

GT"\O"â\200\230\W\q

of

of

theâ\200\230 National

Executive

National Congress delivered by

the

Statement

African

President

U-R- Tambo en Heroes Day, December 16, 1936 en the occasion

of

we

Sizwel the Peopleâ\200\231s Armz;

Committee

Comrade

the

25th anniversary of the formation of

Umkhonto

This

day 25 years ago bomb blasts in several main

centres

rocked South Africa-

Thus was born Umkhonto we Sizwe,

the

Peopleâ\200\231s Army of our country-

By

that

time

the

demands

of

our

people 'were

loud,

persistent

and

clear:

All our efforts as a

people,

the
whole record of relentless struggle under the leadership of
the
African
National
Congress
were
being
met
with
ever~increasing
violence
and
repression
by
the.
racist

State- The time had arrived when we needed to reinforce our
mass
political
action with the hammer blows of
an
armed
struggle-

The formation of Umkhonte we Sizwe was a response to
these
needs
and
the demands of our people-

December

16-

1961

accordingly

marked an historic turning point in
our
long

march to freedom-

With the formation of Umkhonto we

Sizwe

our

people were now better equipped to grasp history

into

their own hands-

â\200\230Bern Of the people, combatants Of Umkhonto we Sizwe pledged

themselves

in our Manifesto-to Complement the

actions

of

our

national

liberation movement by

means

at

organised

revolutionary

violence-

These past 25 years are a

proud

record

of

a risen people making their

own

histery

with

their

blood,

sweat

and

tears

as

we

live

out

that

ynmwmwi¬\202

A...e

w?

x,

liberation movement and were awarded the title of the

June

16

Detachment-

They

were to be

rapidly

joined

by

the

Moncada

Detachment

who have been followed

by

detachment

after

detachment swell in the ranks of

our

revolutionary

people's army -

f

And what glorious pages they are writing!

In

the decade since the Soweto Uprising Umkhonto we

Sizwe

has become entrenched inside our country- Combat operations

have dramatically increased in number, in daring,

audacity

and sophistication- Our combatants, by our operations, have

wrenched

away

the meek of invincibility

that/ the

enemy

sought to wear-

Inspiration and hope and the certainty

of
-victory today surge through the veins of the masses of
our
people-
The catalogue of achievements is studded with the brilliant
attacks
on
Basel,
the
military
headquartere
at
Voertrekkerhoogte,
the nuclear power station
at
Keeberg,
the bomb blast outside the headquarters in Pretoria of
the
_racist
South
African
Air Force,
the
attacks
on
enemy
communications,
the limpet and landmine attacks inside the
borders
and
deep within the country-
Umkhonto
we
Sizwe
combatants;

merging

with

the

combat

groups

that

are

springing

up all over in the townships have

I

made

grenade

attacks

an everyday event-

Even John Verster Square,

the

headquartere Of the hated Security Police, has reverberated

from

the

explosion

of the limpet

mine-

At

last

enemy

annihilate them physically-
MK units are today being welcomed and their leadership
and
guidance
sought
by
our people- Side by
side
with
this
development,
township
after
township
is
building
the
foundations
of People's Power which are transforming
them
into fortresses of the revolution-
Through
centuries
of
white domination
our
people
have
learnt how to die for a future-
Today even our
eight-year
old children in the townships defiantly pit their
strength
against
the might of the racist soldiers and
police-

The
cream
of our youth have begun to mobilise themselves
into
mass
combat
groups determined to ensure that
the
regime
will
never
again restore its control over the
lives
and
destiny of our people- The enemy forces are being compelled
to
recognise that the only cause that they have to
defend
is the survival of a dying order;
that even in death
they
can
only
die for the past and not for the future
~
they
therefore
only defend a cause already lost whose [path
is
increasing
demoralization-
It is only in
this â\200\230framework
that
we who know how to die for the future can

understand
the
majesty of our young lions who have taken to
war
and
.side
by
side with Umkhente we Sizme moved our
masses
to
make Peopleâ\200\231s War a reality-
As a tribute to these
heroic
young
liens. who
are
daily
losing
ther
livee
it
â\200\230ie
appropriate
that
we in Umkhonto we
Sizwe,
the
Peopleâ\200\231s
Army,
should
on this 25th anniversary of
our
Feundatien
pledge ourselves that they shall not die in vain-
And that

