

AN ADDRESS BY THE GENERAL-SECRETARY OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY, MOSES MABHIDA, TO MILITANT
PARTISANS AT LUANDA ON THE 26TH JULY 1981 TO MARK
THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST
P A R T Y .

Comrade Chairman,
Comrades of MPLA Party of Labour,
Comrades of SWAPO,
Comrades and Friends!

It is a privilege for my Party and for me personally to celebrate with you the 60th Anniversary of the birth of the South African Communist Party on July 30th 1921.

On behalf of our Central Committee and the entire membership we bring fraternal greetings and say "Thank you" for enabling us to commemorate this historic event on Angola's liberated soil.

Our gratitude goes to a warm and sympathetic host who has always extended the hand of friendship and solidarity to our Party and the People's Front of which we are an indissoluble part.

In the name of all revolutionaries who are working underground at home, in the name of all who suffer detention, torture and imprisonment for the cause, in the name of all who raise the banner of Freedom, Equality and Justice in struggle against the racist autocracy and its Western allies, we wish to convey our deep respect and admiration for the victories gained by the Angolan people, their Party and Government.

This expression of heart-felt gratitude would be incomplete if we failed to pay tribute to the late Comrade President Agostinho Neto, father of the Angolan ~~people~~ revolution, poet, guide and inspiration to us all. Under his steadfast, wise and courageous leadership, Angolans expelled the Portuguese colonialists and defeated our common enemy, the racist minority of South Africa. It was here, only a few miles from Luanda, that MPLA, together with our allies of the Soviet Union and Cuba, gave the racist army such a devastating rebuff that it was forced to withdraw from Angolan territory.

That victory struck a deeply responsive chord in the minds and hearts of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. It proved that the hated regime in Pretoria was vulnerable, that the tide of liberation, which had come to a temporary halt along the Zambesi, was once again in full flood.

The upsurge of militant students and workers in Soweto on June 16th 1976 disclosed the great impact on oppressed peoples by the revolutionary gains achieved in Angola and Mozambique.

a few years later there followed the overthrow of the Rhodesian Front's rebel government in Zimbabwe by the armed forces of the Patriotic Front. Its victories, like those of Angola and Mozambique, showed beyond all doubt that the African giant had broken the chains of foreign domination. The movement towards political independence is irresistible.

It is now for us and our brothers in Namibia to settle accounts once and for all by putting an end to the last remnants of racism, colonial fascism and white autocracy in Africa.

A VITORIA DOS OPERARIOS E CERTA!

Victory is certain! That slogan of the Angolan revolution is deeply imprinted on our political thing; it expresses unbounded confidence in the ultimate triumph of our national aspirations.

Majority rule may be a few years away, or perhaps a decade and more. But it will come, of that there is no doubt.

White South Africans may think they control the situation. But they do not in any real sense. It is we, the oppressed, militants and revolutionaries, who are setting the pace of change and its direction.

True enough, the changes as yet are only superficial, a mask to hide the true face of autocracy. Nevertheless, the enemy is being forced to shift from the position where he arrogantly boasted that his aim was to enforce white 'baaskap'. which is the relationship between master and slave.

Nowadays he uses the language of 'decolonisation'; promises 'self-determination' to tribal enclaves; pretends to grant the 'independence'; and proclaims the 'death' of apartheid.

His widely advertised reforms are phony, a propaganda device to mislead critics and provide Pretoria's accomplices with ammunition in support of their appeasement policy. Whatever measures may be taken to divert the world-wide pressure against apartheid, the regime will never voluntarily weaken the three pillars of white man's rule: capitalist exploitation, national oppression and race discrimination.

Allowing for all this, however, we should note that the manoeuvres proceed from a position of weakness. The enemy is losing ground, real power is slipping out of his hands, whereas the revolutionary forces grow stronger by the day.

Comrades, the facts speak for themselves. The swelling tide of resistance, strikes and boycotts among black workers matches the defiant mood of trade unionists, students, intellectuals and church leaders of all races. Scores of mass organisations responded eagerly to the call for action against the celebrations of the Boer republic in May of this year. Strikes and demonstrations took place, the South African flag was burnt, buildings and railway lines were bombed and the oppressed turned their backs on the celebrations.

