

To accomplish its historic mission, Ukhonto We Sizwe must further
increase its strength within the 5 years of operation, in 1963;

every part of our country, among the people, and under the very
noses of the enemy forces; Conscious that the people's blood
and flesh and blood as well as its mountains and forests, Ukhonto

into arms and force of the people armed and that it is everywhere
and at all times to defend and defend the interests of the people.

Ukhonto We Sizwe must strike harder blows at the enemy
and intensify and further the struggle of the people.

..
against the fascist regime. When the enemy expects a frontal attack,
we must hit him from the rear.
Rear, we must come at him from the flanks.. " Relying on the
inexhaustible creativity. Initiative of the masses of the people, We
must surround the enemy wherever he is and transform even what he
considers his strongholds into battle fronts.

When he organises to meet fire from

â\200\235

-

-

On this historic day, in the name and on behalf of Ukhonto We
Sizwe, the National Executive Committee of the African National
Congress sends our comradely greetings to the People's 8 Liberation
Army of Namibia and the fighting people of that sister country,
under the leadership of SWAPO.,

â\200\230S._

..

S

.

-

3

..1,W_

We greet also the fraternal armed forces - under the leadership of
the POLISARIO FRONT, the PLO, FRELIMO, and the guerrilla
w.â\200\234

National Liberation Front of El Salvador. The defence of the
forces of the independent states of Southern Africa including
FAPLA of Angola, the FPLM of Mozambique, the Zimbabwe National
Army, the Botswana Defence Force, the Zambia National Defence
Force, the armed forces of the Republic of Seychelles and others
with whom we are united in the common struggle to ensure that
there is a zone of peace and prosperity for all the peoples who inhabit
this area of the mother continent,

,â\200\230L_

7â\200\230

--.

.

We greet also the armed forces of other countries in Africa, Europe,
Asia and Latin America who have stood and stand with us in the

common struggle for the liberation of the people, for social progress and peace.

,

.

3

On behalf of the membership of the African National Congress, including its leadership in prison, in the name of the patriotic forces and the people of South Africa, on this day, the 20th anniversary of its foundation, we salute all the comrades and cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, commend them for the brilliant manner in which they have carried out their revolutionary tasks and direct them to serve the people of South Africa and the rest of humanity in the same way that... Molefe, Babla Saloojee, Vuyisile Mlengi, Basil February, Solomon Mahlangu, Joe Slovo and others have served the people of South Africa and the rest of humanity.

â\200\2302

.

,

â\200\230

-â\202-

'W.
Alfred Nzo;;'
Secretary-General a'

December 16, 1981.

:3
;The Struggle must intensify -
?W.57V7Svlctâ\200\234ry1S7~Wlthlnour grasp.

,.

AS all power to the people.

.

-

.

,.

3

, jÂ»~.

numbers of the white beneficiaries of the apartheid system into combat, â\200\224 beneficiaries whose principalâ\200\230life's objective is to preserveâ\200\230 their lives in order to enjoy the fruits of oppression and exploitation.

Ours is a just cause and will therefore triumph.
to its banner: the oppressed and exploited masses of our people
and men and women of conscience from among the whites.. For every â\200\230
patriot who falls in struggle, there are a hundred ready and willing
to pick up the spear.- Ours is therefore not an army of conscripts-,
but an army of the entire people, which they voluntarily join,
support and assist, -thereby expressing in their millions their
commitment to resist rather than submit; if need be, to die fighting â\200\230
rather than live forever as slaves.

It has attracted

â\200\224-

-

-

During the last twenty years the invincibility â\200\230 of the risen people.
in combat, regardless of the strength of the forces of reaction â\200\224n, 1', â\200\234E
has been proved many times over. It was proved in Algeria as it was

in Vietnam.

It was demonstrated anew in Angola, Mozambique and

Guinea Bissau.

It was confirmed in Zimbabwe and Nicaragua and
has forced the Pretoria regime to participate in talks about a
negotiated settlement of the Namibian question.

South Africa will be no exception;
in six decades, the South African forces of repression met the ,
South African revolutionary movement in armed combat in the then
Rhodesia.

Many among the enemy ranks did not live to tell the
story of those clashes.

Spelt doom for fascism and racism in South Africa.

In 1967 for the first time ;

Those that did survive told us which

deed, South Africa has itself become the battlefield. The combat ~-
deeds of the people's army have already exposed the inability of*
the white-minority regime and its aggressive armed forces to contain
the people's revolt.

The gallant commanders and cadres of Umkhonto;
we Sizwe have demonstrated their moral, technical and combat
superiority over the enemy of officers and soldiers.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC takes this opportunity,
to salute the heroic combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe who have over the
last two â\200\230 decades, laid down their lives in the noble struggle;
of the people of South Africa to achieve their national and social
emancipation.

It charges Umkhonto we Sizwe throughout its ranks,
as well as all our people, to honour the memory of these martyrs :
by remaining faithful to the example they have set, an example of -wng
selflessness, discipline and courage.

u

â\200\230

(HI);

The decade of the 'Eighties will surely and finally see the total liberation of Africa. that the people of South Africa and their popular army, supported by progressive mankind, win victory over the fascist and racist apartheid regime.

To achieve that historic victory will require

-*

-~

V

~

7

,

-

,

To accomplish that objective, Umkhonto we Sizwe must, under the leadership of the ANC; raise the level of political and military competence of each and everyone of its cadres the level of unity among its ranks on the basis of its loyalty to the perspectives contained in the Freedom Charter, and ensure that it weeds out all elements who in any way dishonour the glorious masses of our people and disgrace the tradition of bravery which has been handed down to us by generations of fighters for the liberation of our land and continent.

