



## Death robs PAC of key war trio

### INSIDE

APLA in  
action . . .  
and SA  
admits the  
heat

(pages 3, 4, 11 & 15)



Cde TM Ntantala   Cde Hanief Sayed   Cde Pat Makgato

ISSUE No.13

ISSN 0856-3470

QUARTERLY 1991



# AZANIA COMBAT

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



**APLA**  
sticks to guns



# Death robs PAC of key war trio

## INSIDE

APLA in  
action . . .  
and SA  
admits the  
heat

(pages 3, 4, 11 & 15)



Cde TM Ntantala



Cde Hanief Sayed



Cde Pat Makgato

ISSUE No.13

ISSN 0856-3470

QUARTERLY 1991



# AZANIA COMBAT

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



APLA  
sticks to guns



# CONTENTS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| EDITORIAL: APLA on Constituent Assembly | 2  |
| SA admits rise in guerilla attacks      | 3  |
| SADF's encounter with APLA              | 4  |
| Top APLA man freed from jail            | 5  |
| APLA hits of "watchdogs"                | 6  |
| The United Front                        | 8  |
| Economic Combat                         | 10 |
| APLA's tribute to its late ex-chief     | 12 |
| Key PAC courier dies in Harare          | 14 |
| The story of Hanief Mohammed Sayed      | 16 |
| Women's Combat                          | 17 |
| The island and PAC "prison graduates"   | 18 |
| PAC Intelligence File                   | 19 |
| People's Combat                         | 21 |
| Historical Wars for Azania              | 22 |
| Combat Poetry                           | 23 |
| They Don't Die                          | 24 |



**The late Cde. Aku**  
See page 17

**One Settler!  
One Bulet!**

STORIES, pictures and illustrations in this issue of Azania Combat are the work of the magazine's editors, reporters 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.

**Published by the PAC military wing, the  
Azanian People's Liberation Army  
P.O. Box 2412, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.**

## EDITORIAL COMBATANTS

|                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Editor                     | Wolke Mazambane                     |
| Political Editor           | Bonnie Daniels                      |
| Sub-Editor                 | Peter Dlamini                       |
| Features Editor            | Set Dlamini                         |
| Operations Bureau          | Moses Dlamini                       |
| War Affairs Bureau         | Priscilla Shumba                    |
| Chief Photographer         | Yezzer Makoma                       |
| News Reporter              | Moses Khoswa                        |
| Layout Designers           | Wolke Mazambane and<br>Moses Khoswa |
| Production Manager         | Moses Lentshanisha                  |
| Circulation (South Africa) | Ben Mpi                             |
| Circulation International  | Sam Tolo                            |
| Cover Design               | Wolke Mazambane                     |

**COVER PICTURE 4: An APLA man? Perhaps not, but he certainly is a youthful PAC supporter seen giving the popular open-palm PAC salute in the East Rand township of Katsiehong recently.**

**COVER PICTURE 5: PAC youth on the march during the funeral of an APLA fighter, Cde Michael "Fire" Moasi in Kagiso recently.**

# EDITORIAL

## APLA backs Constituent Assembly

"WAR is the continuation of politics by other means", once observed a German philosopher and we couldn't agree more.

In other words, politics is war without bloodshed just as war is politics with bloodshed.

It is on this firm basis that we, of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), are fully behind the PAC political leadership on the issue of the Constituent Assembly as the best formula for giving power to the majority of Azania to decide on their future.

The Constituent Assembly, as adopted at a joint PAC National Executive Council and Central Committee meeting in Harare in March last year and formally endorsed at the organisation's Second Congress in Johannesburg later that year, never exclude armed struggle as some quarters have sought to suggest.

"The formula has always been an integral part of the PAC's overall strategy of People's War being waged on all fronts, including the armed front," as the Commander in Chief Cde Johnson Mlambo has said.

"In the view of APLA, armed struggle is the continuation and not a substitute for political mass action. And so within APLA 'politics command the gun'," Cde Mlambo explained.

The PAC political leadership, in the pursuance of the Constituent Assembly formula, has never called on APLA or even suggested that the guerilla army should lay down arms.

Neither has the international community, whether through the Harare Declaration or the United Nations Consensus Declaration, put the organisation under any pressure to unilaterally abandon or suspend the armed struggle as the ANC has done.

But even if the international community had sought to exert such pressure, we would have

referred it to Pretoria's complete silence on one of its laws which permits any white person over the age of 18 to legally possess up to 27 weapons.

At the same time, the regime is quite in respect of another ridiculous law which makes it an offence for an African to carry even a pen-knife whose blade is more than 4 inches long

And so Pretoria has, through the present settler-colonial South African Constitution, given itself and whites the legal right to remain heavily armed while denying the Africans any lawful right to carry any form of weaponry.

The Constituent Assembly is the only democratic vehicle in which this and other major ills in settler-colonial white South Africa can be corrected.

And so we remain deeply and resolutely committed to the implementation of the PAC's political programme, which must culminate in a Constituent Assembly and the liberation of Azania.

High on the agenda of the Constituent Assembly must be the land question, which is the core of our struggle.

We note that the present "ownership" of that land by European settlers is provided for in the present South African Constitution.

The Constituent Assembly, as adopted and formally endorsed by the PAC, will leave the settlers with no basis upon which to cling to that land and, therefore, to power.

Fellow Azanians, the struggle continues, let us rally behind the PAC and fight on until Pretoria is forced to succumb to the Constituent Assembly formula, the most democratic one to usher in a democratic constitution for Azania and complete emancipation of our people.

One Settler! One Bullet!  
izwe Lethu! i-Afrika!

# APLA OPERATIONAL FILE

## SA admits rise in guerilla attacks as APLA fights on

F.W. DE KLERK'S "reform" package and the Pretoria-inspired township violence do not appear to have had much effect on the PAC programme of armed struggle, with the regime admitting to a sharp rise in the number of guerilla attacks.

According to police statistics, the past few months have seen more guerilla activity than any other period since 1988, two years after the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) began a massive programme to train, arm and engage fighters in combat from within South Africa itself.

The number of guerilla incidents admitted by the police was 254, an increase of 54 over those acknowledged in 1989, but 27 short of the record of 281 in 1988.

A monthly breakdown of the police-supplied figures shows that the highest incidence of guerilla acts had occurred during the three months when there was also the highest incidence of violence.

The three were June, July and August last year when 34, 37 and 32 violent incidents were recorded respectively.