In tribute to the independent states of Southern Africa and
other states in the far-flung corners of our continent
who
have enabled us to become the Force that we are and at this
moment
when
the racist army with the support ,
tacit
or
otherwise,
of
imperialism/ are threatening
their
independence and sovereignty we make this pledge:
We
have
always
shared
the common and noble ideal of
freeing
our
continent
of colonialism and racism- As we in Umkhonto
we
Sizwe tenaciously pursue the enemy in his den,
wherever we
find you,
our friends and brothers,
threatened,
we shall
unhesitatingly
stand
shoulder
to shoulder
with

yeu
in
defence of veur independence against this common enemy-
we
salute
the independent States of Southern Africa
fighting
to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial
integrity!
we
pledge
our unity in battle with
the
heroic
fighting
people
of
Namibia under the leadership of SNAPQ
and
its
armed wing PLAN!
At
this
eritica
moment in our history
we
need
to
be
ever~vigilant
against
every
manoeuvre
not
only

to

annihilate our movement but to deflect our people from

the

realisation of our goals-

The farces of reaction and ceunter~revolution have

already

spelled out their strategy-

Faced with the reality of

our

strength,

they seek to entice us with the possibilities of

.....

peopleâ\200\231s

cause;

â\200\235that

without

them

and

other

friends

Umkhonto and our national liberation movement headed by the

African

National Congress would not have become the

force

that we are today-

on this historic occasion let us pledge ourselves once more

to

the unity of our struggle;

commit ourselves

again

to

defend 'the Alliahoe and always uphold the fraternal

bonds

that unite us with the socialist countriee,

those

western

countries

which have unreservedly aligned themselves

with

our

just

struggle

and the

democratic

and

peaoe~loving

forces throughout the merld-

Let us repeat we shall never allow Umkhonto we Sizwe to
be
emasculated!

When
we took to the road of
armed
struggle
those
25 years ago we knew that there would be no
turning
back-

But leaders in prison have repeatedly
been
offered
their
release
if
only
they
would
renounce
so-called
violence-

But our commander Nelson Mandela firmly thrust aside
these overtures by getting to the heart of the matter-

All
the
violence
in our situation emanates
from
the
racist
regime-

It is the racists who have to
renounce

violence,

not us-

When

we

resorted

to the armed struggle we

said

in

our

manifesto that this choice is not ours,

it has been forced

on

us

by the violence of the apartheid state-

Until

our

people have won their freedom there can be no turning back-

In our daily lives our people have abundantly
demonstrated
that
apartheid
has become intolerable-

At the
level
of
united
mass
action our people areâ\200\230 surging
ahead-

Every
organised formation of our people ~ our workers, our women,
our
rural
people,
our youth and students,
the
township
residents,
religious
congregations
and
leaders,
our
teachers and these in various professions,
our progressive
white ~ are beginning to act in concert-
Revolutionary
violence has become part of the
arsenal
of
our people-

It is imperative that all Classes and
strata,

especially
our
workers and the rural
population,
Should
become
part
of the combat Force of our
revolution-
Gar
youth
should not be left to shoulder this
burden
alone-
-This
is the true significance of our call to
the
people:
Every patriot a combatant ~ every combatant a patriot!
We are witnessing today the masses steadily taking to arms;
we
are
in the midst of death-defying deeds
where
combat
groups ~ supported
by the people are
erecting
barricades,
stringing
barbed
wire
across
roads,
digging

defence

trenches,

driving enemy forces into death

traps,

raining

petrol bombs against armoured vehicles,

arming

themselves

by

diepoeseseing

the enemy of his

weapons,

ridding

our

townships of informers and collaborators, eliminating enemy

personnel-

The full majesty of these actions lies in the determination

of

our people to lock in battle with the enemy forces

and

soldiers
and 'police walk fearfully in our
townships
and
they
are
learning that they cannot escape death
as' they
have been led to believe-
we
have a long road ahead and many obstacles
to
overcome
but
we
can
justly say that there is no
target
that
is
impervious
to our combatants,
there is no
area
of
our
country
beyond
our reach and that the oppressor
and
his
army will be conquered-
In
this decade of mass revolt the traditions of the
Hindis
have

