengthens our belief that there can be no viable political system in South Africa without the armed seizure of power by the oppressed majority. The rise and level of mass opposition shows that our people are more than ever prepared for this destiny — people's power. The fierce and violent battles between our people and the racist regime are an expression of the pledge made by our people in 1955 when they met to draw the Freedom Charter: *These Freedoms We Will Fight For Side By Side, Throughout Our Lives, Until We Have Won Our Liberty.*

The prospects of a free democratic South Africa have never been so bright as they are today. The situation calls on all democratic and patriotic forces to unite under the leadership of the African National Congress and intensify our onslaught against the regime. It also calls on the combatants of our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe to thrust the spear of our people deeper into the racist citadel.

The racist regime is very much aware that these are signs of its down fall. This is our victory against the racist regime. That is why it is talking about entering into a dialogue with the ANC.

ORGANISATION

The growth and the organisation of Black workers into trade unions has reached a level unprecedented in our history. For the first time Black workers are better organised than their white counterparts. They have become an invincible force in the labour field. This is a result of our efforts. Therefore it makes it necessary for more workers

to be organised into trade unions and a single trade union federation to be realised.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that genius of the Soviet people, spoke of the youth as the 'shock force of the revolution'. The growth of youth and student organisations is a formidable force for the triumph of our revolution, and this has never been more evident than with the nation-wide youth and student action against the racist bogus elections.

The racist regime is very much aware that these are signs of its downfall. This is our victory against the racist regime. That is why it is talking about entering into a dialogue with the ANC. Even its imperialist allies are very much aware that there can be no long term solution in South Africa without the ANC.

But we must be vigilant as ever, because combined with this talk of dialogue is a concerted campaign to change the nature of the ANC. We must be firm and staunch in our ideological conviction. Even the racists' imperialist mentors feel that if the ANC was not what it is today, 'they would make more progress.'



Joe Slovo — the army Chief of Staff

"They would like us to say we shall drop armed struggle and let capital continue exploiting our labour power."

Comrade Joe Slovo remarked that they would like us to say we shall drop armed struggle and let capital continue exploiting our labour power, and that

we shall break our alliance with the South African Communist Party and drop our relations with the Soviet Union.



Commander in Chief O.R. Tambo.

"They want something different which is not the ANC."



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CLIMAX

One does not need to be communist to know that freedom without the seizure of the economic power from the monopolies will not be genuine liberation. We also need to emphasise that the ANC-SACP alliance is not an accident of history. It is the climax of long principled battles fought by our people in search of unity. It is a historical heritage, a precious gift we are prepared to defend and if need be even with our lives. That is why the Commander-in-Chief of our army, Comrade O.R. Tambo says: "They do not want the ANC. They want something different, which is not the ANC. And that something they already have in their Gatshas and Matanzimas".

It is also unthinkable to speak of the ANC without Umkhonto We Sizwe. Comrade Mandela emphasised this point in court when he said:

"The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed... For thirty-seven years — that is until 1949 — it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle.

It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could gradually advance to full political rights."

He went on to say the white government remained unmoved and the rights of Africans became less and less. The government's reaction was to introduce new harsher laws. It mobilised its armed forces, and sent saracens and armed vehicles. In conclusion he said:

"This was an indication that the government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto... We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been abject surrender..."

"It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto We Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice."

On the same point, Commander-in-Chief O.R. Tambo goes further to say the question is not whether the ANC is prepared to talk to the racists or not. The main question is what we are to discuss. It is only the question of complete dismantling of apartheid that we can discuss.

"The fact that the enemy is prepared to talk proves that we are a force. It proves that we are an indestructible force.

Comrade Joe Slovo's address ended with a profound analysis of these racist moves. He said:

"The fact that the enemy is prepared to talk proves that we are a force. It proves that we are an indestructible force.

"This has not come about by magic, but through blows delivered by Umkhonto We Sizwe, which have earned the ANC this reputation. It is through sacrifice by our heroes and martyrs, through patience, morale, belief in our victory and trust in our revolution.

"Despite problems which we will find solutions to, the situation at home gives a feeling of optimism. It will lead to a greater advance in our struggle. We are victorious, that is why the enemy wants to talk to us!"

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The following excerpts from interviews conducted with two members of the S.A.C.C. reveal how pathetic their position is:

1). Q. Who is the enemy?

A. It's a good question. When they told me to shoot somebody I asked them why, but they didn't give me a straight answer, they said that if you don't shoot him, then he will shoot you. It's not an answer... It's communists, Russians and Cubans, they want South Africa, it's very rich. But people in South Africa are fighting among themselves, the people in SWAPO are from SWA. People who leave and join 'ander regering', SWA is independent now (Another C.C. member corrects him: No only next year). If there's an election, South Africa will win.

Q. But the election is only for SWA people?

A. Ja, then SWAPO will come in, it will become the government.

Q. So why fight?

A. I don't understand - it's not a war. I don't know what it is.

2). Q. Who is the enemy?

A. They say it's the terrorists, but they are ordinary people like us. They are just well-trained. They are 'n bietjie slim'. If maybe they come in and blow up a building, then they are called terrorists, but they are just people like us.

Though the inflow of the 'Coloureds' into the S.A.C.C. necessitated changes to the Defence Act, the equal status spoken of will always remain a pipe-dream as long as apartheid exists. The SADF, being the armed repressive machinery of the apartheid state, cannot present an image different from the South African society. Racial discrimin-