

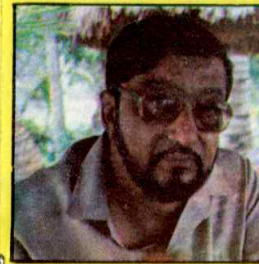
Farewell Uncle Zeph

APLA will always remember you



'A nation
without arms
is no nation'

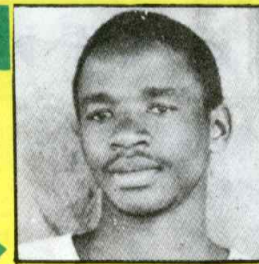
ISSUE No. 11 ISSN 0856-3470 QUARTERLY 1990



Fallen APLA
fighters

← Cde Sam
Chand

Cde George
Nyanga →



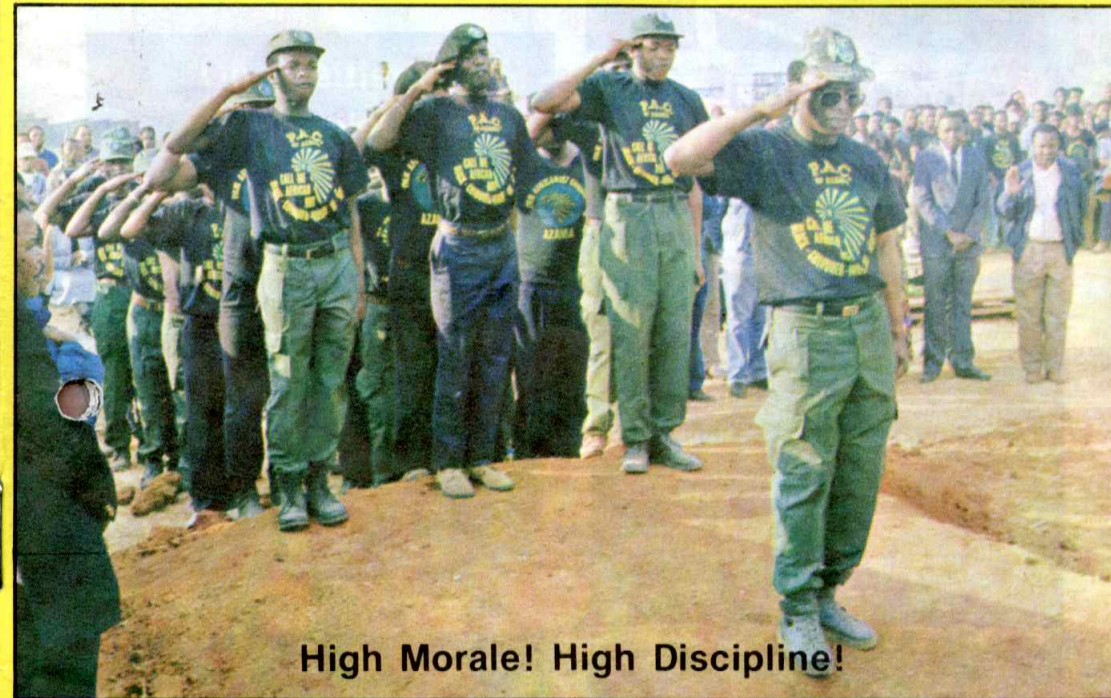
INSIDE

APLA
in action



AZANIA COMBAT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (APLA)



High Morale! High Discipline!

PAC war goes on

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**The "Lion of Azania"
has fallen**
(See page 14)

**One Settler!
One Bullet!**

STORIES, pictures and illustrations in this issue of Azania Combat are the work of the magazine's editors, writers and correspondents in and outside South Africa, APLA military and intelligence experts and the APLA Political Department. The magazine is run by the political department through its Research, Information and Propaganda Section at PAC army headquarters.

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COVER PICTURE: Former top APLA commander, Cde Ian Shoba, leading PAC militants in a military like parade right inside South Africa during the funeral of a fallen APLA fighter, Cde George Nyanga, recently.

EDITORIAL



APLA sticks to guns

WHATEVER decision is taken on the question of F.W. de Klerk's invitation of the PAC to negotiations, the Azanian People's Liberation Army will stick to the PAC resolve to continue with the armed struggle.

Not until victory is assured will the PAC consider suspending the armed struggle even for a minute, let alone abandoning it unilaterally as others have done.

Armed struggle was forced upon us by the Pretoria regime as the principal way of crushing settler-colonial white minority rule in South Africa.

It has now become quite fashionable in certain circles to realise that the enemy "does not have horns" and that it is in fact "quite reasonable".

But what has changed about Pretoria?

As far as we are concerned, the enemy has definitely not changed. He has only realised that the raw form of apartheid is no longer profitably sustainable.

The enemy speaks of what in fact is simply a "bill of rights" as being evidence of an "about face" on the part of apartheid.

But a bill of rights is only a basic component of constitutions in democratic countries.

Some petty apartheid laws are presently being scrapped in South Africa as a bait to lure the struggle into confusion. However, such laws are only the tip of the oppressive iceberg we are fighting.

In fact, immediately after the ANC lays down its arms South Africa explodes into a bloody confrontation, leaving only Africans dead or maimed.

And Nelson Mandela, who has been ever-willing to talk to and applaud F.W. de Klerk as "a man of integrity", ironically does not talk to Gatsha Buthelezi, systematically ignoring repeated calls by the now late President Zeph Mothopeng to do so.

Only 800 lives later does Mandela says he is now willing to talk to Buthelezi. What a gamble with Azanian lives!

Was Mandela too proud, at the expense of these lives, to admit the PAC approach was not only correct but urgent? Or was he too scared he might give the PAC "undue" recognition?

In fact, the ANC went further: it invited the SADF to re-enter the townships, in violation of the Harare Declaration, which had called for the withdrawal of the troops. And when APLA hits those troops, the host and the guest object to our interference with their new-found co-operation.

However, we are not deterred. The PAC is not about to lay down the arms it uses against the oppressor, and neither will it turn these guns against the oppressed.

*One Settler, One Bullet!
High Morale, High Discipline!
Izwe Lethu! I-Africa!*

HONESTLY SPEAKING

Four SA police hit by APLA
as police and ANC get confused

By Peter Domingos
Combat Sub-Editor

A SPECTACULAR Azanian People's Liberation Army ambush of a police unit in Diepkloof left a top ANC leader and a senior police officer bashing their heads in confusion over a telephone call which led the police unit into the APLA ambush.

The ambush, in which a constable was killed and three other constables were seriously injured, also helped draw the attention of the public to the extent in which the ANC is collaborating with the racist South African security forces.

But the ambush also demonstrated that when the PAC says armed struggle continues it means just that.

So swift was the ambush, in which no member of the APLA unit involved was killed, wounded or arrested, that witnesses could not but be impressed with the perfection and speed with which PAC guerrillas execute an operation.

And it all began with a telephone call from the ANC internal leader, Cde Walter Sisulu, who informed a police General Swart that Inkatha members were attacking Diepkloof Extension One residents.

Police responded immediately and dispatched a unit right into a deadly APLA ambush.

Constable D.H. Liebenberg died while Constables R. Abromowitz, F.A. Langeveldt and T.H. Khumalo were seriously wounded, a police spokesman confirmed.

The police were not amused by Cde Sisulu, insinuating that he had led their unit into the ambush.

The ANC, which has abandoned armed struggle, reacted with a statement "clarifying" the organisation's position.

What followed was a public debate between the police and the ANC over who phoned who from where about what.

No one, including the mass media, was saying anything about the most important thing in the whole drama — the ambush itself.

Observers do not understand all the fuss about the matter because the ANC does not deny phoning the police about Inkatha and the police do not deny receiving the call and dispatching a unit right into an ambush.

Why not just admit that APLA mounted the ambush and that the ANC could not have deliberately and knowingly led the police into a PAC guerrilla attack?

Unless the implication is that Cde Sisulu sat with APLA field commanders before giving General Swart the now controversial buzz.



Thousands pay their last respects to the late Cde George Nyanga, the APLA guerrilla killed in a skirmish with Bop (and SADF) forces.

'SADF played role in Bop-APLA gun battle'

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army believes SADF was involved in a skirmish between Bophuthatswana puppet forces and an APLA unit near Mafikeng on June 25, the APLA Chief Information Officer, Cde Jonny Majozi, has said.