been
relived
by the Solomom
Mahlangu,
the
Jerry
Mosololis
,
the Marcus Metaungs and the Simon
Hogoeranes
who have proudly Faced Pretoria's hangmen living up to
our
-pledge "Victory or Death"-
On this day we solemnly _reCall
those
warriors who fell at Matola,
Maseru
and
elsewhere
such
as
Metso
Mogabudi,
Hduduzi
Guma,
Krish
Rabilal,
Zwelakhe
Nyanda,
Nomkhosi Mini
(daughter
of
Vuyisile),
David Skosane, Titus Jobo and Harold Dantile (Morris)-
The

spirit of the Patrick Molaoas and Basil Februarys who
fell
in Rhodesia has been relived by combatants who have
fought
it out to the last bullet or handgrenade,
comrades such as
the
Silverton heroes,
Thami Makhuba,
Wilfred Madela
and
Fani
Mafeko,
Linda
Jubane ~ the
lion
of
Chiawelo the
~
Khuduga
Molokwane, the Dobsonville
schoolteacher,
and
Clifford Brawn-
We recall and salute Richard Molpkoane (Barney), one of our
most
outstanding
Field commanders who
died
with
Victor

reality-

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was our people's

answer

to this historic challenge from the racist rulers of

South

Africa-

In the clarion call of our Manifesto

we

declared

that

"the time comes in the life of any nation when

there

remains only two choices: submit or fight"

and that South

Africa's rulers had left us with no alternative but to "hit

back

by

all

means within our power

in

defence

of

our

people,

our future and our freedom-

We knew then,

as we

stated in the Manifesto,

that

we were "striking out along

a

new road for the liberation of the people"; that once

we

took

that road there would be no going back;

a road

that
was
going to necessitate total dedication,
self~eacrifieee
and
a determination that knew no surrender;
a road
along
which the commitment not to submit but to fight would
have
to be tranfermed into the uncompromising warrior pledge
â\200\224
Victory or Death!
Let us cast our minds back to those days, 25 years ago,
t0
understand
the immeneity of that decision and the
ccurance
of those patriots who founded and participated in the early
actions
of
Umkhonto
ĩ-\201e Sizwe-
Not
since
the
Bambatha
Uprising in 1906 had patriets taken to arms in an organised
form- The peopleâ\200\231s reaction to State violence had continued
down the years-~ With the formation of Umkhonte we Sizweâ\200\231we
were
gathering together in an organised form all the
best
fighting
traditions of eur past in order t0

stride

into

the

future along the path of the seizure of power

by

the

majority of the people-

He

knew then that anger alone would not bring victory-

we

knew

then that our people had been

deliberately deprived

of

the

skills

of modern warfare

and

denied

access

to

weaponry.

He knew then that our terrain presented its

own

special

problems

which

could not be

answered

from

the

classical textbooks of guerilla warfare- we knew then that

despite

the Sweep of the African Revolution we would

have

to

develop

the armed struggle

without the advantage

of

rear bases in the neighbouring States- He knew then that we

faced a formidable foe underpinned by imperialism-

If
this
was the reality that confronted us with
so
many
.disadvantages how were we to move forward?
Above all
else/
we
knew too that our strength lay in the masses;
that
in
striking out along a new road for liberation nothing
would
count
as
much as our faith in the masses;
we
knew *that
Umkhonto we Sizwe,
born of the people, had to be rooted in
the
masses
and
strive
with
the
people-
Despite
the
immensity
of the odds but immersed with this Faith,
those
early combatants took to battle-
With home-made bombs

and

explosives taken from the enemy we blazed a glorious trail-

And what a glorious trail it has been !

Those

early

exploits struck fear into the hearts

of

the

enemy-

Not since the battle of Isandhlwane in 1879 had our

rulers

been

so shaken by our 'fighting

formations-

They

Khayivane and Vincent sekete during a daring bid to
attack
33301 once again with rockets, Linda Khuzwayo,
who fell in
Ingwavuma,
Livingstene
Gaza,
Vincent
Tehebalala,
Lukas
Njongwe,
Eldridge Yakiti,
Jerry Nene,_ Clement Helapo and
Samuel Segola,
and many more, courageous combatants to the
last
who were prepared to welcome death in order that
our
people
should
be-victorious in the end-
They
have
been
immortalised
by our revolution, their deaths gave
meaning
to life,
their deeds shall inspire our army and our people
for
all
time
and their spears have
been
picked
up