Most of the guerilla attacks were aimed against the police in a pattern that is in line with a January 1986 publicly announced order by the PAC to its fighters to direct their attacks mainly against security force targets.

The guerilla warfare in South Africa was continuing even at a higher level at the beginning of this year, with seven guerilla attacks recorded in a three-day period of January alone, the police admitted.

They, however, claimed successes in the recovery of weaponry used by the guerillas.

The police claimed to have seized 502

By Muriel Dimpho  
Ops Correspondent

handgrenades, 83 limpet mines, 49 firearms and 327 other guerilla weapons.

The biggest source of weapons alleged to have been seized were arms caches, in which were found 356 grenades, 57 mines, 21 AK-47 rifles, six anti-personnel mines, an RPG rocket launcher and ancillaries plus about 5 000 rounds of AK-47 ammunition.

The police claimed that 39 "people" were killed and 217 others injured in guerilla attacks over the period under review. They did not say who the "people" were.

The police also claimed to have arrested 346 people in connection with guerilla activities and, apparently for the first time, did not claim to have killed, wounded or captured any guerillas in combat.

**ONE SETTLER!  
ONE BULLET!**

# REVERSING TO CORLETT DRIVE

## SADF now admits role in encounter with APLA unit

**AZANIA COMBAT** has once again maintained its reputation as an objective and accurate publication following confirmation of its version of what had transpired at Corlett Drive in Bramley, Johannesburg, in 1987 when three APLA men fell in combat with South African security forces.

Pretoria had at the time said, as usual, that the three belonged or were linked to the African National Congress. And when that did not work, it said they were a "gang wanted by police in connection with a series of armed robberies".

The three APLA fighters were thus reduced to a gang of bank robbers, whom Pretoria claimed had been killed by an ordinary police unit dealing with such criminal offenders.

APLA, as a matter of policy laid down by the PAC, had not wished to engage itself in some information row with Pretoria over the identity of battle participants or operational details.

But the Bramley Battle was not any other battle but one which involved one of top APLA field commanders, Cde Tshepo Lilele, and a leading field commissar with the PAC guerilla army, Cde Neo Khoza.

At the request of the APLA field command, and with the concurrence of the PAC army High Command, a special issue of *Azania Commando* was published and it carried four articles dealing with the Bramley Battle and a further two giving background to it.

The crux of all three articles was that the Bramley Battle was a bloody encounter between guerillas and South African security forces, who include the SADF. It was not an encounter between criminals and the police, as Pretoria had claimed.

The APLA version, as outlined in the *Azania Commando* articles, was confirmed recently during the hearings of the Pretoria-appointed Harms Commission of inquiry into the activities of South Africa's hit-squads.

Evidence was given to the commission to show that



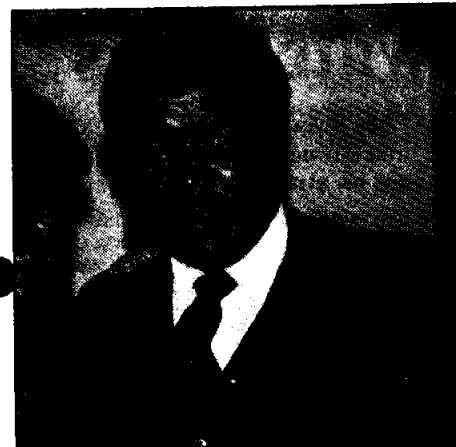
**Cde Neo Khoza, a leading APLA field commissar, who fell in the Bramley Battle in 1987**

a member of the SADF's notorious Civil Co operation Bureau (CCB) was involved in the battle along the side of the police.

The now former CCB cell member, Abram "Slang" van Zyl, at first denied having been involved but when he was confronted with evidence he admitted not only having been involved but also firing some of the shots which killed the PAC guerilla trio.

"Slang" also admitted that the CCB hit-squads had also operated in South Africa's neighbouring and other countries.

## Top APLA man freed from jail



**Cde Enock Mabatu Zulu . . . the pioneer of internal military training in South Africa**

**THE former APLA Director of Operations, Cde Enock Mabatu Zulu, who is pioneer of the first known military programme of training people inside South Africa, has been released from a long-term of imprisonment for what Pretoria calls "terrorism".**

Cde Zulu, a top guerilla commander and member of the PAC Central Committee at the time of his arrest, was the most senior official of a liberation movement, PAC or ANC, to command guerilla fighters from within South

Africa.

He was one of five APLA men who were convicted in the Pretoria Regional Court of 24 counts of "terrorism" or, in other words, 24 acts of guerilla warfare.

The other four were former chief PAC president bodyguard Cde Ndoda Gcanga, senior military commander Cde Paul "Nduku" Mohohlo, field political commissar Cde Vincent Mathunjwa and militant priest Reverend Dan Nkopodi.

Cde Zulu was said by the State at the trial to have been "Deputy Camp Commander" in 1975 when he gave military training to local people in Ngwavuma, which lies on South Africa's border with Swaziland.

State Prosecutor Mr J. Pretorius told the court that "Z" as Cde Zulu was and still popularly known within APLA, had also given lessons in "battlefield tactics" to guerillas in PAC military camps in Tanzania.



**Cde Paul "Nduku" Mohohlo**

## New Combat post

**AZANIA COMBAT Editor Willie Mazambane has announced the appointment of Miendlos Kheswa to the newly-created Combat post of News Editor but that Kheswa would retain his old position of News Researcher.**

His main task as News Editor is to co-

ordinate staff assignments and to prepare story diaries for distribution mainly to the magazine's senior staff, said Cde Mazambane in a statement.

"The new post is aimed at improving Combat's production speeding and editorial efficiency in the light of the rapidly developing situation in South Africa," said the statement.

## FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S DESK

... AND SECRETARY FOR DEFENCE'S FILE

## APLA hits at "watchdogs"

**THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has distanced itself from the so-called "Watchdogs" and the "Sobukwe Forum" and strongly condemned attempts by the two groups to sow confusion about its stance on armed struggle, a patriotic front and the Constituent Assembly.**

The PAC guerilla army outlined its position through the army Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, and the PAC Secretary for Defence and APLA Commander, Cde Sabelo Phama, at army headquarters recently.

Cde Mlambo, who is also the PAC's First Deputy President, said APLA was fully behind the organisation's leadership on the question of the Constituent Assembly, the armed struggle and the proposed Patriotic Front of all forces bent on toppling the Pretoria regime.

"The Constituent Assembly has never excluded the armed struggle," said Cde Mlambo, adding that it had always been part and parcel of the PAC's overall strategy of people's war covering all fronts, including the armed front."