Cde George Khosologane Nyanga (22), a leading APLA political commissar, was killed in the battle, whose details are subject of contention between Bophuthatswana puppet authorities and the PAC army headquarters.

What is common cause is that the battle began when a Bophuthatswana Defence Force patrol came into contact with an APLA unit at Ramatlabama, some 35 km from Mafikeng.

There has been no independent confirmation of a Bophuthatswana claim that its forces suffered no casualties in the battle that ensued.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg, PAC General Secretary Cde Benny Alexander echoed a statement in which Cde Majozi said

*By Muriel Dimpho
Ops Bureau Chief*

Cde Nyanga had actively been involved in local PAC youth structures before joining APLA.

The PAC and APLA remained fully committed to armed struggle said Cde Alexander, quoting Cde Majozi.

Meanwhile, the PAC army headquarters has released details about the late Cde Nyanga, whom it said had died bravely in action.

In a statement released in Dar Es Salaam, the seat of the PAC external headquarters, the Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama, confirmed that Cde Nyanga had been a leading political commissar in APLA.

He had formerly been a member of the militant Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) in the East Rand township of Tembisa.

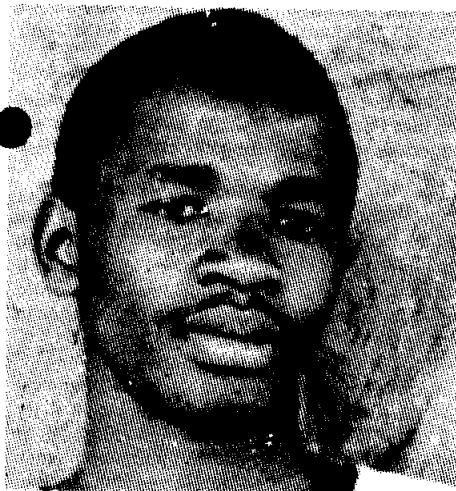
Cde Nyanga had joined APLA on September 23 1988 and received military training from January to August 1989, said Cde Phama, who is also a member of the PAC Central Committee and of its Military Commission.

Meanwhile, Cde Majozi has said that APLA did not normally release for publication details about personal military backgrounds of its fighters involved in armed activities inside South Africa.

"In this particular case, as in the cases of APLA's Bramley and Lichtenberg heroes, there were sinister attempts by some other organisation to claim the body of our fallen fighter," said Cde Majozi.

"Even our Defence Secretary, who rarely makes public pronouncements on such sensitive matters, had to depart from his usual way to make a detailed comment on this one.

For, to him and all of us at army headquarters, Cde Nyanga was not just a guerrilla, but was a deeply committed and brave political fighter."



The late Cde George Nyanga

Bop soldier is paralysed in APLA attack

A BOPHUTHATSWANA puppet army Lance Corporal, Alfred Moeng, was paralysed after being shot in the neck in a close gun battle between the bantustan's forces and 10 Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters on June 18, Bophuthatswana authorities have confirmed.

A spokesman said Bophuthatswana Defence Force soldiers had opened fire on about 10 APLA guerrillas whom he alleged had taken a computer from an irrigation scheme in Tsholofelo and were suspected of involvement in several acts of insurgency around the area.

The APLA men, he said, were on their way to the bantustan in alleged two stolen motor vehicles when BDF soldiers, deployed near Lehurutse "border" area, picked up their movement.

"The guerrillas shot Lance Corporal Alfred Moeng in the neck when he tried to stop the cars," said the Bophuthatswana spokesman.

"BDF soldiers, who had set up an ambush, later opened fire, but no one was injured or captured," he said.

Lance Corporal Moeng was now paralysed as a result of the gunshot wound in the neck.

'... Not just a guerrilla, but a deeply committed and brave political fighter'

APLA OPERATIONAL FILE

'APLA is killing ten SA cops a month' says report

Combat Correspondent

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) is killing between seven and 10 South African policemen a month, according to a report in *Eastern Province Herald*, quoting what it called "a young PAC member" in Harare.

The APLA Department of Research, Publicity and Information however, declined to comment on the report.

The report, by *Eastern Province Herald* political correspondent Patrick Cull, said the PAC, unlike the African National Congress, remained committed to the armed struggle and that APLA directed its attacks mainly at "hard targets" such as soldiers and police.

"When you join APLA, you agree to give your life (if it need be) for the cause," the young PAC member was quoted as saying.

"And that is what members of the security forces in South Africa do when they undertake to wear a (military) uniform."

Although APLA forces in the "field" did not have as much arms as they required, they did not find this to be a major problem, considering the number of targets they managed to hit, said the report.

It quoted the young PAC member, whom it said had left South Africa in 1986, as pointing out that there were often "more spectacular successes" such as the killing of several Bophuthatswana soldiers and police recently.

**ONE SETTLER!
ONE BULLET!**

SA admits rise in guerilla raids

By Peter Domingos

WITH the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania apparently left alone to continue with the armed struggle against Pretoria, enemy casualties from guerilla attacks continue to escalate.

"Acts of terrorism have increased sharply in recent months, with the police again being the main targets of the attacks," admitted Pretoria through the semi-official daily, *The Citizen*.

In the first 18 days of June alone, for instance, 19 guerilla attacks mainly by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) were recorded, making it roughly one attack each day.

The attacks included two against South African Defence Force soldiers, about 10 against the police, four against government installations and one against an economic target, said Pretoria through the pro-apartheid *Citizen*.

Informed sources, who referred to what they saw as a sharp rise in PAC guerilla activity throughout South Africa, said the numbers of security force targets and casualties were almost certainly higher than those Pretoria had admitted to.

COURT COMBAT

PAC cited in JHB bank hold-up MWASA case

Combat Correspondent

A HOLD-UP at a Johannesburg bank occurred at about the time information was received that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania intended using any means necessary to continue with armed struggle, a magistrates' court heard here recently.

4 Bop cops die, 2 seriously hurt in APLA attack

By Muriel Dimpho

PUPPET Bophuthatswana police have launched an intensive manhunt in the bantustan's Braaklaagte area for a unit of APLA fighters after the killing of four policemen and the wounding of two others in what was described as "a hit-and-run attack".

Bopana, the bantustan's official new agency, said a routine police patrol had earlier come across a suspicious-looking white Toyota Corolla similar to others which had been used by PAC guerrillas elsewhere in the country.

When they approached the car, the occupants opened fire, killing four policemen in the rear of the police van and wounding the driver and another policeman next to him, said Colonel David George of the Bophuthatswana police force.

"We take an extremely serious view of the killings," Colonel George said, adding: "We are taking every possible step to apprehend the culprits."

As in the case of many other armed attacks involving APLA men, none of the guerrillas behind the Braaklaagte operation has been arrested. The two wounded Bop policemen were hospitalised.

This was heard during a bail application for Sithembile Khala, general secretary of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA), who was alleged to have taken part in a robbery at Nedbank in downtown Johannesburg in which R102 000 was snatched.

There was no suggestion that the PAC or APLA had anything to do with the robbery.

Defence lawyer Mr S.J. Coetzee told the court that MWASA was not connected with the PAC military wing.

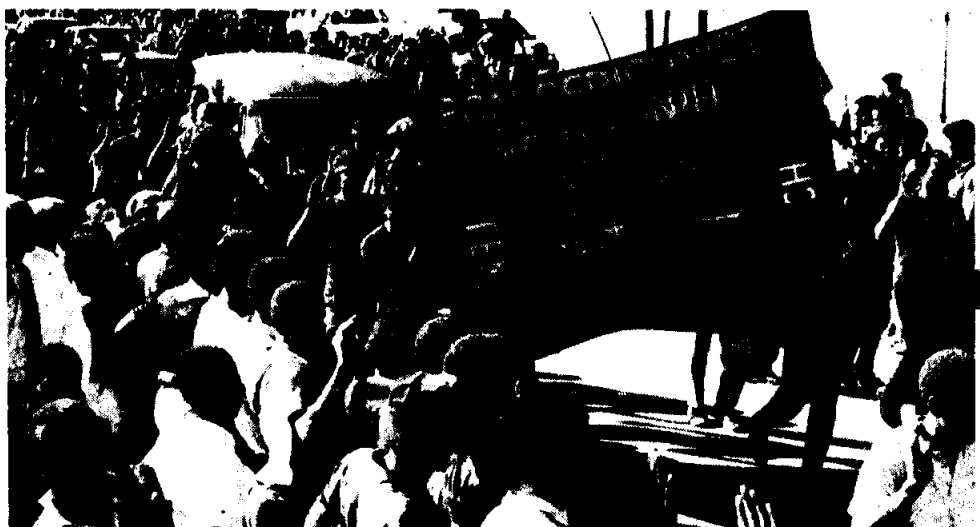
Asked for a comment, the APLA Chief Information Officer, Cde Jonny Majozi, said: "Come on, man, do we (in APLA) look like bank robbers?"