by
others-
Only
if
we
place
Soweto
and
the
decade
since 1920
into
historical perspective are we able to see that these events
have
an
added
dimension
of
significance-
Between
the
Rivonia arrests and the Soweto Uprising it can be said that
'the
question
as to how to advance
revolutionary
warfare
without safe rear bases in the neighbouring States appeared
to elude practical answers- The renewed actions of Umkhonto
we Sizwe on a sustained basis and the continuous upsurge of
the masses provided the answer to this question and
Showed
that our bases would of necessity have to be located
among
our

people-

Along this path our theory

and

practice

at

revolutionary

warfare

came to be properly

understood

in

terms of People's War-

The

Special

significance of these lessons

has

been

the

growth

in

understanding as to how the

masses

should

be

mobilised to fulfil this perspective- Accordingly, we have

violated
every
norm
of humanity combined
to
smash
our
network within the country-
Even the courage of our masses
appeared to have cowed before the tyrant's might-
But
the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the
leaders
of
our
national liberation movement had already
taken
steps
which would ensure that whatever the twists of history? our
people would soldier on to victory. Thus it was that in the
face of such a massive setback the only cohesive
organised
force
of our revolution that remained at the time was
the
comrades
who had been sent out of the country to train
in
politics
and the art of modern warfare-
He had
left
our
country
in search of knowledge and skills denied to us
in

the country of our birth- He had left our homes imbued with
.the
dream
that we would surge back into South
Africa
to
lock
immediately into battle with our fascist
rulers-
He
had 'left our country in the belief that when we came
back
with our martial skills we would be received by our leaders
occupying
the front trenches and guiding us
into
battle-
And
now
we were Faced with the imponderable
prospect
of
being cut off from the lifeblood of our revolution
4
cur
people-
But if our enemy reckoned that the Struggle for
liberation
by a people could be snuffed out by victory in one
battle,
how
wrong they were to be proved-
Within the country,
in
the

prisons,
and
in remote military
camps
situated
in
distant countries of our mother continent Africa we set out
on
the long journey of regrouping ourselves,
replenishing

had to elaborate on concrete programmes
that would
enable
the masses to be transformed into political
revolutionary
bases- It has also meant that we have had to develop a deep
and thoroughgoing understanding of the interrelationships
between
the
four pillars of our struggle
which
we
have
characterised as the building of the underground network of
our movement, the mass action of our people,⁴ the expansion
of
Umkhonto we Sizwe inside South Africa and
the
further
mobilisation
of the international community aimed
at
the
total isolation of the apartheid regime-
32»
MK .has
A
and
continues
to play
a
crucial
role
in
the
development:

of
our masses
into
political
revolutionary
bases-
By :2; heroism and tenacitycombatants Of
Umkhonta
we
Sizwe have won not only the respect of our peoples
but
their
willingness
to
engage
themselves
in
the
armed
Struggle- Without the all*r0und active participation Of the
maeses we cannot develop Peopleâ\200\231s Her in the fullest sense-
The
revolt of the masses of our people has become a
tidal
wave which no amount of repression and violence on the part
of
the racist state is any longer capable
of
containing-
The
State
of
Emergency ~ martial law in
reality
-

has

become

a permanent instrument For the

racistsâ\200\235

uncertain

survival- The masses have made our country ungovernable for

the regime and rendered apartheid unworkable-

How far then are we From truly realising Peopleâ\200\231s war?

It was not by accident that we launched MK on
December 15-
White; South
Africa observes that day as
the
triumph
of
their
military might over our people-
The
Violence
that
they
celebrate
is
the violence of a
minority
aimed
at
subjugating the majority of the people of our country;
the
violence
of
white
over
black-
In
reality
it is
a
celebration of injustice and inhumanity of man against man-
He
chose that day to show how different we were: 'to
show
that the path that had been forced upon us was in
pursuit

of
the establishment of justice.and humanity for
all
the
people
of
our
country ~ black
and
white-
The
racists
celebrate
December
16
in
the name of
a
false
god
-a
celebration
of
war
in pursuit of
an
unjust
cause-
we
celebrate
December 16,
our Heroes Day,
to underline
our
commitment

that
we are waging a just war
in
pursuit
of
freedom, democracy and peace-
The
racist
regime
is today trapped
in
an
irreversible
crisis
and our road to victory is open-