APLA was clear on the relationship between the armed and the political struggles.

"In the view of APLA, armed struggle is the continuation and not a substitute for political mass action. And so within APLA, 'politics command the gun'."

APLA, therefore fully supported the Constituent Assembly, as formally adopted at the meeting of the organisation's internally based National Executive Council and externally based Central Committee in Harare in March last year.

Echoing Cde Mlambo's statement, Secretary for Defence Cde Phama said APLA commanders and fighters fully supported the Constituent Assembly as an important formula to give power to the Azanian masses to decide their new constitution.

"APLA, the military arm of the PAC, is under the leadership of the organisation and will, therefore, never be party to any tendency that runs across the

correct PAC political line and action," said Cde Phama.

He attributed one of the tendencies to a bunch of people who could not follow the discipline of the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) and were consequently dismissed at the congress of the PAC youth organisation in Cala at the beginning of this year.



**The Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo**

Both Cde Mlambo and Cde Phama said those subscribing to the erroneous tendencies still had a chance to correct themselves and follow the line and discipline of the organisation.

"We urge them to take the opportunity offered by the entire PAC leadership to come forward for a democratic discussion of any of their fears regarding the Constituent Assembly and a United Front," said Cde Mlambo.

## Makwetu backs APLA's slogan

By Priscilla Sherren

**THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania does not understand all the fuss over its slogan, "One Settler, One Bullet."**

"We fail to understand why there should be anxiety about the slogan shouted even by an unarmed kid in Soweto when the white population has 2,5 million licenced guns," said President Clarence Makwetu in Britain recently.

He was referring to the slogan at a meeting in London with two top British officials, Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd and Overseas Development Minister Mrs Lynda Chalker.

The slogan, which has its roots in Zimbabwe during that country's liberation war, is now being used by Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters and PAC members and supporters as a war cry in support of the armed struggle.

The PAC, on record for having publicly stated that APLA fighters were under orders



**President Clarence Makwetu**

to strike their main blows at South Africa's security forces, has resisted all pressures on it to abandon the slogan as it saw nothing racist in it.

The slogan has never been used to advocate indiscriminate killing of members of the white community or any other people as the world had been led to believe.

## APLA warns slogan abusers

By Miendlos Kheswa  
Combat News Editor

**THE Azanian People's Liberation Army has issued a strong warning to all those who are using the army slogans for ulterior motives to stop doing so.**

The APLA spokesman, Cde Jonny Majozi, said in an interview with *Azania Combat* that it was infuriating that some "misguided elements are using the army slogans such as 'One Settler, One Bullet' out of context".

Cde Majozi said people had to understand the circumstances behind the adoption of a particular slogan. He said that before any slogan was adopted by the army the army leadership sat down and viewed the relevance of that slogan.

Cde Majozi said a slogan like 'One Settler, One Bullet' was meant to encourage the APLA combatants on the ground not to be wasteful with resources because the resources are costly and difficult to come-by.

Slogans like 'One Settler, One Bullet' and 'High Morale, High Discipline' had to be used to mobilize and galvanize the oppressed masses to the struggle, and not to wage or satisfy egos of misdirected individuals.

"The slogans are being used to maintain both the theoretical and the practical aspects of our struggle. No individual or group of people are allowed to vulgarize them," said Cde Majozi.

# HONESTLY SPEAKING

## United Front called for but an alliance will have to wait

**MOVES** have been and still are underway to bring about unity among all forces opposed to the Pretoria regime. In this article, carried in part, Bamba Ndwandwe, a veteran PAC member, political and legal affairs analyst, discusses a United Front and examines its operation as opposed to that of an alliance.



**A UNITED Front is both a principle of struggle and a strategy to achieve the object of that struggle, for there can be no successful struggle without the unity of the motive forces of that struggle as against the unity of the enemy forces.**

People in some cases confuse a United Front for an alliance when in fact there is a world of difference between the two political phenomena.

An alliance is a confederation of various political organisations whose ideological programmes coincide except that they may differ on tactics and the extent of emphasis on certain issues.

In other words, it is an agreement to confederate their individual programmes into a single programme to be pursued by all the parties to the alliance.

A United Front, however, is an agreement between various political organisations, whose ideologies and political programmes may not be exactly similar but are nonetheless directed against the same enemy.

Put differently, the organisations concerned agree on some parts of their respective programmes, including the parts dealing with the identity of the enemy, thus providing common ground as far as common points of agreement are concerned.

It is not only the independence of identity of the parties to the front, but also the independence of their political programmes.

Although alliances are similar the world over, there is no United Front which is similar to the other. The character of each front is determined by the extent of the areas of agreement and the terms of the agreement constituting the United Front.

With allies, there are none that are permanent in a struggle, for an ally today may be an enemy tomorrow just as an enemy today may become an ally tomorrow, all because of the change of factors on the political scene.

A United Front is, by its nature, a front of fronts in the sense that one party to the front may have greater agreement with one of the other parties than with the rest.

There will, therefore, be closer co-operation between those who agree more than those who agree less.

It is possible that a front may progress into an alliance or even develop into a complete merger, making it one political party or organisation such as Frelimo in Mozambique and Zanu (PF) in Zimbabwe.

However, in the South African political scene at this stage there is reason to fear an alliance but certainly not a United Front.

There are people in and outside the PAC who may be of the view that the organisation should strike an alliance with such movements as Azapo and Unity Movement to meet the ANC as an alliance rather than individual organisations.

This is naive and wrong. This view fails to appreciate that an alliance between the PAC and the said movements is impossible as there is no proof that the ideologies and political programmes of the parties to the proposed alliance are similar.

Secondly, neither the PAC nor any of the other parties would accept the status of being a junior partner in the alliance as experience has shown with other

alliances that have been proposed or existed for a time.

What is required in South Africa is a United Front to which all anti-Pretoria organisations, including the PAC, ANC, Azapo and Unity Movement, may be parties.

It is myopic to propose a political project on the basis of sheer conjecture.

Proposals or designs, if there be any, must be founded and based on well-known and hardline realities of the struggle as opposed to the fancy imaginations of the bewildered mind.

Having stated that, it is true that the PAC may be closer in ideological terms to one party than it is to others, but that does not necessarily represent a similarity of programmes.

The principle that must serve as a guide in the struggle is that as long as the extent of political proximity is unknown, there is no basis for easy assumptions.