He said that like any guerilla army that had fought a liberation struggle anywhere, APLA obviously had fund-raising projects, whose nature and size obviously could not be disclosed.

"But, please, let no one call us bank robbers, for we are guerilla fighters charged with the duty to carry out the liberation programme of the PAC with all the revolutionary means at our disposal, means which do not necessarily include hold-ups," said Cde Majozi.

**HIGH MORALE
High Discipline**

PAC EVERYWHERE



Ex-POQO battleground is now PAC stronghold

ON the walls outside the school, PAC graffiti dominated.

"POQO," one writer had scribbled, reminding the Langa township residents of the early PAC armed underground movement which had challenged white power in the early 1960s soon after the banning of the PAC.

"Kill the oppressor, not the oppressed," exhorted another, signing off with "PAC of Azania".

This admission of a strong PAC presence in Langa, Cape Town, was made by liberal writer Patrick Laurence, who along with several other journalists toured the township "to test talk that it had become a stronghold of the PAC".

"We turned to leave after talking to some youngsters outside a cafe, having failed to break through their defensive reserve and to coax them into saying whether their loyalties lay with the ANC or the PAC," wrote Laurence.

"But then, perhaps convinced at the last moment

that we were bona fide journalists, the youngsters declared themselves.

"Izwe Lethu," they said, giving the open-palm salute of the PAC. Assuming our ignorance, they themselves gave the appropriate responses: 'I Afrika'.

"We had come to Langa to test talk that it had become a stronghold of the PAC, talk which had thickened during the course of the discussions at Groote Schuur between government and ANC delegations led by F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

"... There were definite signs of a strong PAC presence, on the evidence of our trip.

"It served as a reminder that it was there (in Langa) in 1960 that PAC (regional) leader Phillip

Kgosana, then a young boy of 18, led 30 000 blacks in a March on the Caledon Square in the heart of Cape Town.

"From the cafe, we went in search of Batembu Lugulwana, a Langa-based member of the PAC national executive, and he was not there.

"Our search, however, led us to a headmaster, who must remain anonymous. We started talking to him about the PAC.

"Slowly he, too, identified himself as a PAC man, dropping first one hint and then another. 'Japhta asemola (the PAC leader who was killed in a car smash recently) didn't compromise with anyone, not even Mandela', he said.

"They (the ANC) won't win over the youngsters," he added.

"Later, as we walked to his office, we asked him why the PAC (allegedly) did not organise large rallies like the ANC, thus allowing observers to deduct that the ANC was the dominant force in the black community.

"He replied: 'The PAC keeps quiet. We know we are the multitudes.'

"From the (headmaster's) school, we headed towards the outer periphery of Langa, encountering extreme poverty among people living in shacks and shanties. It was a ghetto within a ghetto . . .

"Our car meandered back, passing through a better-off section of Langa. To use the label 'suburb'



would be to euphemise and distort what we saw.

"One slogan 'Free Mandela, Viva ANC' had been overtaken by events.

"Another proclaimed: 'PAC for victory. No Compromise. One Settler, One Bullet.'

"Later we talked to Kwedie Mkaliphi, a senior member of the PAC and a prison graduate.

"Mkaliphi spoke warmly of Mandela, asking us to pass on his regards, while disagreeing with him politically.

"He thought the time was not yet ripe for talks.

"He did, however, agree with one point . . . that representatives at the negotiating table should be chosen in a one man, one vote election.

"There should be no compromise on that, Mkaliphi said, warning that Mr de Klerk and his ruling National Party planned to create space at the table for people 'set up by the system'.

"He was in favour of the idea of an election of a constituent assembly . . . to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

"Mkaliphi, like the Langa headmaster, was confident that the PAC would emerge as the dominant force after one man, one vote elections.

Mkaliphi was concerned about another matter: the sudden spate of road accidents involving PAC men."

'Laying down arms would be suicide' says PAC foreign affairs secretary

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania will not unilaterally lay down arms as doing so will amount to committing suicide, the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim, has said.

The International Community, through the Harare Declaration and United Nations Consensus Declaration, had made it abundantly clear that it was not calling on any South African liberation movement to unilaterally abandon or suspend the armed struggle.

"Rather, it is very categoric in its demand for an agreed cessation of hostilities between the Pretoria regime and the liberation movements engaged in the armed struggle," Cde Ebrahim told Azania Combat in a recent interview.

It was the Pretoria regime, and not the international community, which was exerting pressure on the liberation movements to unilaterally disarm themselves.

It was hypocritic of South African President F.W. de Klerk to demand that the liberation movement laid down arms while his regime allowed whites to continue arming themselves.

"De Klerk, in making such a demand, has not acted or pronounced on a law in the country which permits any white person over the age of 18 to legally possess 27 weapons," said Cde Ebrahim.

"This is ridiculous, because even a soldier sent to a battlefield is not equipped with 27 weapons."

By retaining the law in question, De Klerk was consciously arming the whites, including the right-wing.

"At the same time, De Klerk is maintaining another law which makes it an offence for an African to carry even a pen-knife whose blade is more than 4 inches long.

"Such a knife in the hands of an African is considered a dangerous weapon while

By Peter Domingos
Combat Sub-Editor



The PAC Foreign Affairs Secretary,
Cde Gora Ebrahim

**'It is hypocritic of
F.W. de Klerk to
demand that the
liberation movement
must lay down arms
while his regime al-
lows whites to con-
tinue arming
themselves'
— Cde Gora Ebrahim**

possession of 27 weapons by a white are considered weapons for self-defence," Cde Ebrahim said.

"In the light of this existing reality, any unilateral suspension of the armed struggle can only lead to political suicide."

'Don't lay down your guns' says Zim Political Minister

From Priscilla Sherren

NEGOTIATING power lies in the battlefield, Zimbabwe's Minister of State for Political Affairs, Brigadier Felix Muchemwa, said in Harare just a few days after the African National Congress announced it was suspending its armed struggle.

In a statement seen as reflecting the real thinking of the Zimbabwean government and the ruling Zanu (PF), Brigadier Muchemwa said he was not as such suggesting that people should not negotiate with their oppressors.

"My own party (Zanu-PF) decided to go into negotiations with (the then Rhodesian leader) Ian Smith, but we never laid down our guns," he told participants to a six-day workshop of Young Men's Christian Associations which was being held in Harare.

"We always felt that our guns were our protectors," said Brigadier Muchemwa, himself

Die Taal exposes under-cover arms

AFRIKAANS did the trick and the game was up for the South African war materials men.

Sources have it that the South African arms manufacturers tried to pass off Armscor's long-range G5 cannon as a Chilean weapon at a recent arms fair in Chile.

All went well and according to plan until strips of tape which had been stuck on the tires began coming off.

What emerged was the language of the boer, Afrikaans, and the game was up.

**'My own party
(Zanu-PF) went into
talks with Ian
Smith, but we
never laid down
our guns during
those talks'
— Brigadier Felix
Muchemwa**



a ZANLA combatant during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle.

ZANLA and ZIPRA fighters remained in the bush with their guns as their political leaders in Zanu (PF) and PF-Zapu were locked in independence talks with Smith in Lancaster in 1979. Not even after the talks did they immediately lay down their guns.

FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S DESK

'We will get to the ballot for power via the bullet'

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania will not give up the bullet until it secures the ballot so it can contest for political power from a position of strength, the army Commander-in-Chief and party Chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has said.

He said this in a special interview with the Editor of Azania Combat focussing mainly on the issue of the current township violence, which he said was doing some harm to the armed operations of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The violence between the ANC and Inkatha supporters had also given an excuse for a re-deployment of South African racist troops in the black townships contrary to the Harare Declaration, which demanded their total withdrawal.