He shall have
to
face
many' obstacles-

The history of these

25

years

of

Umkhonto we Sizwe proves that there is no obstacle which we
cannot overcome-

In

the

course

of this long march we

have

scored

great

achievements-

We have also made many mistakes but

we

are

where we are today because we have always had the
capacity
to
learn
from
our
mistakes
as
well
as
From
our
achievements;
to learn from our people as they learn
from
US ..
....., .v .1

could
not understand what moved giants like
Mini,
Mkhaba
and Khayinga
to go singing defiantly to the gallows rather
than
trade their lives for the life of a fellow
combatant
by
giving
evidence for the State-
The Minis,
like
many
before
them
and many more since,
emblazoned
with
their
lives
into
the
emblem
of
Umkhonto
we
Sizwe
the
uncompromising
motto:
Victory or Death 9.
Let us on
the
occasion of the 25th anniversary of NH salute these

heroes
for
their commitment to the justness of our cause and
for
imprinting
in the history of our struggle a Standard
that
we must live up to.
Let it be recorded today that this has
been our standard from the first days of Umkhonto we Sizwe-
Even
in
those
early days by what
cruel
twists
history
sought to
underscore both our mistakes. and
the
immense
difficulties that our revolution faced-
Within less than a
year our first commander, Cde- Nelson Mandela, was captured
by
the enemy-
within two years of our birth the cream
of
our
leadership
was captured at Rivonia Farm,
brought
to
trial with Cde-
Mandela and sentenced to life imprisonment

where
they
remain to this day-
In his statement
to
the
court; Cde-
Mandela,
confronted with the prospect of
the
gallows,
defended the justness of our cause and
defiantly
proclaimed
that for these actions "I am prepared to
die"-
By the end of 1964,
with the imprisonment of Hilton Mkwayi
and
others, it
appeared as if the guns of
MK
had
been
silenced for all time-
Unprecedented
state
repression and
enemy
conduct
which

commitment-

From

those small beginnings Umkhonto we Sizwe has
emerged

today

33

the

guarantor of our people's
future

and

the

indispensable fighting arm of Our people-

Combatants

OF

Umkhonto we Sizwe, you are

the

Flower

of

successive

generations

of

our

youth

tempered

in

the

crucible

of

battle-

On behalf of

the

African

National

Congress

and

its

allies I salute you on
this
the
25th
anniversary of the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe-
Umkhonto
we
Sizwe was born out of a sense
of
the
heavy
responsibility that history had thrust upon our people-
He
.had
sought by every non~violent means at cur
disposal
to
realise
the liberation of our people-
In pursuit of
this
goal,
the
decade
of
the
fifties
demonstrated
the
overwhelming
commitment
of the masses
of
our
oppressed

peoples

to freedom-

Under the leadership of the

Congress

Allianee

headed

by

the

African

Natienal

Congress

al

Â»

.

.

.

t

classes and strata as well as the diverse population groups

of

our

country steadfastly pursued

this

objective-

Bur

people

mobilised

as

never

before

to

challenge

white

minoritf

rule-

The decade of the fifties was a decade

of

truly

great achievements-

But true to the
traditions
of
colonialist
rule and the ideology of race superiority
the
rulers
of our country paid me heed to the demands
of
our
people-
They drowned our efforts in blood" and
brutality-
The
Sharpeville
maesacre of March
1960
epitomised
this

.....

Order to hack a path home and for our brethers to
entrench

themselves in their mother country-

That daring effort

is

known as the Hankie Campaign in which our combatants fought
gloriously

against the combined racist South

African

and

Smith

ferees- . How

the

enemy

forces

were

rendered

panic~strieken

by the relentless courage of

our

combined

forces

who,

on

the banks of

the

Zambezi,

before

theyâ\200\231

marched into the hostile territory of Rhodesia, were named,

in memory at our great

leader,

the late President~ï-\201eneral

Of the African National Congress, Chief Albert Lutuii,

and

who
are
known since then and for all
posterity
as,
the
Lutuli Detachment; In battle after battle the racist forces
were
overwhelmed
by
the courage
and
firepower
of
our
gallant Fighters-
In instance after instance the' cowardly
enemy broke ranks and fled, abandonihg theirâ\200\230weapons, their
injured
and their dead.
Many members of that
indomitable
detachment
fell
in battle in Hankie and
en
the
Eastern
front- Their names are inscribed in the roll~call of honour
Of our revelutien- On this day, every year,
we pay special
tribute
to
those illustrious combatants who fell
on