**PAC President Clarence Makwetu (right) and his ANC counterpart, Cde Nelson Mandela**

# ECONOMIC COMBAT

## PAC calls for 'Marshall Plan'

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has warned that the extreme wealth differentiation between whites and Africans has put the country in "a war-like situation" and called for a "Marshall Plan" to rectify the inequality.

The PAC, known to be having the best economic policy for South Africa, said the country needed a "Marshall Plan" to correct the inequality between the "haves" and "have-nots".

In a statement summarising its policy document titled "Towards a Democratic Economic Order", the organisation maintained that because of "scarce resources and the existence of extreme wealth differentiation between the haves and have-nots, the country is in a war-like situation".

The policy documents, the clearest from a liberation movement, deals with the PAC's economic thinking and outlines police on such areas as redistribution of wealth and resources, economic development and growth, nationalisation and foreign investment.

The statement said while 83 percent of whites earned more than R16 000 each a year, only 5 percent of blacks were in the same position.

"The PAC is aware that the market needs organised countervailing forces against the dysfunctional effects of its operations, and such forces shall be the State, an independent and strong worker' participation, a strong consumer movement and a strong liberation and development national movement", the statement said.

## FORWARD TO A Democratic Economic Order

### PAC stand on nationalisation

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania says it is not obsessed with nationalising private-sector corporations.

"The behaviour of economic institutions is more important than their mere ownership by the State," said the PAC in a recent statement based on its economic policy document, *Towards a Democratic Economic Order*.

"It is not the PAC's intention to redistribute wealth and associated resources by transferring them from a small, dominant, wealthy elite, class of national group to a small, dominant elite from the currently economically disadvantaged African population."

The PAC says it will encourage foreign investment selectively and for strategic purposes.

# PAC military action 'looks set to intensify'

THE PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), has introduced a new style of operations based on swift attacks and its activities would intensify, according to University of Durban Westville academic Dr E.A. Mantzaris.

Dr Mantzaris, writing in the South Africa Foundation Review, analysed the movement's strategy in three phases: Guerilla warfare through armed propaganda" and the destruction of military installations; large scale mobile military operations inside South Africa; and "the final offensive (full-scale war)".

He added: "In recent months APLA has

introduced a new style of military operations which is based on swift attacks, mostly with handgrenades.

"There is continuity in these attacks, a fact that indicates that new blood (most possibly through the ranks of Azanyu — PAC's youth wing) has joined the PAC's military wing".

Dr Mantzaris argued that growing unemployment and poverty combined with the increasing militancy of black youth point to a likely increase in the activities of APLA in the near future.

However, a senior police source said there was no evidence for these claims.

## SA still says no to nuclear treaty

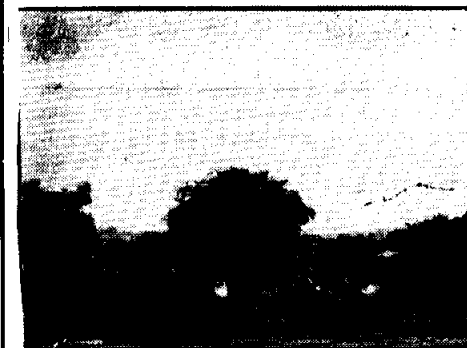
From Priscilla Sherren

**HARARE —** There has been diplomatic activity here following an initiative by Mauritias aimed at making South Africa a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

South Africa, however, is still refusing to sign the treaty, saying the Frontline States should do the same before it commits itself.

A Mauritian envoy, Mr Paul Berenger, held talks recently with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe on his country's initiative.

Mr Berenger, disarmament affairs special adviser to Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnaut, later told reporters his talks with Cde Mugabe had centred on seeking ways to make Pretoria sign the treaty or NPT, as it is known.



APLA ranks swell



The late former APLA Commander, Cde T.M. Ntantala (in a cap), with (from left) Peter Raboroko, Cde Kenny Jordan and Cde Edwin Makoti sharing time with children during a visit to China in the late 1960s

## TRIBUTE TO LATE ex-APLA CHIEF

# The gallant "TM" Ntantala

**HE is a hero not only in Azania, but also in Zimbabwe, where his name must surely be added to the list of the Sinoia Battle heroes.**

For Cde Templeton Mzukisi Ntantala, who died in South Africa recently after a long illness, took part alongside the then ZANLA guerrillas of Zimbabwe in some crucial events which preceded the now historic Sinoia Battle of 1966.

Seven ZANLA fighters, all trained in a Chinese military academy like Cde Ntantala, were killed in the three-hour running battle fought in thick bush near Rod Mine, Hunyani Farm, in Sinoia on the morning of April 29 1966.

The battle, in which the then Rhodesian air force units were used as back-up, went down as one of the very first major battles between the Rhodesian security forces and the Zimbabwean guerrillas and this made heroes of the seven fighters who fell fighting.

But Cde Ntantala, who stayed, shared experiences and planned with the seven before their departure from a joint guerilla camp in Tanzania to Zimbabwe, is first and foremost a hero in Azania, whose liberation cause he served for nearly 50 years.

**By Combat Editor  
WILLIE MAZAMBANE**

Cde Ntantala, member of the National Executive Council of the PAC at the time of his death and one-time Commander of APLA, was born in Idutywa, Transkei, on July 6 1928.

He had his early education at Lovedale in the Cape where he excelled all-round, but especially in sports, a quality which was to form a firm physical base for his future career as a soldier and a top guerrilla commander.

His early involvement in politics went back to the beginning of the 1940s.

Cde "TM", as Cde Ntantala was popularly known to both the old and the young alike, joined the then ANC Youth League in 1948 when he was a final year high school student. Three years later he began subscribing to Africanist politics then being advocated mainly through the Bureau of African Nationalism led

by Cde A.P. Mda.

He joined the PAC at its formation in April 1959 and became deputy to the then Western Cape regional Chairman, Cde Clarence Makwetu, before succeeding the now PAC President as chairman of the region in 1960.

In 1962, he was appointed along with other regional chairman to a Presidential Council, which ran the affairs of the PAC from external headquarters then in Lesotho after the organisation's banning in 1960.

He left Lesotho for Tanzania in 1964 and was sent for training in military academies in Ghana and Algeria in the first half of 1965 before proceeding for further training at China's Nanking Military College, where the Sinoia Battle heroes had also been trained.

From China in the second half of 1965 Cde Ntantala went back to Tanzania to become APLA Commander from then to 1978.

A highly trained soldier, a forceful political debator, a great ideological articulator and a persuasive speaker, Cde "TM" was highly respected both within and outside the PAC and was considered by many as a specialist on the United Front.