"And as our fighters continue delivering blows on these troops and police, who are our main military targets, it is being suggested that we are hampering the efforts of the security forces who are in the townships supposedly to help bring about peace," said Cde Mlambo.

"But we are not deterred, no matter who says what. We are not going to give up the bullet until we secure the ballot so that we can contest for political power from a position of strength."

Cde Mlambo said although the current violence had the effect of making APLA's armed attacks somewhat blurred, the PAC army had managed to distinguish its military operations from the attacks related to the ANC-Inkatha violence.

The Commander-in-Chief, who renewed the longstanding PAC offer to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha, said the PAC strongly deplored the escalation of violence, many of whose casualties were not party to the senseless conflict.

"This senseless quest for hegemony among the oppressed is regrettable for several reasons," said Cde Mlambo.

By Willie Mazambane



THE Commander-in-Chief

It played into the "time-tested divided-and-rule tactic" of the Pretoria regime, whose forces of repression were left unscathed while the forces of liberation were being depleted.

"Secondly, the violence threatens to deteriorate into an ethnic and tribal conflict and to undo efforts of generations in building up the new African nations."

Noting that both the ANC and Inkatha espoused negotiation with the regime, Cde Mlambo said: "We urge both parties (ANC and Inkatha) to practice negotiation and non-violence first among themselves."

The violence among them was weakening the demand by the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the OAU that troops should withdraw from the townships.

It had in fact led to the return of the hated troops to the townships and a re-imposition of a state of emergency "by back door".



The organisation he loved

Slain policeman was pro-PAC, says widow

Combat Correspondent

A SPECIAL constable shot dead in Crossroads recently was killed because of his strong pro-PAC views, which often led to bitter exchanges between him and supporters of other groups, the constable's widow has said.

Constable Mostert Ngozi (48), who worked at Crossroads Committee offices, was shot through the stomach and head in the troubled township at about 5 pm on a Saturday.

His widow, Nolusapho Ngozi (40), of Section Three, said her husband had been off-duty and was at a nearby house when two men he knew asked him to accompany them to another part of the township.

The three, she said, went outside, and a few minutes later a youth told her that her husband had been shot dead about seven houses from their shack.

Mrs Ngozi said her husband, who strongly supported the PAC, often quarrelled with some ANC supporters.

"On many occasions they nearly came to blows because of their ideological differences," she said.

Her husband never took sides in the feuding between the township's controversial mayor, Johnson Ngxobongwana, and his rival, Jeffrey Nongwe, because he "despised (both of) them".

Mrs Ngozi was adamant that her husband's slaying was directly connected to his political views.

"Although he has never been a PAC member, he supported the organisation with all his heart," she told the *Sowetan*.

A father of five, he had never wished to be a policeman but had been forced to join the force in 1986 because he had been unemployed for a long period.

He had often spoken against the force's alleged abuses, much to the dismay of some of his colleagues, said Mrs Ngozi.

The "Lion of Azania" has fallen ... as death robs PAC again

The political career of Cde Mothopeng went back to the 1930s when he was still a student at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg where he was known as "that youth who looked grotesque as he strutted about on the debating platform, predicting doom to white rule".

It was around that time that he started advocating the use of arms to topple the South African regime, saying "a nation without arms is no nation".

From St Peter's Secondary School, Cde Mothopeng went to Amanzimtoti College in Natal where he obtained his post-matriculation teacher's diploma before gaining a BA at the University of South Africa.

He then began studies in law which were repeatedly interrupted by arrests as a result of his political activities.

By 1951 he had come to prominence as a member of the Transvaal executive committee of the ANC Youth League, having taken part along with the now late Cde Anton Mzwakhe Lembede and Cde Robert Sobukwe in the drafting of the league's 1949 Programme of Action.

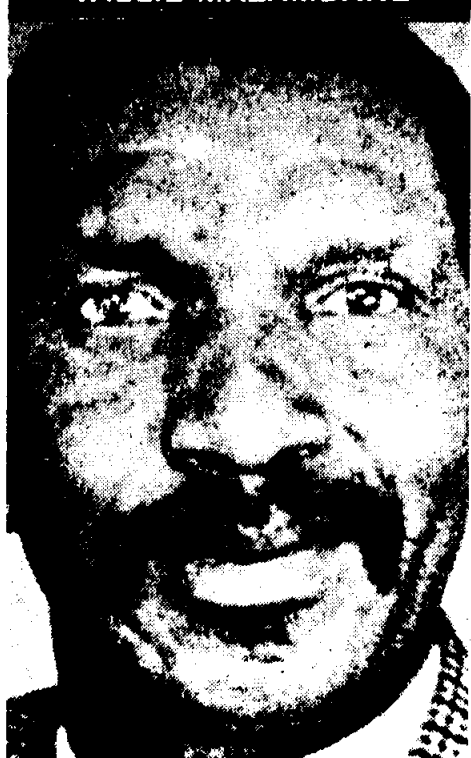
He took part in the 1952 ANC Defiance Campaign before he and Cde Sobukwe led Pan Africanists away from the ANC to form the PAC on April 6 1959.

With other PAC leaders, Cde Mothopeng was in the forefront of the March 1960 anti-pass campaign during which South African police killed 69 defenceless black men and women in the dusty township of Sharpeville, southwest of Johannesburg.

He was arrested and charged for his role in the campaign and was jailed for three years. On his release in 1963, he was held under the then 90-day detention law before being banished to Witsieshoek in Orange Free State, the heartland of Afrikaner supremacy.

In 1967, he was again served with a further two-year banning order. Although he was allowed to go back to his home in Soweto after

By Combat Editor
WILLIE MAZAMBANE



The "Lion of Azania", Cde Zeph Mothopeng, who died in Johannesburg recently.

six months, other provisions of his banning order remained in force.

Cde Mothopeng, known for his fierce fight against Bantu education since his days in the 1950s as president of the Transvaal African

Teachers' Association, soon revived his traditional connections with students and linked them with the then rising black consciousness movements.

Addressing rallies of the South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention, he soon became the lynchpin connection between the PAC and other patriotic organisations inside South Africa, a role which resulted in his arrest in December 1977.

Together with 17 other PAC activists he was brought to court for what was to be known as the Bethal 18 secret trial described in the country's newspapers as the "biggest and longest terrorism trial in the judicial history of South Africa".

At age 66, Cde Mothopeng was jailed for a total of 30 years for, as the judge put it, "manning the PAC underground railroad" direct involvement in the planning and launching of the June 1976 Soweto uprisings and sending youths abroad for PAC military training.

He was sent to Robben Island penal colony once described by one former inmate, the late Cde John Pokela, as "a blast furnace in summer and a frigid iceberg in winter".

Elected PAC president in August 1986 when he was still in prison, Cde Mothopeng was released in November due to ill health which had dogged him since his imprisonment.

His death came at a crucial time for the PAC when the organisation is soon expected to decide on an invitation by the Pretoria regime to join its talks with the ANC.

Cde Mothopeng was also expected to lead the organisation during its first national congress inside South Africa in more than 30 years. The congress will be held in Johannesburg from November 9 to 11.

Recently, Cde Mothopeng led the PAC's internal-based national executive and the external-based central committee in a major consultative conference in Harare where he called on the PAC leaders to brace themselves for "a rough road ahead".

"You have done it in the past and you are going to do it again," he told them.

Shhh
It's also combat
Special Correspondent

A TOP economist has left the African National Congress to join the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in what is seen as a big blow to the ANC and a major economic and political coup for the PAC.

Dr Solly Sipho Dlamini, the first black in South Africa to obtain a PhD in economics, is a specialist in economic risk analysis and is presently working in the PAC's economics department.

He obtained his PhD at the age of 27 and has since worked with the Kenyan Development Bank before his return to South Africa recently.

Dr Dlamini, who had briefly been with the ANC's economic department where he had access to confidential information, told a South African weekly newspaper that the ANC misunderstood the plight of the black people.

"I attended many meetings and realised that the ANC does not consult with grassroot membership and decisions are taken at top level and enforced."