Meanwhile, Umkhonto we Si we, the armed wing of our revolution, continues to strike at strategic centres, one of its more spectacular achievements being the partial destruction of the coal conversion plant at Sasol. Our military operations are planned to serve the political struggle in a co-ordinated and many sided strategy. We are advancing steadily to this goal by establishing internal bases of cadres who combine military skills with mature political understanding, and whose primary task is to organise the working people for resistance at ascending levels of revolutionary action.

'TOTAL WAR'

The enemy reacts by declaring that South Africa is engaged in a 'Total War', meaning that the regime will put the country on a war footing and conduct an offensive on all fronts: military, political, economic and psychological. His attack is directed against opponents of apartheid, SWAPO freedom fighters, Front-Line States and in particular Angola and Mozambique.

Only two weeks ago the South African head of operations in Windhoek arrogantly threatened to strike "whenever and wherever necessary". He would aim, he said, for "the antheps and not for the ants".

It is not a new strategy. South Africa's armed forces have repeatedly invaded and bombed neighbouring countries, killing civilians and refugees under the pretext of putting an end to SWAPO's liberation war in Namibia.

In reality, Pretoria is determined to frustrate the United Nations plans under Resolution 435, which calls for a free election and a democratic end to the war. Such an outcome is unacceptable to the racists who know that SWAPO would win the elections and proceed to liberate South Africa's last remaining bastion on its borders.

South Africa would hardly dare to defy the United Nations and violate the pledge to find a peaceful settlement were it not assured of support by the Reagan Administration. There is an affinity between them, based on a broad

identity of economic, political and strategic interests, but the important common denominator is their fanatic fear and hatred of the Soviet Union and world socialism.

The intrusion of the United States on the side of the racist minority introduces a dangerous element into Southern Africa, as it did in 1975 by collaborating with Pretoria's strategy of invading Angola, destroying MPLA, and putting the FNLA-UNITA puppets into power.

This is not the first time that Afrikanerdom has been attracted to the most reactionary and warlike circles in the imperialist camp. A similar relationship existed in the 1930s between Nazi Germany and the leaders of the ruling Nationalist Party of South Africa. They too looked with favour on warmongers who called for a crusade against communism and sparked off World War Two.

Like communists everywhere, my Party condemns the attempts of aggressive imperialism to seek military superiority over socialism, renew the arms race and prepare for a nuclear war. We are wholly committed to the struggle for world peace. What is a further reason for our determination to overthrow the racist regime, which has placed itself at the disposal of the Pentagon's military-industrial complex and constitutes an important element in the drive towards global destruction.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

National liberation can be a powerful force for peace and progress if it emancipates people from both economic and political domination by colonial imperialism. Lenin recognised the importance of this factor in the epoch of social revolution. He explained in 1916 that "the national liberation movement in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations" was a necessary ally of the proletarian revolution in advanced capitalist countries. In a report to the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921, he predicted that "in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect".

Lenin was cautious, and rightly so. Not all the newly independent states have wished or been able to escape the constraints of neo-colonialism, involvement with multinational corporations, dependence on foreign finance capital and the formation of social classes. Many conditions, both traditional and modern, will determine whether independence will lead to socialism, without which there can be no real escape from the clutches of imperialism; and the most decisive of these conditions is the quality and content of leadership. There can be no socialism without a socialist party.

Angola made a qualitative change and took a revolutionary leap into the future when MPLA in 1977 transformed itself into a Marxist-Leninist Party. It is no accident that your sister Party, FRELIMO, took the same step also in 1977. For both countries were victims of Portuguese colonialism, the oldest, most backward and in many ways the most exploitative in Africa.

Portugal began its invasion of Angola five centuries ago. Our own experience of colonial aggression is more recent, dating from 1652 when the Dutch East India Company, a monopolistic trading concern with sovereign rights in Indonesia, planted a settlement at the Cape. In both countries the original inhabitants and rightful owners resisted the invaders by armed force; in both they suffered defeat because of failure to unite against the settlers and the superiority of firearms over spears.