It must further enhance

AFRI CAN

NA TI ONAL ' GONG RES S

P.01 Box 31791

LUSAKA ~ Zambia

Phone 211169 Telex 45390;

16/12/1981 . Year of the Youth.

.
STAIENENT QF F"? NATiCNAL EXECUTIVE (3013111 11131:
[93 THE AFR:CAN NATIONAL CCHC533118 .01:
OF THE onH ANNIV33sHsAHY0F UNHHCNTC HE; SIZHE:
DECEMBERâ\200\230165L19831

T1111 OCCASION

Today, December 16, 1981, together-with the woFld forces united in struggle against the criminal-abartheid syStem, the Oppressed hut fighting people of South Africa, aFe observing an historic day, the 20th anniveFSary Cf their~army5 Umkhonto we SizWe.

This is for us a proud day because it is an occasion on which we can celebrate the truly magnificent achievement of theANC and our people who have, together, createda fighting force whose combat record, even at this early stge, speaks of an armed fermation which, because of its level of dedication to the people's cause; its spirit of Self-sacriiice, its determination-to-win, its creativity in struggle and its oneness with the people, is uncounquerable.mv

The enemy is strong 'well-armed, wellâ\200\224organised and capable of putting in the field of battle large numbers of armymen, airmen, naval forces, para~military and police units.
'the last twenty yearsto transform his military machine from a group of a few lightly armedregiments into a huge strike force with access to nuClear weaans.

I-e has used exactlyi

.
The task that confronts Umkhonto we Sizwe is to defeat these enehy armed forces.

Drawing on the heroiC example of the warriors-Who;
at Ncome River on December 16, 1838, chose to perish rather than

—
surrender, Umkhonto we Sizwe must and will accomplish this supremem mission in spite of the might that our racist opponent disposes 6f.

The apartheid regime rules over the peeple of South Africa by force. of arms. It has transformed our Country into a vast military encampment. In preparation for the coming battles, the reHoists seek to mobilise the highest possible proportion of the white South African pepulation into its armed forces and repressive state machinery.

'to ensure the successful defence of apartheid rule, the oppress or is â\200\235trying'to increase his strei~\201gth by recruiting black renegades into}, his military eStablishment and by creating puppet Bantustan armies. Further, the enemy is bent on attracting large numbers of mercenaries into his armed forces, human refuse drawn from many points of the globe, including Western Europe, North and South.America,Australia and Southern Africa.

Concerned that thewhite population alone is insufficient

The Pretoria regime is working to integrate key economic establishments

_ into its military schemes.

. fgiven itSelf powers to compel any industrial establishment to produce
â\200\234"war material for the racist army and is working feverishly t9 raise
"the quantitative and qualitative.level of local production pf,such\

The oppressor regime has accordingly

'material, including nuclear weapons. .To meet this objective, the

enemy is spending colossal sums of money not only to increase the productive capacity of the South African war industry, but also to ensure that the best in science and technology serves the bellicose purposes of the apartheid military machine.

â\200\2307

It has also passed legislation enabling it to oblige any establishment and the personnel working in such an establishment, to organise themselves into a military strongpoint, and has already embarked on this programme. â\200\231White commercial fares, especially those lying along the borders of neighbouring states, are also being transformed into military areas, with each firm linked to the appropriate

Encouraged and assisted by the most reactionary circles in world politics, especially the United States government, the South African regime is strengthening its military ties with the most backward regimes in the world, including those of Israel, Taiwan, Chile and Uruguay.

pursue the objective of establishing a so-called South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, designed as an instrument of aggression against â\200\234 the peoples of Africa and South America in particular.

With its allies internationally, Pretoria continues to

The military doctrine of the white minority regime is based on the propositions that the racist armed forces are the principal means for ensuring the defence and perpetuation of the apartheid system and that to achieve this objective, these armed forces must, â\200\230at all times, maintain a strategic and tactical superiority over their adversary, identified by Pretoria as the liberation movements, SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC, as well as the independent states of Southern Africa.

~ .

-

-

Accordingly, the armed forces of the Pretoria regime assume an offensive and aggressive military posture continuously and permanently. Citing such reactionary doctrines as "preemptive strike" and "hot pursuit"; they follow as a principal objective, the aim of destroying SWAPO and the ANC by military means and of transforming the independent countries of Southern Africa into client states of apartheid South Africa.

-

â\200\230

*

The undeclared war currently taking place throughout our region will therefore intensify and escalate as the enemy tries to maintain his superiority over the ever maturing popular, democratic and anti-apartheid racist forces in Southern Africa. our region is therefore conditional on the defeat and destruction of the apartheid regime and its fascist army of aggression.

The establishment of peace in

--

The fundamental Strategic Weakness of the apartheid regime is that it represents a criminal and grossly inhuman and unjust social system - a relic of a past and irretrievable historical period - which is rejected and opposed not only by the overwhelming majority of our people,

both black and White, but also by the vast majority of nanktnd. It therefore rests on a narrow sooeil base composed of a small minerity which seeks to defend this system.

-

This fundamental strategic weakness of the enemy inevitably gives rise to operational and tactical weaknesses which- make it impossible for him to attain victory over the forces of popular change. +

The more terror he uses to maintain the status quo, the more he organises the masses, who are victims of both of the system of apartheid and his violence, to seek immediate change. to contain the rising people, the more he has to drag on ever greater

As he tries to throw in more forces