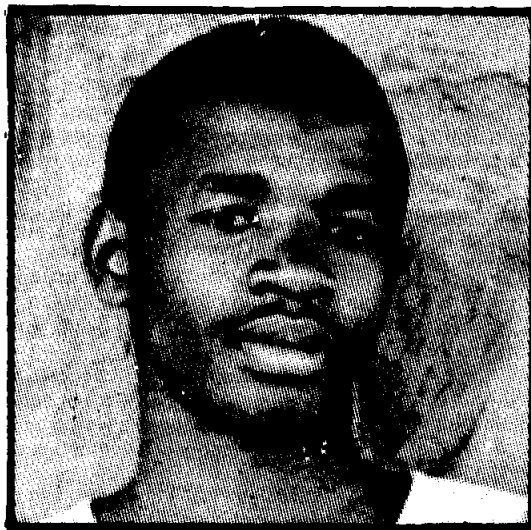
He had not been happy with the ANC's economic policy, saying "nobody is sure what it is".

"There is no indication of how they intend uplifting poverty — at least the PAC is issuing some guidelines," he said.

Dr Dlamini, whose placement in the ANC's economics department had apparently been discussed only by top ANC officials, said it was during his posting in Durban that he began to have doubts about the ANC "and I phoned PAC President Zeph Mothopeng".

In the PAC, Dr Dlamini is expected to work closely with Cde Sipho Shabalala, an economics expert and the brains behind the PAC's economic blueprint for Azania.

FALLEN AZANIAN HEROES PICTORIAL



The late Cde George Nyanga

The spirit and resolve of these martyrs, Cde George Nyanga, Cde Muntu Myeza, Cde Sam Mabe, Cde Sam Chand, Cde Tsietsi Mashinini and thousands of other Azanian men, women and children will nurture and strengthen our resolve to forge ahead to freedom.

Rest in peace sons and daughters of the soil, rest in peace. We will ensure the triumph of your cause.



The late Cde Muntu Myeza



The late Cde Sam Mabe



The late Cde Sam Chand



The late Cde Tsietsi Mashinini

COMBAT INTERNATIONAL

Who else but Zeph

Cde Zeph Mothopeng had at the time of his death just been given international recognition, with an entry of his name in the latest edition of the prestigious *International Who's Who*.

He was one of 1 500 new entries in the book listing some of the world's best known politicians, economists, businessmen, academicians and other prominent people worthy of international recognition.

The recognition of Cde Mothopeng only in 1990 is somewhat belated for the only man with an unparalleled history among the galaxy of leading freedom fighters produced by the liberation struggle in South Africa.

A most outstanding Africanist in South Africa, Cde Mothopeng was there when the PAC was formed in Orlando, Soweto, on April 6 1959. Not only that. He in fact chaired the inaugural congress.

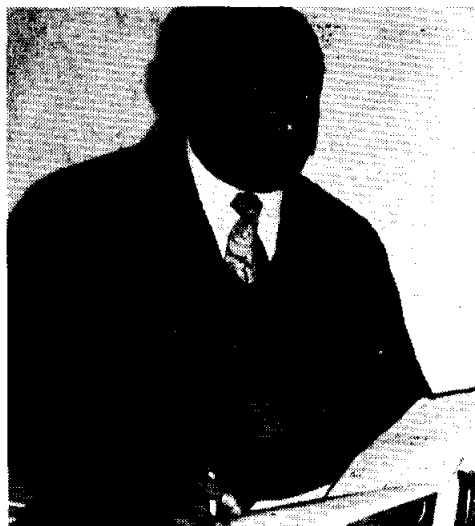
And Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, who became the PAC founding president, had him as his chief lieutenant.

Uncle Zeph, as Cde Zeph was revered throughout South Africa, was next to Cde Sobukwe when the now late "Defier of the Undeafable" and "idol of the African youth" led the March 21 1960 PAC's Decisive Positive Action Campaign against the Pass Laws, a campaign which shook the very foundation of apartheid and changed the peaceful political face of South Africa to one of a country in a state of war.

Arrested and imprisoned following the campaign, the uncle was released 10 years later, in time to continue working as a leading underground organiser in Soweto.

This resulted in him being re-arrested, charged and convicted of "predicting and organising" the June 1976 national uprisings which began as student protests in Soweto. He was jailed for 30 years, effectively serving just over 10 years before being released unconditionally along with several other PAC as well

**By Priscilla Sherren
(in London, Britain)**



*The now late Cde Zeph Mothopeng
as ANC political prisoners.*

Somehow, this man had managed to come directly from jail and go straight to the forefront of the struggle at decisive times and historically significant periods to lead the African masses and push history forward.

Straight from his last imprisonment, Uncle Zeph once more went right to the forefront to lead the masses as his contemporaries were beginning to back away and opt for negotiations with Pretoria.

Surely, this man was a political class of his own so much that he should long have been in the *International Who's Who*. His inclusion, though only now, is a fitting recognition nonetheless.



PAC slogan is in Dar for 'Uncle Zeph'

"ONE Settler, One Bullet" reverberated in Dar Es Salaam when jubilant members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania hailed their now late President Cde Zeph Mothopeng, reports *Azania Combat's* Priscilla Sherren.

"Uncle Zeph", as Cde Mothopeng had come to be affectionately known to PAC members and supporters in and outside South Africa, addressed hundreds of PAC cadres, mostly Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters, during his visit to Dar Es Salaam, said a *Reuters* report.

"You can't hear the slogan 'One Settler, One Bullet' where there is no militancy and determination to fight the settler-colonial regime in Pretoria," said one of the PAC cadres when asked about the now famous and popular PAC slogan.

He and other members of the organisation had gathered to welcome Cde Mothopeng, himself a militant, who was in the Tanzanian capital for consultation with the PAC's external leadership and for talks with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi as well as with former leader Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

One Settler One Bullet, says PAC

THE slogan, One Settler, One Bullet, has been said to make some South African white people's hair stand on end.

But the PAC general secretary, Cde Benny Alexander, has given what one white journalist described as "a reassuring explanation".

"The slogan is only trying to address the differences between an armed revolution and random terror," Cde Alexander was quoted as saying in an in-depth *Weekly Mail* article by Phillip van Niekerk recently.

"When you place bombs in pot plants at Wimpy bars, irrespective of who's coming, that is not really an armed revolutionary conduct. The slogan, One Settler, One Bullet, is trying to say 'stop that terror and aim your bullets at the security forces instead'."

Cde Alexander defined settlers in the same way as Palestinians defined them.

"They are those who dispossess land through colonial wars and rule through the barrel of the gun, denying the indigenous people of all their rights," he said.



*The PAC General Secretary,
Cde Benny Alexander*

WOMEN'S COMBAT

PAC woman tells world MPs APLA to continue with war

While people throughout the world can afford to choose between peace and war, Azanians are left with no option but to wage a People's War to make peace, a PAC Women's Department member, Cde Ncinci Simelani, told a World Women Parliamentarians for Peace meeting in Harare recently.

Cde Simelani told Parliamentarians gathered in Harare that it was women who, in the final analysis, shouldered the burdens of wars.

"Women are the ones who have to remain strong emotionally amidst their starving, diseased and dying children," she said. "The direct and indirect stresses and strains exerted by arms of war on women are immeasurable."

It was on this basis that women in the PAC supported the concept of disarmament in its global perspective.

But in Azania, the armed struggle being waged by APLA fighters could not be compared to wars fought by politically independent countries.

The Azanian situation, she said, was different from the global situation in that people were still involved in an armed struggle aimed at liberating the country from the Pretoria settler regime.

As a liberation movement, the PAC remained committed to peace, but experience had shown that even in times of negotiations the Pretoria regime could not be trusted.

"Whenever we have opted for negotiations in the past, we have been met with violence."

It is through negotiations today that people are being killed in their hundreds by the regime's ultra right-wing and other forces.

Cde Simelani said the PAC would negotiate with

By Priscilla Sherren



Cde Ncinci Simelane

anybody in occupied Azania once a conducive climate for negotiations had been created.

If F.W. de Klerk complied with the PAC's demand for a Constituent Assembly, then the PAC would enter negotiations.

It was through the Constituent Assembly, she said, that white domination in Azania could be overthrown, but De Klerk would not be allowed to preside over the assembly.

However, the Pretoria regime could not be trusted.

"Every time somebody tells us that there is a light at the end of the tunnel we have our suspicions that it could be the light from an oncoming train," said Cde Simelane.