SOUTH AFRICA'S COLONIALISM

In South Africa, however, it was the entry of Britain, the leading industrial country of Europe, that tilted the balance in favour of the settlers, who could rely on trained and well-armed imperial troops in the continuous series of wars against independent chiefdoms and kingdoms. It was the British, and not the boers, who won the decisive battles that enabled the racist to expropriate land, seize cattle and force men into wage earning employment on farms and mines.

The discovery of vast diamond and gold deposits in the 1870s onwards attracted large numbers of whites, sparked off the "scramble for Africa", and initiated the beginnings of an industrial revolution. Britain embarked on a policy of ruthless expansion, which engulfed the remaining independent African states in Southern Africa, liquidated the Boer republics in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and laid the basis for unification, a common market and the supremacy of British capital.

Britain consolidated its economic grip by supplying, as it still does, the bulk of finance capital, industrial equipment, technology and consumer goods flowing into South Africa. In return investors and merchants received high rates of profit from the surplus value produced by black workers living on starvation wages in labour compounds and shanty townships.

Surely entrenched in the major sectors of the economy, Britain could rely on the support of the Boer generals for its policy of exploiting the working people without restraint. Thus it was that in 1910 Britain transferred power to the white minority under a constitution guaranteeing the perpetuation of an all-white parliament and government. Years later, in 1923, a similar transfer took place in Rhodesia. Whereas it remained a 'colony' in a technical, constitutional sense, South Africa became self-governing, first as a dominion and later a republic, but always under white minority rule. No change was made in the relations between coloniser and the colonised.

They inhabit a single territory and are integrated into a common economy. That is the unique feature of South African colonialism. In all other respects; concentration of political and economic power in the white minority; total discrimination on grounds of race or colour; the segregation of colour groups in separate residential areas, schools, hospitals, and public places; a wide and growing gap in living standards and opportunities between white and black; the suppression of national and proletarian parties among the oppressed; and a ruthless police state employing fascistic methods against political opponents.

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to unite people in struggle for social equality and against the white autocracy. Congress has undergone many changes in the 70 years of its existence, moving from popular protest within the system to a programme for the achievement of a national democratic republic through mass mobilisation and armed struggle. At all times, however, the ANC has been a major political force, developing a spirit of resistance, raising the level of political consciousness and giving expression to the people's national aspirations for freedom and equality.

Our Party's relation with the ANC is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and a common strategy. Our unity of aims and methods is a rare instance of positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation.

FORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

Our Party's history has been fully and brilliantly documented in a recent book, *South African Communists Speak*, issued by our Party press Inkululeko Publications. Allow me to refer you to this work for detailed information while limiting my observations to some of significant stages in our development.

Our roots go back to the early days of the country's industrial revolution towards the end of the last century. From then onwards, and especially after the Anglo-Boer war, many artisans and white collar workers emigrated, mainly from Britain, to work on mines, railways and industrial plants. Among them were class conscious workers and social democrats who organised trade unions and labour parties. From such groups emerged the South African Labour Party, formed to contest the first elections held in 1910 for the all-white Union parliament. The Labour Party appealed to the white electorate, promising protection from competition by low-paid African workers, and calling for the total segregation of Africans in the reserves which in later years became the Bantustans.

Within the Labour Party, however, were true socialists who broke with the leadership on the issue of opposition to the imperialist war of 1914. They formed the War on War League in 1914 in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Second International in 1907 and 1912, which urged workers everywhere to overthrow capitalist class rule in a war between capitalist states. The right wing of the Labour Party, in contrast, repudiated the Party's pledge to abide by the resolutions. Instead, a majority of delegates at a special conference undertook to support the government's decision to enter the war on the side of Britain and her allies. The anti-war section thereupon withdrew to form eventually the International Socialist League, forerunner of the Communist Party of South Africa.