He shared many trying moments and experiences with freedom fighters from many liberation movements in and outside Africa, but probably had the closest relationship with Zimbabwe's Zanu (PF) and its military wing, ZANLA.

Cde Morgan Xhamela, who has known and worked with him since the 1960s, recalled how Cde Ntantala, as APLA Commander, would personally help in the infiltration of ZANLA fighters and their weapons into Zimbabwe.

"At times, as in the case of the Sinoia Battle seven, he would personally drive the ZANLA fighters from a joint APLA-ZANLA camp in the Tanzanian district of Mbeya and ferry them through Zambia on their way to Zimbabwe," said Cde Xhamela.

"He actually took part in the planning process of some of our operations, including the Sinoia one," recalled one ex-ZANLA commander who was based at the Mbeya camp around the time of the Sinoia Battle.

Cde Ntantala's direct working relationship

with the Zimbabwean guerrillas did not affect his responsibility to command his own fighters.

It was, for instance, under his able command that APLA men had from 1975 conducted the first known military programme of training people on the South African soil.

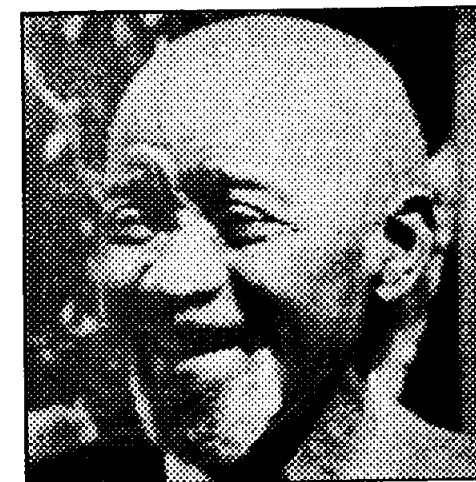
Cde Xhamela recalled that he himself and the now late Cde Mzondli Khatshwa had been escorted by Cde "TM" in person when they joined several other APLA men, including former director of operations Cde Enock Zulu, who had been conducting such internal training in the South African area of Ngwavuma near the Swazi border in December 1976.

Cde Ntantala was described as a man of "exceptional qualities" in a statement by the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim.

He served the PAC as a student activist, a political organiser, a military commander and a diplomat, his last posting being as Chief Representative to Uganda.

Cde Ntantala's death constitutes a great loss to the PAC and the Azanian liberation struggle, but his example shall live forever.

Rest in peace, Son of the Soil, the struggle continues until the liberation of Azania.



**Cde Ntantala . . . the man of exceptional qualities**

# Death steals key PAC courier ... and versatile APLA fighter **THE INIMITABLE TSAI-TSAI**

By Combat Editor  
Willie Mazambane

**DEVOTED, daring and versatile may perhaps be the best description of the now late member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Cde Edward "Tsai-Tsai" Makgato, who died in a road crash in Harare on Sunday May 26 1991.**

"One of the bravest and most courageous cadres APLA has produced," so was the 26-year old better known as Pat described by the PAC Secretary for Defence and APLA Commander, Cde Sabelo Phama.

A staunch PAC member, a dynamic labour unionist, a political organiser, a militant student activist and an APLA member, Pat took part in virtually all fronts of the Azanian liberation struggle in his short life.

But it was in the armed front that he had a greater interest, even though he had had no formal military training.

In fact, he had been secretly working with APLA men inside South Africa since the beginning of the 1980s when he was still in the labour movement.

Army Commander Cde Phama told *Azania Combat* recently that Pat had been "a vital link courier" with PAC underground structures even long before the unbanning of the liberation movements.

"He used to frequent the (PAC) external mission to brief us of the developments in Northern Transvaal, where his political carrier had begun," recalled Cde Phama.

Sometime in 1988, Pat came out of the country to spend a longer period with the external mission, where he was to receive security and intelligence training that enabled



The late Cde Edward "Tsai-Tsai" Makgato

him to work with the PAC's elite VIP Protection Unit.

He masterminded security arrangements at the funeral ceremony of PAC stalwart Cde Jeff Masemola and played an important security role at that of the Lion of Azania, Cde Zeph Mothopeng.

At the time of his death, Pat was actively involved in a massive programme of recruitment of cadres for military training by APLA and was working very closely with the PAC army's Director of Recruitment.

What a young man this was, He ws a star, whichever way one looked at him.

"It was with deep shock and profound sorrow that I and the PAC community in Zimbabwe learnt of the tragic death of Edward 'Tsai-Tsai' Makgato," said the PAC Chief Representative to Zimbabwe, Cde Thobile Gola, in a condolence message to Pat's family.

Cde Gola knew Pat as that "quiet, reserved but ever-smiling young man" who had befriended virtually all PAC members and other Azanians in Zimbabwe soon after joining them in 1988.

"His death is, in that way, a great loss not only to the family but to all of us," said Cde Gola.

"As we join you (the family) in mourning your beloved son, we must re-dedicate ourselves to the noble ideals for which this young man stood, always remembering that his dream of a free and prosperous Azania is yet to be realised."

Even though a fighter had fallen, those he left behind had to be consoled by the fact that his spirit and example would live forever.

May Edward "Tsai-Tsai" "Pat" Makgato rest in peace. His gun has been picked up and the liberation war continues.

**Fighters don't die  
THEY ONLY FALL**

# PAC fighters kill two cops as 4 escape

**TWO white South African police officers were killed and four other white policemen narrowly escaped serious injury in two separate guerilla attacks by a two-man unit of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in Port Elizabeth recently, a South African court has heard.**

The APLA unit of Cde. Kwanele Msizi and Phakamile Cishe shot and killed Sergeant Steve Gerber and Constable Cornelius de Wet in a swift attack on a police patrol van in Zwide.

The Supreme Court, sitting in Port Elizabeth, heard that the APLA duo had also hurled hand-grenades at four other white policemen, Jonathan Cruss, Lionel McLaren, Gary Horn and Johann Neethling.

The four policemen had also come under AK-47 rifle fire from the APLA unit.

Cde. Msizi and Cde. Cishe have since been convicted of murder in relation to the killing of Sgt. Gerber and Constable de Wet and are currently on death row.

In addition, they were given stiff jail sentences for attempting to kill the four other policemen.

Mr. Justice Jonsen, the Supreme Court judge who convicted and condemned them, found that the two APLA men had "planned the hunting of police and had cold bloodedly executed their plans".