PEOPLE'S COMBAT

Let's not fight each other

The Editor,

Like any other Azanian, I am very disappointed and concerned by the present situation. It has been proven to us blacks that there is no unity amongst us. How can it happen that blacks should fight blacks?

If we believe that these conflicts are caused by the enemy amongst us, why can't we get united and fight the enemy who is the real perpetrator of this violence in the townships.

So many lives have been lost that some terms which will prove fruitful will have to be agreed upon by leaders of political organisations and the Inkatha leader to end the violence.

I would like to appeal to all my brothers and sisters in the townships to come together and unite to fight against the real enemy. The lives lost cannot be replaced. We still have a long way to achieve our freedom.

*Peggy Mokoena
Harare*

Throw violence back to State

The Editor,

The recent wave of violence in Witwatersrand townships which has left more than 700 people dead, is an indication that the settler has recourse to one thing only: brute force when he can command it.

To finish their dirty game they come in with "operation iron fist".

I am not worried about how people term this bloodletting but we should realise that the settler has moved from massacres (Sharpeville in 1960 and June 16 in 1976) to genocide.

Call it black-on-black violence; but I believe this is the suppressed fury of the oppressed which has failed to find an outlet. It turns into a vacuum and devastates the oppressed themselves.

Let us throw their (settler's) violence back at them.

*Temba Kani
South Africa*

Bring Combat to bookstores

The Editor,

I greet you in the name of our struggle for land repossession, national emancipation and also in the name of our fallen mental liberator, Cde Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, and all fallen APLA fighters.

I am inside occupied Azania and wish I could get each and every copy of *Azania Combat* and *Azania News* so that I can update myself about the struggle. I don't want to miss any copy of the magazines because they help us run our workshops.

I thought since the Party was said to be "unbanned" on February 2 this year I would be seeing the magazines in our bookstores. But I soon noticed the reason why it did not happen like that. The magazines were too radical.

As a PASO member I believe it is important to get both magazines in good time because they will equip us with knowledge on the political and armed struggle which is the principal form of struggle.

Getting *Azania Combat* will also answer well and properly those people who claim our fallen fighters are members of other organisations.

Ma-Afrika, I would also appeal to you to publish the National Anthem, APLA and PAC songs and other freedom songs. We also want to see the APLA flag in *Combat* if possible. Please also send me posters of our leaders and Cde Nkrumah and Cde Gaddafi.

**One Settler, One Bullet
Arm the People, Liberate Azania
Long live APLA-PASO alliance
Inkululeko Ngoku**

*Phindile Plaatjie
PASO, Cape Town.*

PAC INTELLIGENCE FILE

The Hit-Squad-gate Scandal

IT all unfolded just like America's Watergate Scandal. Except, of course, South Africa's was a bit rough and bloody.

The South African monster came in various names ranging from Joint Management Committees (JMCs), Askaris, Zebra Force to Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

It first became known in the 1980s through the then South African president, P.W. Botha, who spoke of "... structures to quell the disturbances which are the creation of the radicals and communists".

The fact is that by the time these "structures" were made public they had been in place and in operation for three or five years, although hit-squads had been operating for a longer period.

The whole system operated at two levels, one of them being the internal known as the JMCs.

The JMCs functioned through large public corporations such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Sasol, Post Offices, security departments, city and town municipalities and rural village committees.

Their range of operations included phone-bugging, infiltration of organisations such as black trade unions and civil rights groups as well as opening spy dossiers on political groups and individuals, the purpose being to monitor and eliminate serious apartheid opponents.

In the words of End Conscription Campaign infiltrator Antony Bennet, "the aim of infiltration was to see what range of organisations any particular individual supported and to see who the radical elements were".

The council responsible would then be in a position to know who the "chief planners" were and what action was to be taken.

Methods used to eliminate, maim or harass

By Miendlos Kheswa

opponents included hit-and-run incidents, water poisoning, property (such as houses and cars) vandalism, anonymous telephone calls and night surveillances.

All this was being done also with the view to sewing seeds of confusion and suspicion within the ranks of the anti-apartheid groups.

People known to have been murdered, mainly by the shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), include Dr David Webster (ECC) and Cde Antony Lubowski (Swapo).

The CCB stands accused of murdering and harassing many other anti-apartheid activists at home and abroad.

CCB officials have denied the charges but acknowledged at a judicial inquiry into state-sponsored violence this year that their task was to kill or harass enemies of the state.

CCB managing director Joe Verster has "refused" an order from General Jannie Geldenhuys, chief of the SADF, to provide the inquiry with CCB records. It is not said why he not court-martialled.

A former CCB agent told a court trying him for illegal foreign exchange transactions that the unit was still operating as late as August 28.

Apart from operating as CCB, the JMCs operated as Askaris or simple "hit-squads", with a broader range and scope of operations within and without the borders of the country.

Their modus operandi included bombings, shootings and abductions, with their popularly used drug being Thallium, a central nervous system paralysing drug.

Internally, they were involved in over 70 known cases of assassination, including those of Natal lawyer Cde Griffith Mxenge and advocate wife Victoria, Pretoria surgeon Dr Riberio and his wife and three APLA fighters killed in a grenade and gun battle at Corlett Drive in Johannesburg.

Externally, the list included Cde Nkademeng (Botswana), Cde Ruth First (Mozambique) and Cde Dulcie September (France).

The hit-squads' attempted murder operations included the sending of letter-bombs to kill PAC leaders in Tanzania, a BBC correspondent in Botswana and an anti-apartheid activist in Zimbabwe.

Bombings were virtually in all Frontline and neighbouring states, but also stretched to other countries outside the Southern Africa region.

The hit-squads' personnel included active and non-active members of the SADF, deserters from the liberation movements and former members of securities in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and the then Rhodesia.

Equipment used to gather data about an intended target included video cameras as well as monitors that are as small as three times the size of a credit card. Also used are mini-microphones, voice activators, bug devices and detectors made into pens and tie-pins.

At face value, the JMCs and CCB appear to be unrelated. It requires a deeper look for one to establish the extent to which they are related.

The two are in fact two sides of the same coin, both being an extension of the SADF military intelligence network, National Intelligence Service and the South African Police (SAP).



AVONDALE in Harare 1987... The result of the dirty work of South Africa's hit-squad

The main reason for the formation of the two-headed monster was to give Pretoria an instrument with which to deal with cases which the ordinary law of the land could not cope with to the satisfaction of the regime.

The chain of command started at the squad leader like Dirk Coetzee right up to the State president via ministers like General Magnus Malan.

Somewhere in the chain is a secret military committee under General R. Badenhorst (Military Intelligence Chief of Staff) and Major Bernard (also of Military Intelligence).

The rear bases of these men are located in "farms" like Vakplas, where the Witwatersrand Command or simply G16 is based. It is mainly in these bases that training, briefing and debriefing and even killings take place.

The question is whether the two-headed monster is still functional.

On the information and evidence presently known, it is fully alive and kicking. One of its most recent operations was the assassination of PAC member and APLA operative Cde Sam Chand and his family in Botswana.



His brother was killed in a "road accident" on his way to Botswana a few days later.

The whole truth about the extent of the JMC-CCB operations may never be known because evidence in the form of documents has either been destroyed or is being hidden.

Half of R10m SA defence budget shrouded in secrecy

NOT much has been said in the media about the fact that more than half the South African defence budget for this year has been allocated to a Special Defence Account, which is not subject to public audit.

The defence budget, announced in March, was increased by 1,3 percent to just over R10 billion, more than R5 billion of which has been made available to fund covert operations and the acquisition of arms in violation of the United Nations embargo.

The Special Defence Account also financed the Civil Co-operation Bureau, a body which has recently been exposed as being responsible for "dirty tricks" campaigns and the assassinations of anti-apartheid activists.

Another aspect of the defence budget which has not been widely publicised is the substantial increase in police expenditure, rising from R2,49 billion last year to R2,9 billion this year.

The APLA Department of Information and Publicity believes that even this figure is likely to be an underestimate and that more funds will be provided to the police, as was the case last year.

"I don't even want to imagine where, in view of the current township violence, the figure will finally stand," said a spokesman.

Details have emerged of limited cuts Pretoria was forced to make in the South African Defence Force earlier this year as a result of strong economic pressure and the biting impact of sanctions.