Comrades, allow us to record our respect and admiration for the stand taken by these pioneers of scientific socialism who joined hands with true revolutionaries in other countries in a bid to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. Russia's workers and peasants did just that under the inspired leadership of Lenin and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Following the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy in February, they seized power in the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, thereby changing the face of the world.

The International Socialist League correctly interpreted these events, identified the class content of the February revolution and gave wholehearted support to Lenin and the bolsheviks. Its newspaper, "The International, explained in June 1917 their significance for the solidarity of labour regardless of race or colour. "The Russian Revolution in South Africa means the welcome hand to the native working man into the fullest social and economic equality he is capable of attaining with the white working man."

Upon the formation of the Third (Communist) International in 1919, the League decided to apply for affiliation and for this purpose join with other parties and groups which accepted the Comintern's 21 points. The merger took place formally at a conference held in Cape Town in July 1921. A resolution consisting the Party was adopted on the 30th; on August 10th the Party filled an application to join the Third International.

Ours was the first Marxist-Leninist Party in Africa. Emerging from a social democratic tradition, the founders took a sharp turn towards revolutionary socialism, first through commitment to international solidarity against imperialist war and then by affiliation to the Communist International. Then as now, the Party has had to grapple with the complexities of a social formation that combines the structural elements of industrial capitalism and colonialism. What is our role in the present phase of the struggle, How do we relate to the national democratic revolution? What are the perspectives for socialism? These are some of the questions to which we might turn our attention.

CLASS AND NATION

Let us begin by taking a quick look at South Africa's social formation. It has a relatively advanced industrial economy, probably the most advanced in Africa, which is superimposed on underdeveloped, poverty-stricken rural communities. The labour force includes a large urban proletariat, black, brown and white, and a population of worker-peasants who shuttle between small-scale family holdings in Bantustan reserves and wage-earning employment in urban-industrial centres. In this situation, some people argue, the major contradiction is between labour and capital; and therefore our main target should be capital, the ultimate source of class exploitation, race discrimination and national oppression.

Our Party holds a contrary view. We maintain that the nature of the revolutionary struggle at the present stage is determined by the overriding system of colonial domination. To repeat some of what I have already said, the white minority segregates itself behind laws and practices that buttress its monopoly of power, violate universal standards of social justice and human rights, provoke deep-seated resentments and induce both black consciousness and national consciousness among the oppressed majority.

There is also a significant element of class consciousness, manifesting itself in labour organisations, trade unionism, strikes, boycotts and the like. Class interests and attitudes cut across the colour line and occur, often in a distorted form, also among white workers. On both sides of the line, however, the class factor operates within the context of racism, colonialism and fascism.

We mean by fascism a totalitarian system of coercion and control, covering all political, economic and social institutions, including sex, marriage, family, religion, residence, movement, employment, health, education, language, sport and culture. Classical fascism also involved a firm alliance between the state and monopoly capitalism, militarisation of the entire society, mobilisation of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen proletariat against the working class. Are these features not found today in South Africa under 'Apartheid' rule?

Comrades, when Europe faced a similar threat in the 1930s, the Communist International and Georgi Dimitrov called for a Popular Front, a United Front against war and fascism. The African National Congress makes the same kind of appeal for a People's Front of African nationalists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, communists, social democrats, liberals and the churches. Let us all unite our forces against apartheid, the police state and militarism. The Party has responded positively to the strategy of creating a broad liberation front headed by the African National Congress.

Our policy is based on long association with the ANC, experience gained in organising workers and developing class consciousness and Marxist-Leninist theoretical concepts. Let me spend a few minutes in discussing the theory.

TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The 1903 programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, popularly known as the Bolsheviks, stated that its immediate political aim was to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy and substitute a democratic people's republic. An autocrat is an absolute ruler, a despot who is not bound by a constitution to consult his subjects or give effect to their wishes. That surely is the position of the minority racist regime which has absolute power over the voteless majority.

Only a social revolution, leading to the public ownership of the means of production, can achieve the real emancipation of the working class. The Russian Social Democrats agreed to this proposition. But, they explained, the development of the workers' class struggle was hampered by remnants of the pre-capitalist, self-owning system. It lowered their standard of living and kept them in a state of ignorance. The Tsarist autocracy was the worse oppressor; the most dangerous enemy of the workers' emancipation movement and the greatest obstacle to their cultural growth. For these reasons the immediate task was to abolish the autocracy.