The two, who apparently had received their training within South Africa, were assisted by two foreign-trained APLA fighters in carrying out the two shooting incidents, said the judge.

After being condemned to death, Cde. Msizi and Cde. Cishe declared that, like Jesus Christ, they accepted the sentence.

# The Indian village boy who became APLA courier

**WHILE** some comrades may "chicken-out", or even cross over to the enemy camp in the face of challenge, others hold on steadfast until life oozes out of them.

Among the steadfast type must obviously be Cde Sayed Mohammed Hanief Sayed, that boy from a small village in India who was to be a daring APLA courier in South Africa and later a sharp PAC diplomat in North Africa.

Cde Sayed, the former PAC Chief Representative to Egypt who died in South Africa recently, was born in the Indian village of Purar on November 1 1942.

He went to South Africa in 1948 with his parents, who were descendants of indentured slaves brought to the country in 1657.

Cde Sayed began his education at Salt River in 1949 and was to test the brutality of the Pretoria regime when his family and others were evicted from one area to the other.

At a very young age, he was forced to seek employment as he could not pay his fees for secondary education.

He was brought full-time into politics in March 1960 when a new epoch in the history of the Azanian resistance to settler-colonialism was heralded by the likes of the now late founding president of the PAC, Cde Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.

In 1979, Cde Sayed became a founding member of the Islamic Liberation Movement, a two-group front made up of the South African Student Association and Qibla, which worked closely with the PAC through the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He was in 1983 elected president of SASA and charged with the task of mobilising for and co-ordinating an uprising in the Western Cape.

Due to continuous harassment by Pretoria, and facing charges of possession of arms of war, Cde Sayed was forced into exile sometime in 1985.

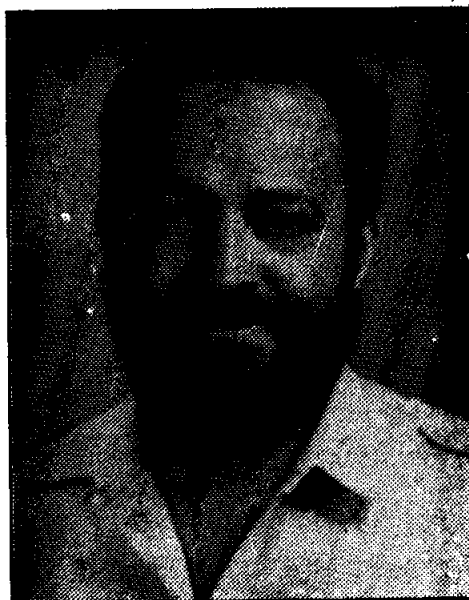
He worked with the PAC mission in Zimbabwe

By Miendlos Kheswa  
Combat News Editor

before he was posted to Egypt as the organisation's chief representative. He remained in Egypt until 1990 when he joined other senior PAC officials in a trip to South Africa, where he worked until his death.

He is survived by his wife, Mahmuda, and two children, Tasneem and Shams Tabrez, all of whom are staunch supporters of the PAC.

Cde Sayed will be missed by all who knew or worked with him in and outside South Africa.



The late Cde Hanief Mohammed Sayed

# WOMEN'S COMBAT

## 'Aku was a great woman'

**THE** Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has paid tribute to one of its fallen members, Cde Nomzi Sheila Aku Gola, who died in South Africa recently after a period of illness. She was 38.

By Priscilla Sherren

Aku, as Cde Nomzi was better known to many in and outside the PAC, was a member of the PAC Intelligence and Security Department and wife of a PAC diplomat at the time of her death.

But she was also a qualified nurse and an accomplished welfare officer, who was loved by all in the PAC whom she served with dedication.

Born in Kwa Thema, Springs, on September 15 1952, she began practising as a nurse at Natalspuit Hospital in 1973 before proceeding to work at the Far East Rand Hospital the following year.

She left South Africa in 1975 to join the PAC in Botswana, where she stayed for a period before being called to the organisation's external headquarters in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

She then worked as a welfare officer before being appointed Director of the Welfare Department of the organisation.

Cde Nomzi later got married to the then PAC Chief Representative to East Africa, Cde Mabile Gola, who is now the organisation's Chief Representative to Zimbabwe.

As Director of Welfare, she took part in many educational and exchange courses and represented the PAC in many international conferences, seminars and workshops, many of whom went a long way helping improve the welfare of PAC members and other Azanians.

The APLA Political Commissar, Cde Romero Daniels, who is also the Director of the PAC Intelligence and Security Department, described the late Cde Nomzi as "a great woman" who had been inspired by great African heroines such as Manthatisi, Mbuya



The late Cde Sheila Gola

Nehanda and Queen Nzinga.

Her contribution to the PAC and the Azanian liberation struggle was "immeasurable".

Cde Daniels recalled how he had had a discussion with Cde Nomzi in Mahalapye in 1978 and found her to be "a highly motivated and spirited woman".

"With a very young baby in her arms, the baby being Yoliswa who is now a young lady, Cde Nomzi remained consistent in her belief in the PAC and constant in her participation in the liberation struggle," said Cde Daniels.

"We will always remember Cde Nomzi as a brave and courageous woman".

# JEFF MASEMOLA RE-VISITED

## POQO man and Robben Island, a politician treated as criminal

**THE conversion of Robben Island from being a penal colony for political prisoners to one for ordinary criminals from crowded mainland jails would have made no difference to the island's very first political prisoner, Cde Jeff Masemola.**

The founding member of POQO (now called the Azanian People's Liberation Army) was the only political prisoner on the island to be periodically locked up with hardened common criminals, the aim being to break his resolve to liberate his country.

Robben Island's history as a penal colony for political prisoners ended recently, 28 years after Cde Masemola and five other POQO members were flown in chains to begin serving life sentences on this flat oval island that lies like a dark smudge on Cape Town's horizon.

That was a year before they were joined by Cde Nelson Mandela and other ANC life prisoners.

That made Cde Masemola and his five comrades the very first political inmates of Robben Island, a leper colony until 1931 and a prison since England's King James I ordered 19 convicts to be marooned there in 1615.

The 5,4 km by 2,5 km island lies 8 km from Cape town's harbour and rises 30 meters above the sea, with a lighthouse and the prison watchtowers being all that show above the low bushes that cover the granite rocks.

No one normally was allowed within a mile of the island without a special permit, although authorities offered a weekly tour, which avoided the prison enclosure. Not many, however, managed to benefit from the tours as there was a year-long waiting list.