Although most arms development projects, including the Cava fighter aircraft, are going ahead, the SADF has been forced to cancel development of the XH-2 ground attack helicopter which was unveiled in prototype at the beginning of this year.

The South African Air Force has also been forced to withdraw five types of aircraft for which the provision of spares has become increasingly difficult

By Combat Editor
Willie Mazambane

and expensive as the United Nations arms embargo bites.

Eight Canberra planes will be phased out, leading to the 125 Squadron being disbanded. The 14 Aerospeciale Super Frelons, based in Durban, will be withdrawn as well as eight Westland Wasp helicopters.

Nineteen Piaggio P166 Albatross planes will also be scrapped, with their inshore patrol duties being taken over by old Dakotas.

The Atlas C4M Kudu, a light single-engined utility aircraft, will be withdrawn and its role absorbed by the Puma helicopter force that was withdrawn from Angola and Namibia.

Sources say the South African airforce base in port Elizabeth will also be closed.

As the South African navy is no longer able to point to a Soviet naval threat in the southern oceans in order to obtain additional military and political support from major Western powers, large cuts in spending have also been made.

There will be an 18,5 percent loss of personnel, while the naval bases at Simonstown and Walvis Bay are to be contracted and the Marine Corp is to be disbanded.

None of these cuts affect the SADF's capacity to threaten South Africa's neighbours. They related mainly to seaward defences built up at a time when the SADF was trying to argue the strategic importance of the Cape Sea route.

SA anti-guerilla death fence electrocutes only civilians

IT'S a quiet late afternoon as South Africa-bound motorists and pedestrians line up impatiently at this border crossing point.

They are oblivious to another form of human traffic creeping a few hundred metres away under or over a killer fence.

From Sol Dumezwani
Features Editor in
Mbuluzini, Transvaal

Installed in 1986 primarily to block supposed guerilla infiltration, the 3 000-volt electric fence on South Africa's eastern border has so far killed over 90 civilians, which is more than the people who died trying to cross the Berlin Wall.

Most of those electrocuted by what has now been dubbed by local villagers the "fence of fire" have been Mozambican displaced people seeking sanctuary in South Africa, according to a report by Eddie Koch.

Despite the high number of casualties, calls on Pretoria to switch off the killer current running through the 63 km long deadly barrier have fallen into deaf ears.

The Mozambican Solidarity Action Interim Committee (Mosaic), a Johannesburg-based organisation, recently echoed the call for the lethal fence to be dismantled.

"The regime says it will do everything it can to promote peace in Mozambique. Yet it is busy electrocuting people who are seeking sanctuary from a war that South Africa helped to foment by aiding the MNR (bandits)."

The killer fence winds across the crest of the Lebombo Mountains from Mbuluzini Village, where late former Mozambican leader Cde Samora Machel was killed, to the border town of Komatipoort in the north.

It is made of six coils of razor wire with 10 live cables, each carrying 3 000 volts running through them.

The fence is dividing into 11 sections, each

boasting a substation and generator to boost the current.

There is a command post near Mbuluzini which has a control board that can locate the exact spot at which the fence is being interfered with and arrange for a military patrol to arrive within seven minutes of being alerted.

But, despite its sophistication, the fence has failed to stop hundreds of displaced Mozambicans from crossing each month.

"They have a hundred ways to get across," says refugee field worker Sally McKibben.

"They burrow tunnels under the fence. They cut down trees and throw them against the wires, thus short-circuiting the current and giving them a bridge to scuttle over."

The favourite method is to lift the fence off the ground with a number of forked sticks and then crawl under the live wires.

Asked whether he had any knowledge of any guerilla having been killed on the fence, APLA Chief Information Officer Cde Jonny Majozo said guerillas did not operate from Mozambique or any neighbouring state.

"So we cannot be killed by an electric fence we never cross," said Cde Majozo.

"Sure, we have cadres with specialised skills to go through such barriers as electrified fences."

"But you don't even need such skills to be able to cross the 'fence of fire', as ordinary Mozambicans civilians have proven," Cde Majozo said.

HISTORICAL WARS FOR AZANIA

Basotho shatter the British myth of military superiority

SOME people wonder why the Azanian People's Liberation Army's Political Commissariat attaches so much importance to this column, Historical Wars for Azania.

"... A nation without a past is a lost nation, a people without a past is a people without a soul," once said Sir Seretse Khama, the late first President of the Republic of Botswana.

The reason why the Political Commissariat is researching and recounting history in this column is solely to rectify what has been distorted by the European colonisers of Azania.

The settlers have claimed there was no history of resistance to colonialism and that the people's armed struggle was a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa. History, however, proves otherwise.

It is through distortion of facts that some quarters regard Azania as a land which has to be shared, claiming it was unoccupied when Jan van Riebeeck landed on it in April 1652.

The truth is that there has always been African resistance to colonialism and settler-aggression. This resistance stretched over the whole of occupied Azania, as history has shown.



Hintsa, a Senior Chief of the Eastern Xhosa, as seen from a sketch by one of the people who knew him well.

*Compiled by Combat's
Political Editor
ROMERO DANIELS*

In previous issues, the Political Commissariat addressed major African battles in the Cape. In this issue, it looks at historical battles in Orange Vrystaat or what is today known as Orange Free State.

It is essential to stress from the beginning that land has always been at the heart of all the Azanian historical wars. It is also of paramount importance to show that in the course of these wars our forebearers demonstrated a high sense of patriotism, unity, organisation and discipline.

The Basotho people, under King Moshoeshoe, occupied a stretch of fertile land within the Maluti (Drakensberg) mountainous region and the surrounding plains.

King Moshoeshoe chose a flat-topped mountain, Thaba Bosiu, as his Command Post or Headquarters. The land around was viable for agriculture and stock-farming. Above all, the Basotho people lived in peace.

In the mid-1830s, the Europeans known as "trek boers" gradually trekked northward, and it is estimated that by the late 1830s no less than 5 000 settlers had crossed the Orange River.

Still enjoying the cessation of hostilities following Difaqane, Africans were quite shocked to discover that the intruding settlers had stealthily settled in the Africans' land. And as both groups of people were stock-keepers, it did not take long before a wrangle over grazing land started.

In an attempt to quell the potentially explosive situation, King Moshoeshoe granted the trespassers a temporary sojourn, but the ungrateful settlers started claiming permanent settlement. War was inevitable.

After receiving from local chiefs what might today be called intelligence data about the activities of the boer settlers, the king declared all land deals between the Africans and settlers null and void.

Conflict reached a climax. The British Resident, Major Henry Warden, boasting a weak force, was sent by British Governor Peregrine Maitland to attend to the dispute.



KING Moshoeshoe in 1833 as seen in an engraving based on sketches and descriptions of those who knew him.

His first step was to draw a boundary, which came to be known as the "Warden Line".

However, Major Warden was biased in favour of the settlers, allocating to them most of the fertile land.

In a quest to establish his authority, he declared war on King Moshoeshoe and the African people. To this end, he rallied a force of burghers, but his efforts were thwarted when the burghers refused to serve under him.

He then grouped together some Griqua, Kora, Barolong and other people for his army.

On hearing of this, King Moshoeshoe launched a pre-emptive attack and defeated

Major Warden's men at the **Battle of Konyana** (Viervoet), shattering the British myth of superiority.

The British Secretary for Colonies, Lord Grey, in an apparent attempt to save face, withdrew Commissioner Sir Harry Smith from the colony, replacing him with Sir George Cathcart.

The victory over the British underlined the importance of African unity and organisation as well as of being armed in their resistance to colonialism and settler-aggression and defend what is rightfully theirs — land.

In the next issue of **Azania Combat**, the Political Commissariat will be looking more into Commissioner Sir George Cathcart.

Negotiations now a division tactic — Mark Shinnars

Combat Correspondent

THE South African regime is drawing a section of the liberation movement away from the liberation war by way of bringing it into some kind of negotiations it calls "talks about talks", a PAC executive member has said.

"At a crucial moment in our history, the oppressor is using the same method that he has been using effectively over the years, that of divide-and-rule," said Cde Mark Shinnars. "They are drawing some of us away from the struggle."

If one had to negotiate one had to do it from a position of strength.

"If we accept an invitation to the negotiation table now, that would mean we are going there on our knees. The PAC would never allow itself to be in that position," said Cde Shinnars.