the
sacred fields of Zimbabwe with the warrior cry "Victory
or
Death
" On their lips; immortal fighters
such
as
Peter
Mhlengo,
Delmas
Sibanyeni,
James Masimani
and
Basil
February who in several battles refused to retreat,
Fought
the
enemy
to
the last bullet;
heroes
such
as
Patrick
Melaoa,
President of the African National
Congress
Youth
League,
Michael P00,
Andries Metsepe,
Jack-Simelane
and
Sandi
Hlekane,
all at whom gave their lives in the

noble

cause of our revelation-

peaceful
change
by
demanding
of
the
African
National
Congress
that we renounce violence,
that we
abandon
the
alliance with the South African Communist Party and that we
sever
our
relations
with
the
Socialist
countries,
in
particular
with the Soviet Union,
the
German
Democratic
Republic and Cuba-
What do these demands amount to ?
What is the
fundamental
lesson that comes out of 25 years of existence of
Umkhonto
we Sizwe?
Our
people

have
only been
taken
Seriously
whether
in
Pretoria,
London,
Washington or Bonn because of our armed
activity ! Combatants of MK , you are the guarantors of our
Future;
without
you
our people and
the
leader
of
our
revolution, the African National Congress, would be a voice
without
force-
Our history has taught
us
that
peopleâ\200\231s
power
cannot
come
through a change
of
heart
from
the
rulers-
Those who ask us to desert our allies ask us to forget

the
enduring
bonds
that
we have developed
together
in
the
trenches-

The South African Communist Party in
particular
is
inextricably woven into the fabric of our struggle
and
by its commitment and actions earned itself the
honourable
place of being a worthy and indispensable component of
the
national
liberation
movement-

As
for
the
specialist
countries, let
it be said unequivocally
that
they
have
proved
by word and deed that they are true Friends of
our

our
revolution in its triumph shall rebuild For
them
the
childhood that they have lost-
At
this
moment ,
as we reach into the high tide
of
our
revolution,
let us remind ourselves that we face a vicious
and inhuman foe-
Our enemy is now committed irrevocably to
a
course
aimed at destroying the mass resistance
of
our
people
to
the extent of perpetrating
genocide-
It
has
marshalled all its power to destroy Umkhonto we Sizwe,
the
African National
Congress
and
its
allies,
within
and
outside

our
country-
It has firmly
set
its
course
on
marauding
the
independent states of
Seuthern
Africa
in
pursuit
of reducing them to abject client states-
It
has
exposed
itself
as
a cancer in the body
politic
of
our
beloved
continent
and
a threat to world peace-
It
has
left
independent
Africa
with
no

choice
but
to
share
trenches with us in the Front line of battle-
He
cannot let this day pass without paying homage to
that
great
son
of
Africa,
our
comrade~in~arme,
the
late
President Samara Hachel of Mozambique, â\200\230cruelly murdered by
the Pretoria regime;
His life and his death symbolise
the
close
unity
in
Struggle of our
peoples- -MK
combatants
trained
together with him and other Frelimo comrades;
For
years we shared the same military camps;
at times we
even
shared
the
same trenches On Mozambiquan 3011
before

ite-

liberation-

And he lost his life on South African soil .et

the

hands

of our common enemy-

We pledge

to

bring

his

murderers to account!

people inside South Africa-
Activists who had been out off
by wave after wave of repression and activists
re-emerging
from
the
fascist
prisons? joined
force
with
a
new
generation -of freedom fighters
and
set about
organising
the
masses-
The wave of strikes waged by our
workers 'in
1973
became the precursor to the Soweto explosion of
1976
that shook our country-
From then on our revolution caught
fire
with renewed intensity -and our people
have
surged
ahead
in united mass action such as never before
seen
in
the history of our struggle-
The
imperative of the armed Struggle as the

component
of
our
revolutionary/
way
forward; which
underlay
the
formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 196% was burned into
the
-minds
of
our Soweto generation by â\200\230the
savage
massacres
perpetrated by the racist soldiers and police !
The brutal
gunning
down
of 13 year old Hector
Petersen
turned
the
protesting youth of 19?6 into the warriors who flowed
into
the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizweggiving fresh impetus to
our
armed
activities-
Almost overnight the Soweto
generation
finally
enabled
us to breach the barriere
by