Such is the position also in South Africa. The racist autocracy hampers the workers' struggle, reduces their living standards, keeps them in ignorance, and retards their cultural growth. Race discrimination and national oppression are additional obstacles to emancipation. The white minority, forming 20% of the population, claims exclusive possessory rights over 87% of the land, partitions the remaining 13% into ten tribal states, imposes foreign citizenship on black South Africans, and outlaws parties or movements that strive to unite all South Africans, regardless of colour, into a single nation.

The remnants of colonialism must be destroyed together with its racial rubbish and gross denial of human rights before the working people can take up the task of destroying capitalism. First the democratic revolution, then the advance to socialism.

Our Freedom Charter, adopted by popular assent in 1955 and formally ratified in the following year as the ANC's official programme, sets out a scheme for a democratic constitution. The regime shouted 'treason' and put 156 leaders on trial. They were acquitted after nearly five years of legal argument and police harassment, while the Charter went from strength to strength. It is now widely accepted and publicised as the people's vision of a free society.

The Charter projects a series of radical changes, resembling those contained in the Russian Social-Democratic Party's programme of 1903. Majority rule is contemplated through the introduction of a popular legislature and universal suffrage. All forms of discrimination against persons because of their race and colour will be eliminated by guarantees of equal rights for persons and national groups. There is to be freedom of movement, residence, occupation and religious worship; free and equal education for all. The most important clauses relating to the economy provide for the removal of racial impediments to the redistribution of land, and for public ownership of minerals, banks and monopolies.

Our Party which, though banned, had fully participated in the organisation of the Congress of the People that launched the Freedom Charter, endorsed it without reservation in 1962 as providing a necessary conceptual basis for an advance along non-capitalist lines to a socialist future.

THE PARTY'S PROGRAMME

We were outlawed in 1950 by the Suppression of Communism Act, the first of many vicious assaults by the newly elected Nationalist Party government on the rights of the working class and indeed of national liberation movements. After a short interval for regrouping and adaptation to the conditions of illegality, we took up the task of organising an underground resistance to the regime. At our fifth national conference, held inside the country in 1962, we adopted a programme pledging full support for the national liberation struggle headed by the African National Congress. This declaration set the seal of a formal party approval on an alliance that had matured and consolidated in many decades of joint action for common aims.

Before commenting on some aspects of our programme, I should like to look back briefly to the 1920s when the Party laid the theoretical foundation of the alliance during discussions within the Communist International. At its sixth congress in 1928 the Comintern suggested a new formula to guide our relations with African nationalism. The Party was urged to strive for "A South African Native Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government with full protection and equal rights for all national minorities." This objective, popularly known as the establishment of a Black Republic, was incorporated in the Party's programme adopted at its seventh annual conference in 1929.

Comrades, it requires a feat of imagination to appreciate the shattering effect of the Black Republic slogan on our members, white workers and the oppressed nationalities. For the first time in our history they encountered a stark, unqualified declaration of intent to introduce majority rule and transfer power to Africans. I need hardly remind you that this was a genuinely revolutionary concept fifty years ago. Colonial imperialism held most of the continent in a rigorous stranglehold, so much so that independence seemed to all but few militants a remote possibility. In this political climate, our Party understandably experienced stress when it turned its face to the black working class. Some foundation members, veterans of the class struggle, were expelled often for dubious reasons.

We overcame these difficulties and emerged stronger than before in the campaigns for a united front against fascism and war. Our strength lay in a membership of activists drawn from all races and national groups, the traditions and practice of democratic centralism, the dedication of our trade union cadres, participation in national liberation movements, and the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the interactions between class conflict and national liberation.

In the words of our 1962 programme, the Party's historic task is to abolish capitalism, socialise the means of production and prepare the way for a classless communist society. Our immediate aim, however, is to "strive continuously for the building and strengthening of a united front of national liberation, the unity of Communists and non-Communists, the unity of freedom-loving people of all nationalities and all anti-colonialist classes in the national democratic republic within the framework outlined in the Freedom Charter.