He was addressing a rally of the Africanist-oriented and militant Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) in Diepkloof, Soweto, recently.

Two white SA cops collapse in a hail of APLA bullets

A POLICE sergeant was shot and killed and a corporal seriously wounded when armed men police suspect of having been Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters opened fire on them at Nyanga in Cape Town recently.

Sergeant N.J. Els (35) and Constable G. Beeslaar had noticed a suspicious white Toyota Corolla in Nyanga in the early hours of a Saturday morning, according to Western Cape senior liaison officer Major Jan Calitz.

The two policemen followed the vehicle, with four men inside, later forcing it to stop.

Sergeant Els was getting out of the police car to investigate when one of the guerillas suddenly jumped out of the Corolla and opened fire with an automatic rifle, which could either have been a Scorpion or an AK-47 assault rifle.

The sergeant, according to a police report, was hit in the chest and died instantly.

Constable Beeslaar returned fire, resulting in the guerilla swinging his weapon towards the police car and pumping at least 16 shots, some of them going right through the vehicle.

The constable was hit in the neck and cheek.

The Toyota pulled away at speed. No arrest has been made, as is the case with most attacks or operations suspected of being pulled by the PAC guerilla army.



**Arm the People,
Liberate Azania**

ISC-SA arms deal is busted

By Priscilla Sherren

DETAILS have emerged of one of the biggest sanctions-busting operations involving a British arms company and South Africa.

They emerged following an investigation in London of Ferranti, a major British defence contractor, whose violation of the United Nations arms embargo has long been suspected.

Fraud squad investigations into International

Signal and Control Corp (ISC), a Ferranti subsidiary, have revealed that the company was based on sanctions-busting contracts with South Africa.

British television programme *This Week* showed earlier this year that one of ISC's top directors, Clyde Ivy, had been covertly seconded to Pretoria in 1977 with the task of establishing Kentron, Armscor's top secret missile plant.

Throughout the 1970s, ISC sold Pretoria defence related equipment, including digitally-synthesised radios.

It was at Kentron, with the help from ISC and apparently that of CIA, that the Pretoria regime was able to develop the Valkiri multiple rocket launcher, said *Anti-Apartheid News* magazine recently.

COMBAT POETRY

They took us all

*By Nozipo Glenn
(in Ohio, USA)*

At 2:00 am

*They took my father
They said he organized African workers
To build unions and challenge the white bosses*

At 3:00 am

*They took my mother
They said she organized the African renters
To fight for better living conditions*

At 4:00 am

*They took my brother
They said he organized the African community
To boycott the rise in bus fares*

At 5:00 am

*They took my sister
They said she organized the African squatters
To squash the forced removals by illegal Government*

At 6:00 am

*They took my teacher
They said she organized the African teachers
To demand upgrading of education for African children*

At 7:00 am

*They took my grandparents
They said they knew and kept all the secrets
To overthrow the illegal regime*

At 8:00 am

*They took us, the children
They said we were being groomed
To right all the wrongs they have done to us
To return all that they took from us.*

QUOTABLE QUOTES

Land, Armed Struggle and Negotiations

"The government understands the concern in the agricultural sector about the question of land ownership in a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa. I want to give you, as the farming community the assurance that we are not prepared to negotiate about your land (and that) your title deeds are safe"

— SA President F.W. de Klerk at an Agricultural Summit Conference in Pretoria.

"We have never surrendered our land and we've never donated it to the settlers. And so we cannot compromise on the question of that land"

— Leading Pan Africanist A.P. Mda at the PAC Consultative meeting in Harare recently.

"What makes the situation even more complicated is the fact that though the De Klerk regime may genuinely be interested in a negotiated settlement, it may not have the ability to carry or convince the majority of the white electorate, including of course, the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the police and armed forces"

— Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in Harare recently.

"There is absolutely no chance of integrating Umkhoto we Sizwe into the South African Defence Force . . . Zulu impis, for instance, can also demand to be integrated into the SADF"

— SA Defence Minister General Magnus Malan at a recent Cape National Party Congress and dismissing several statements by MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani about an eventual integration.

"A Muzorewa-type of government for South Africa, with whites having veto powers, will be unacceptable to the PAC"

— PAC Vice President Clarence Makwetu opening a joint meeting of the PAC and the American Chamber of Commerce of South Africa in Harare recently.

"The situation in South Africa is not complex but is interesting in that the forces of liberation are now beginning to exert themselves more forcefully to deliver the last blow on white domination"

— President Zeph Mothopeng opening the PAC Consultative Meeting in Harare recently.

Sayings from the PAC Consultative Conference

Which brought together the internal-based National Executive and the external-based Central Committee

**Compiled by
Sello Tello**

"THE internal and external wings of the PAC are inseparable, they work together, and one cannot do without the other"

— The now late President Zeph Mothopeng, opening the consultative meeting recently.

"This is a consultative meeting for victory"

— Cde Mothopeng.

"We are in business, the business of winning in the war against white domination. The PAC must win; otherwise we would have failed"

— Cde Mothopeng.

"We are not going to lay down arms while the enemy is arming itself"

— Cde Mothopeng.

"The lion has roared and I am not going to thank it because one does not stand and thank a roaring lion, you move"

— MC and Administrative Secretary Cde Joe Mkwanazi praising Cde Mothopeng for his moving opening speech.

"When Cde (Zeph) Mothopeng declared years back that 'A Nation Without Arms is No Nation' he meant that the struggle was going to be a very serious affair"

— Chairman Johnson Mlambo before inviting Cde Mothopeng to open the meeting.

"He (Cde Mothopeng) has actively taken part in all historical turning points of the Azanian liberation struggle"

— Chairman Mlambo.

"We can't at the moment negotiate with you (Pretoria) because you are armed and will come to the table with arms in your pockets while we will be unarmed"

— Leading Pan Africanist Cde Ashby Mda.

"Neither has the Harare Declaration nor the United Nations Consensus Declaration called any liberation movement to unilaterally abandon or suspend the armed struggle"

— PAC foreign affairs chief Cde Gora Ebrahim.

"A few intellectuals may understand a tactic of entering exploratory talks, as the regime calls them in its (PAC) invitation letter, but the man in the street will not be able to distinguish between such talks and those between the ANC and Pretoria"

— Leading labour unionist and PAC member Cde Phillip Dlamini "PD".

Tribute to Masemola

**South Africa mourns
There is cause to mourn
For the great son of Africa
Is no more**

**He died a most unusual death
Mysterious and unusual
For a revolutionary**

**Tribulation in South Africa
For Comrade Jeff's departure
Tribulation
For the son of the soil
Has departed**

**An inspiration to the youth
He was
A great freedom fighter
He was
A staunch Africanist
He was not a racist**

**Tribulation in South Africa
A fall of tears
A fall of blood
As South Africa mourns
This untimely death of a patriot**

**This tribute to PAC founder
member Japhta Masemola, who was
killed in a car accident, was sent in
to the City Press by Sifiso Moshetsi
of Stage III, Imbali Township, Imbali
4503**

The inimitable 'Bra Jeff'

*By Sol Dumezweni
features Editor*

HE was there when POQO, the forerunner to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), was formed in September 1961.

He was instrumental in the formation and development of PAC underground structures in the early sixties.

In fact, the inimitable late Cde Jeff Masemola had always been on the rougher side of the struggle to liberate Azania.

Bra Jeff, also affectionately referred to as "The Tiger of Azania", was the first South African political prisoner to be sentenced to life imprisonment and one of the very six inmates of the notorious Robben Island maximum security prison off the Cape coast.

Born at Bon-Accord in Pretoria, Bra Jeff began his political career while teaching at Barena Primary School in Atteridgeville.

Bra Jeff was arrested on March 21 1963, the third anniversary of the anti-pass campaign, after attending a meeting of the PAC underground structures in the then Basotholand (now Lesotho) with John Nkosi, another first Robben Island inmate, and 14 other PAC members.

Tried by a judge and two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court, he was convicted of blowing up government installations and of sending youths out of the country for PAC military training.

In 1985, he rejected a Pretoria offer of conditional release from life imprisonment and was finally freed unconditionally on October 15 last year.

He was killed in a yet to be explained car crash in April last year, a crash that cut short the dynamic life of the inimitable Jeff Masemola.