which
the
enemy had sought to separate us from the masses-
The enemy
which
by
design
and
fortuity had
deprived
us
of
the
generation
of
the mid~sixties to
the
midâ\200\224eeventies
now
unwittingly threw into the ranks of the revolUtion an
army
of youth whose anger and courage knew no bounds- Within the
ranks
of Umkhonto we Sizwe and under the tutelage
of
the
umgwenya
they
proudly absorbed the heritage
of
struggle
that
resides
in the various formations
of
our

national

He are born Of the people- As long as we remain part of the
people

and move ahead with the people victory is

certain-

Ccnditions have how matured in our country for us, together
with our people,

to mount an all~round offensive in

order

t0 advance to Peopleâ\200\231s Power-

It

is

within

this context that I now

present

you,

our

glorious Peopleâ\200\231s Army; with your Battle Orders of the day:

I order:

*

*

*

*

*

*

train, arm and lead our people into battle;

defend our people in town and countryside;

sever the enemyâ\200\231s lines of communication and pcwer;

disperse and immobilise the enemy forces;

destroy the enemyâ\200\231s economic resources;

attack

the

enemy on all

Fronts

and

annihilate

his

forces;

â\200\231

*

make

Peopleâ\200\231s Her flourish in all

its

dimensions

in

every

part of our country-

Victory or Death, we shall win !

Forward to Peopleâ\200\231s Power !

Long Live the Alliance of_our People !

Long Live Umkhonto we Sizwe !

Long Live the African National Cengress !

Amandla

Ngawethu !

Maatla ke Arena 3

Why do we recall these exploits? Surely it cannot be simply
to
record the difficulties we faced and the endurance
and
courage we ShOHed- More. In the unfolding of our revolution
it
became the sacred duty OF'Umkhonto we Sizwe
to
revive
the
spirit
of revolt amongst our people,
to
kindle
the
embers
30

that the flame of revolution
would
once
more
flare
up-
How Hankie revived the spirits
of
our
people
inside
our
country,
restored
courage
in
the
face
of

represeion and revitalised the revolution!

That

indelible

page

in

the

history of our struggle is

written

in

the

annals

of the Lutuli Detachment- That role Of Umkhente

we

Sizwe has been emulated over and over again- Let US on this

occasion

salute

the Lutuli Detachment whose

members

lie

buried in many countries,

whose members languish in prison

and

whose members even today serve in our frent ranks-

If

the revolution survived those dark days,

it survived to

a

Significant extent because of our Lutuli Detachment-

At the same time our comrades who were incarcerated in

the

faeciet prisons turned prison into a battleground-

Cut off

from

the masses,

they waged campaign after

campaign

and

their

invincible

spirit

flowed out

of

the

prisons

to

inspire our people-

The

flameâ\200\231 held

aloft by the Lutuli

Detachment/ and

the

Spirit that continuously surged from the prisons where

our

leadeffe and fighters have been held in captivity/

inspired

and merged with the revival of the Fighting capacity of our

.....

.....

our

courage and resolve and fighting back inch by inch

to

realise

a dream that seemed to vanish into such a

distant

future-

Looking back ever these 25 years let us today actord proper

place

and recognition to that generation of MK we know

as

umgwenya

who by force of circumstance and in the

face

ef

such

diversity became the core for our regrouping and

the

torchwbearere of our revolution- with superhuman dedication

to

the cause of our people they held aloft our

dream

and

lived with only one purpose in mind ~ te get back into

our

country,

to

be

enjoined once more in the

bosom

of

our

people whose servants we are and t0 pursue the

revolution-

This
is not the place to record every effort,
to
recount
every ingenious means with which we pursued this goal-
Let
it
be sufficient to note that we traversed many
countries
on
feet and by other means-
Every failure to
reach
home
became
a
spur to further efforts and greater
daring-
we
_seught
to
go
by land,
by sea and by air-
We
even
had
comrades
traverse
our
country
to
_reach
Lesotho-
Ger

umgwenva never gave up hope and never spared their efforts-

In

that phase of our history we lost many comrades,

among'

them Cde-h Flag Boshielo,

member of the NEC Of the African

National

Congrese

and Commisear in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In

Pertugueseâ\200\224ruled

Mozambiwquef we joined

forces

with

our

brothers~in~armsÂ§Frelimogt0 probe our way into our country-

But

the true epic of that period belongs to the effort

we

made

in

196?

when as a Combined force of

ANC

and

ZAPU

fighters

we crossed the Zambezi into the then Rhodeeia

in