Cde Jeff Masemola and the five other POQO men had the misfortune of being the first political prisoners to experience life on this island, where wrecks dot the shore and

**By Willie Mazambane**

rainwater, soured by seaspray from the Cape's violent storms, fills two rock quarries on the island.

One, facing Cape Town, was used by Jan van Riebeeck to cut granite for the mainland castle that guards Table Bay.

The other, facing into the north-west gales that blow in winter, was where Cde Masemola and other political prisoners chipped stone to complete the prison in the 1960s.

That is Robben Island, whose history from the 1960s really began with the arrival of the PAC six led by Cde Masemola, who was to become South Africa's longest serving life political prisoner after the release of his five comrades.

The five are Cdes John Nkosi, Dimake Malepe, Isaac Mthimunya, Philemon Tefu and Samuel Chibane.

To them, add scores of other PAC men including the late Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, Cde Zeph Mothopeng, Cde John Pokela, President Clarence Makwetu and First Deputy President Johnson Mlambo, all of whom have served times on the island.

The political history of Robben Island, therefore, is in many ways the history of the PAC "prison graduates".

# PAC INTELLIGENCE FILE

## The neat general and his dirt

**By Sol Dumezweni  
Features Editor**

**MAGNUS Malan is the general who loved to wear his medals in four neat rows on his dark suit at official functions, although he has never fired a shot in combat, someone once observed.**

He, however, has fired numerous shots at Pretoria's opponents through the shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau. He was still opening fire even during inquiries of the Hiemstra Commission and the Harms Commission into the activities of South Africa's hit-squads.

Despite strong criticism, and calls for his resignation or dismissal, General Malan was until recently still an albatross around President F.W. de Klerk's neck.

Someone once said the general reminded him of a child's plastic "punch me" toy.

"You blow it up, it has this dead weight at the bottom which ensures that everytime you knock it down, it immediately starts to rise again into an upright position."

After weeks of revelations, and a total onslaught against him within South Africa's all-white parliament, General Malan remained upright.

De Klerk, himself, does not appear to be willing to fire or force the general to resign.

"We cannot afford a climate of suspicion and mistrust at this time in history," said De Klerk as revelations about the notorious CCB began in 1989.

More than a year later, however, the "climate of

suspicion and mistrust" persists because the truth about the murderous hit-squads is still being hidden.

The latest series of revelations was about

**The "stench of corruption" around the general and the SADF, as one newspaper editorial described it, continued after a string of allegations against the 61-year old former SADF chief.**



corruption within General Malan's defence ministry, with allegations by an auditor-general that General Malan had left a tangled web of lies and evasions about the CCB, which has cost the country's taxpayers R50 million so far.

The general denied he even knew of the existence of the death squads until November 1989, despite the fact that he signed a memo in 1986 agreeing to its establishment.

The CCB was to become a monster, with a huge budget and most of it unauthorised. It tortured and murdered anyone at will, hired known criminals and raged through the Frontline and neighbouring states, bombing and killing people at will.

Under enormous pressure amid revelations, General Malan announced in February last year that the CCB was being disbanded. Since then, at least R12,5 million has been spent on personnel and covert operations.

Much of the money was used for what are called "golden hand-shakes" to CCB operatives as leave and pension gratuities, with at least 30 ex-CCB members threatening to "reveal all" if the SADF did not sweeten their pensions even further.

General Malan has also announced, in a move that has infuriated many, that Pretoria was planning to indemnify the SADF against future legal action by CCB members.

The "stench of corruption" around the general and the SADF, as one newspaper editorial described it, continued after a string of allegations against the 61-year old former SADF chief.

He was condemned by both the Hiemstra and Harms Commission, both of which found him implicated with the CCB.

The Harms Commission, with its unsatisfactory report, still found General Malan to have been "of course, politically responsible for his department, and that includes the CCB".

Despite the enormous pressure on him to resign or be fired, the general was still around and surviving.

## SA police burnt hit-squad papers says ex-officer

Combat Correspondent

**A FORMER South African state security agent has accused the police of thwarting a judicial inquiry into political murders by burning incriminating papers and hiding weapons.**

Ronald Bezuidenhout (38) said he and his colleagues in a police "anti-terrorist" unit had last year removed potential evidence of the unit's alleged involvement in officially-sanctioned death squad killings.

Meanwhile, the controversy surrounding the final report of the Pretoria-appointed Harms Commission of inquiry into the hit-squads continued when court evidence contradicted the commission's findings.

While Mr Justice Louis Harms found no evidence of the existence of the hit-squads, a newly appointed Judge of Appeal, Mr Justice Kriegler, rejected damage claims by a senior police forensic officer, Gen Lothar Neethling, against two newspapers which first revealed the existence of the hit-squads.

By rejecting all evidence of the existence of the hit-squads, the Harms Commission had tacitly given Gen Neethling a necessary backing to make libel claims of R1,5 million against the two papers.

In addition to this the general had won a popular position within the police for standing up in their support and in protecting their notorious activities.

APLA's Chief Information Officer Cde Jonny Majosi has said that the Neethling case, together with the findings of the Harms Commission, plus the role of the police in the township violence, all indicated that the South African police were not ready for change in South Africa as of now.

"In fact, they are a confirmation of the correctness of the PAC's rejection of talks with Pretoria for now and a justification of APLA's continuation with the armed struggle, one of whose main targets is that police force," said Cde Majosi.

# PEOPLE'S COMBAT

## Where's Combat?

Dear Editor,

I AM writing this letter with little or no hope that it will reach you, the reason being that I doubt that *Azania Combat* still exists as I haven't received a copy since Issue No 12.

Another reason for my doubt is that the current South African situation appears not to be producing your usual military-related news.

Can you, please, give me some light as to what is happening with *Azania Combat*?

Niks Travy,  
Harare

## We're around

### The Editor Replies:

*Thank you for letting us know of your doubts about Azania Combat's existence.*

*Let me assure you that we are still around and working. We deeply apologise for the production delay, which was in fact due to certain factors beyond our control.*

*Be assured, however, that we are still in Combat for Azania and will remain so until liberation.*

*We do not quite agree that the present South African situation is not producing our "usual military-related news" and do state here that the contents of this issue of Azania Combat, Issue No 13 that is, speak for themselves.*

Thank you and ...  
Hoping to hear more from you.

## Watch out "watchdogs"

Dear Editor

Thank you in anticipation that you will publish my letter in your magazine.

First, let me congratulate you and your staff for producing this informative magazine.

