

think only in terms of meeting the enemy on the battlefield. The enemy is among us, it lives with us, it surveils us, our activities. And it comes to our places at awkward moments, and kills our people as it was the case with Matola and Maseru now. This exhorts that we should step up our combat readiness and vigilance. We must know ourselves so that we can be in a position to spot our enemy at a first glance. And all these terroristic-activities by the enemy should not make us to lose hope or

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# "WE SHALL OFFE

SPEECH DELIVERED BY JAMES MAKHAYA, A COMBATANT OF MK TO A GATHERING TO CELEBRATE SOUTH AFRICA'S HEROES DAY, SOMEWHERE IN THE THICK FOREST OF THE CONTINENT.

Dear Comrades, today the 16th of December 1982 we are celebrating the 21st Anniversary of Umkhonto We Sizwe - the cutting edge of people's resistance in South Africa. In these words, "We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only!", Umkhonto We Sizwe proclaimed its existence.

Therefore the formation of Umkhonto we sizwe was not just a choice but an absolute necessity. It was imperative that our people should demonstrate their preparedness to meet the challenges of the enemy, to demonstrate their resolve to fight with arms in hand to achieve their freedom.

lower our morale, instead our morale must be ever high and we must step up our activities more than ever before because the enemy has shown beyond any shadows of doubt that it is afraid of us. We are a force recognised, a force to be reckoned with and therefore it means we must double our efforts in so far as questions of vigilance and combat readiness are concerned. History is on our side, our struggle is gaining momentum with every passing day and our victory is certain.

# MOUNT THE "INSIVE"

The formation of MK heralded a new era in South Africa. The violence of apartheid was to be met with the violence of the people. The road to freedom was to be marred by the blood of the finest sons and daughters of our country. It is thus proper that when we mark this day we have also to doff our hats and bow our heads in honour of those heroes and heroines who pioneered this long and arduous path to freedom.

## TECHNIQUES

When this army was formed the majority of our people were deprived of any know-how of the techniques of war. The ruling class and its supporters were having the monopoly of this know-how. The founding fathers of MK set themselves the task of also educating our people about these techniques as well as eroding the mystification of the gun and the explosive. This of course was not without casualties. We immediately remember comrade Molefe who died in Johannesburg of a premature explosion.

Today at twenty-one Umkhonto We Sizwe has not just

mastered the techniques of war but has demonstrated that the enemy bleeds. Umkhonto under the wise political line of the ANC at twenty-one, as a fully-fledged man has proved that it is a force. In every street or home it has become the dominating subject of conversation. In the fascist parliament the fascists could not evade putting the ANC on the agenda. In the battle-field we have scored victory after victory. The sophistication and daringness of MK has become evident in the trail of operations it conducted in various parts of South Africa. MK has on a number of occasions put the racist hordes helter-skelter to the confession of the fascist rulers that the whites should learn to live with 'terrorism'. Avoiding to contest with reality Viljoen said that the ANC is poised for an 'area war'. In our understanding this is a people's war which has taken roots in the soil of South Africa.

The enemy, fearing the impact these operations have on the people, decided to clamp down on the press and all other opposition to its tyrannic rule. The generals have decided that the press should wholly depend on them for reports about the activities of MK. The reason for this is not difficult to find as it is to do away with the inspirational effect of the operations, hoping to dampen the morale of our people. To its dismay the opposite has been achieved - "our morale has never been higher!" The CIA has come out to confess that although boers have clamped down on the press and on any information concerning our operations, the information continues to filter out and this is indicative of the intensity of the struggle.

These heroic feats of valour have sent panic in the racist spines and have cleaved Afrikanerdom. The enemy is caught between the two horns of a dilemma - it is in a quagmire sinking to its inevitable doom. Power is visibly changing hands and on this the 21st birthday of our heroic army everyone must stand up and demand it.

## BRUTALITY

Behaving like a cornered beast the enemy has reacted with vociferous brutality to this people's rising. It has intensified mass removals, more deaths in detention are

recorded. A galaxy of sung and unsung heroes is being left. Our captured comrades have been bestially and sadistically tortured. A number of them have been sentenced to death. As I stand here before you six of our comrades are waiting for the day when the hangman's noose will take away their dearest possession, life.

These are but signs that the enemy can no longer rule our people. Realising this, it has relied more and more on the generals and the army. It is bent on physically liquidating our movement and our leaders. We cannot but on this momentous day comrades, think of Comrades Joe Gqabi, Petros and Jabu Nyaose, Ruth First and so it goes, and so it will go until the fascist beast has been physically liquidated on our sacred soil. Any attempt to eliminate the armed struggle in our country cannot succeed because the attempts are in themselves to prevent change - and change is a phenomenon that cannot be halted.

Comrades, we in the combat ranks of MK know that when the enemy intensifies its repression and violence, we have to intensify our sophistication and violence - organised violence. We have to intensify our mobilisation of the oppressed majority - the bedrock of our struggle. We have to make every Black South African a fighter in the struggle for national salvation.

The beginning of the end of Apartheid rule in our country was recorded on the 16th of December 1961, today the 16th of December 1982, the vow is that the rattling and the staccato of gunfire and the thundering of artillery will be halted by our victory, nothing short of that. Victory whether dark or blue must come. We are saying this with all the sureness and determination for as the NEC statement on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC declared, "...Our cherished goal of national and social liberation... is already in sight! We are saying this boldly and confidently for our forces of national liberation have never been better poised for the final onslaught to eradicate the evil system of colonial and racial oppression and exploitation."

Our organisation has emerged as an alternative power and being so it means that MK must not only ready itself

for the present phase of our struggle but also for the future phase of reconstruction and defending of the gains of our revolution. As Lenin once said that to fight for the revolution is difficult but more difficult is to defend it. As we are therefore poised for the armed seizure of power we have to be also poised for the future. As our president said during the 1st Congress of MPLA, "In building up our own popular army we aim therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim also at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and guided by our revolutionary orientation."

Dear comrades, Umkhonto We Sizwe at twenty-one is displaying its readiness for the two phases of our revolution. Presently the length and breadth of our country must be the theatre of war and war to the finish. We in the combat ranks of MK are prepared to pay the maximum sacrifice for our cherished goal. We know that our victory will not be quick or easy but will be long drawn and difficult and we are sustained in that by the justness of our cause and by the fact that a people determined to be free cannot be under the jackboot of fascism forever.

We in the combat ranks of MK in our stubborn conviction say to Botha and his cronies WE SHALL MOUNT THE OFFENSIVE, out of it lies our happiness and prosperity.

We, proud and undaunted members of the army of Nelson Mandela, responding to the beckoning of our people to do away with alien rule in our beloved motherland demand and are fighting for FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

LONG LIVE THE 21st ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY -

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

AMANDLA! ALL POWER!