LIBERATED STATES

Our programme is very specific about the nature of the State and the exercise of power after liberation. We accept the goal of universal adult suffrage: one adult one vote, without distinctions or inequalities related to colour, sex, property, education or other criteria. Its introduction would extend to all sections the type of franchise that is now the exclusive prerogative of the white minority; and this is an absolute minimum necessary for the demolition of the autocracy.

There is a difficulty, however, An open franchise in a free enterprise, private ownership and competitive market type of social formation is a standing invitation to class conflict, tribal rivalries, foreign subversion and counter-revolution conspiracies. Most African states experienced such problems and shifted towards one-party systems of government. Though our proposed solutions do not go so far, our declared aim is to destroy the apartheid state apparatus. It will be replaced by institutions in which all sections of the population participate in decision-making and administration. Similar action will be taken to break up the white bureaucracy, open the doors of the public services to all citizens, dismiss untrustworthy officials and accelerate the promotion of qualified blacks. This is no more than what is being done in newly independent states everywhere.

On the question of civil rights, including freedom of speech and organisation, our programme would have the state guarantee them to all citizens while prohibiting racial and counter-revolutionary propaganda. To safeguard and extend the gains of the revolution, the people must maintain a vigorous dictatorship against the former dominant and exploiting classes. A new people's militia and liberation army will take the place of the colonialist security forces.

These proposals bear the imprint of a particular approach, based on Marxism-Leninism, to the state as well as our understanding and experience of the dictatorial and oppressive nature of the white autocracy. They determine our perspective for the future, but also our immediate tasks. I shall conclude by indicating our conception of the Party's special role in the present phase of the South African revolution.

IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

Our basic premise is that the Party has no interests separate from those of other components of the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC. Our main task therefore is to strengthen the national liberation movement.

Yet ~~we~~ have a separate identity and independent role, derived from the theory of a vanguard party, long association with the South African working class, adherence to the obligations of proletarian internationalism and firm commitment to our allies in the socialist world.

Our Party will continue to raise the level of working class consciousness in mines, factories, workshops and among the worker-peasants. For this purpose, our industrial and political cadres assist in the organisation of trade unions, spread the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist concepts, and explain the relation between race discrimination, national oppression and class exploitation. A major task is to strengthen our ranks by recruiting politically mature activists of all national groups.

It is our special task to defend and strengthen the principle of proletarian internationalism. This aim is in complete harmony with the character and composition of the national liberation movement. Africans form a majority of members and supporters, as they do in the general population. The ANC alliance includes, however, also Coloured, Indians and whites. This coalition provides a solid core of revolutionaries with the emerging South African nation, uniting all races and national groups for the overthrow of the autocracy and the building of a new social order providing freedom, equality and opportunities for development to all citizens.

Our Party's non-racial c o m p o s i t i o n is unique in a social order where the whole population is divided into a separate and unequal social categories according to skin colour and ancestral origins. Our tradition of free and equal participation by comrades of different national communities has given us deep insights into the aspirations and feelings of national communities. We shall continue to make a contribution to the task of creating a single nation within an undivided country.

That aim cannot be realised within a capitalist formation. National liberation and majority rule are not enough to transfer economic power to the oppressed, raise the living standards, eliminate enormous gap between white and black property, income and cultural standards. True freedom and equality can be attained only under a planned economy, public ownership of the means of production, large scale application of resources to the development of backward areas, industrialisation of labour reserves and the complete elimination of illiteracy, ignorance, and preventable disease. All this is possible only under a government committed absolutely to the construction of a socialist formation.

This is the task we set ourselves, now and for the future, to be worked for within the movement for national liberation, unity and genuine people's democracy. We are assured of victory by the growth of workers' militance, massive resistance, our armed forces and international solidarity against the apartheid autocracy.

LONG LIVE THE MPLA PARTY OF LABOUR!

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM, PEACE AND FREEDOM!

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!