The reason I write this letter is because of my concern about the so-called 'revolutionary watchdogs', who are bent on causing damage and harm to the struggle.

It is my belief that these individuals are enemy provocateurs, who do not want see harmony within our ranks.

I wish they could form their own organisation and leave ours alone. We won't miss them.

I, therefore, think that party should suspend or expel them from the organisation. And it must bar them from using the party name and slogans for the purpose of wrecking havoc among our people.

Tsepo Moribane  
Mamelodi

## HIGH MORALE High Discipline

## ONE SETTLER! ONE BULLET!

# HISTORICAL WARS FOR AZANIA

## The Battle of Konyane

**THE last issue of Azania Combat carried a piece about the first land war between the Africans, under King Moshoeshe The Great, and the European settlers, and a Major Warden. That war is known as the Battle of Konyane.**

The magazine continues with the story, in yet another historical war fought in or around the land of the Basotho.

The Konyaneng defeat did not augur well for the British, whose High Commissioner, George Cathcart, attempted an invasion in 1892 but was beaten.

The British were forced to stall, and in 1854 signed themselves out of the Trans-Orangia. But the treaty was inadequate as it left the central issue, the issue of land unresolved.

From 1854 to 1857, the two communities — the Basotho and the European settlers — were in the state of any uneasy truce, with the struggle over land continuing to be fought on a daily basis.

The major bone of contention was the disputed land and ownership of livestock.

King Moshoeshe was to write the new British High Commissioner, Sir George Grey, a letter in 1857 which read in part: "Believe me, the real cause of the dispute is the ground. The settlers wish to drive my people out."

The subtle conflict turned into an open war the following year. The battle fought was brief but very intense, and it ended up in humiliation for the boer settlers.

Demoralised and in complete disarray, they retreated but were pursued by the Basotho, who seized the war booty and razed down the homesteads of the boers.

The settlers were forced to appeal for British intervention and the British accepted an offer to arbitrate between the warring parties.

The imperial High Commissioner, Sir George, tried to reach a compromise, with the disputed land being divided in half, under the terms of the Treaty of Aliwai North of 1858,

**Compiled by Combat's  
Political Editor  
ROMERO DANIELS**

The compromise, however, did little to solve the dispute. The boer settlers were not satisfied, and the second Basotho-Boer war was inevitable.

Once again, land was the crux of the matter. The greedy boers made no secret of their insatiable desire to have King Mashoeshe's fertile land across Mahakore (later known as Caledon).

Their eyes were on the "unsurpassed grazing ground and cornfields" of the Basotho which were way beyond the "inferior white-occupied land" in richness.

In May 1865, the boers again declared war on the Basotho. At first, they found the Basotho's Thaba Bosiu impregnable, but as the war intensified, the Basotho could not hold out as the boer commandos advanced.

African villages were destroyed and livestock was usurped. And in April 1866, King Moshoeshe was forced to sign an unfavourable peace treaty, under which part of the Basotho kingdom was annexed.

The treaty, which was clearly in favour of the boers, sealed the kingdom's boundaries to the present day.

**ONE SETTLER!  
ONE BULLET!**

# COMBAT POETRY

## A pledge to the cause of Azania

To die as a martyr  
Or to drag life aimlessly?  
Better look to the murmur of death  
Than cling to life in mortal fears.

To be separated in life and parted in death  
Is hard to bear.  
Separation tears at the strings of the heart,  
Far better to hit a strumming farewell.  
Without tilling for Azania  
There can be no reaping for  
Revolutionary Azania will not bloom.

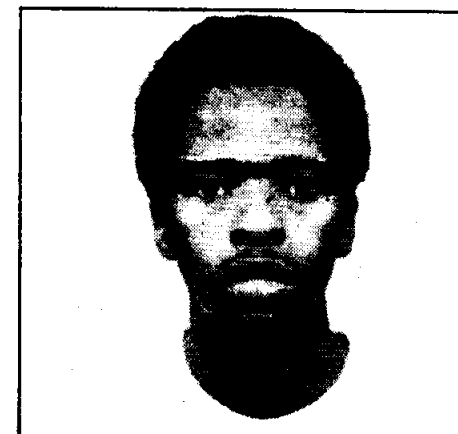
Dreams of triumphant Azanian banners  
With no blood to dye them  
Will never come true.  
Rather than sitting and talking  
Better be up and doing  
People who cling to life  
Likewise part in sorrow.

They first live then die,  
Yet have no idea of what  
Heroism death can stir in men's hearts.

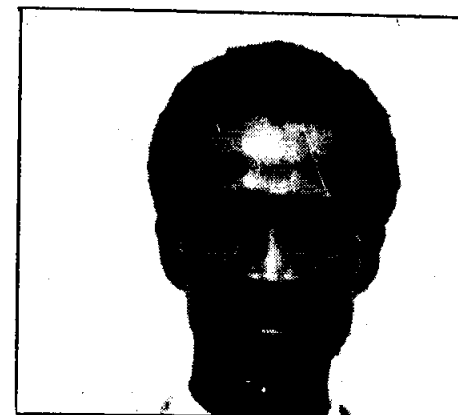
Do not pin hopes on others  
The cause of Azania,  
Of life and death  
Is spread before each one of us.  
The path to Azania is there for each to tread.

So take up your arms,  
Let's go home to Azania.  
There's war to be fought amongst men,  
Blood to be spilled in South Africa  
In order to create Azania.

Those already parted  
May already have parted forever,  
Circumstances in Azania demand death,  
So Azanians strive to fight  
In their country of birth  
And to die meaningfully  
For their country Azania.



**APLA Field Commander, Cde Jabu Mdungo who fell in a gun-battle with South African police in Port Elizabeth**



**Cde Mongezi Caka, another hero of the Port Elizabeth Battle**

# They don't die

By Bojana Jordan

If and when a revolutionary passes on,  
It is to another world beyond knowing,  
That's where his ancestors are waiting,  
Don't call it death but just passing,  
For a warrior is not the dying type,  
Revolutionaries don't die but pass on  
Revolutionary spirit to other generations.

If and when he is no more,  
Let there be no big deal about it,  
For people come and go, and so do lives,  
For revolutionaries don't cry over lost life,  
Let there be renewal and dedication to fight on  
Because his remains only serve to fertilize revolution.

As for those remaining, hold on!  
Keep the flag flying and struggle on!  
Don't waiver but be fortified even more!  
For the future and the land are yours galore.  
Hang in there, for the prize is sweetest!  
Freedom is the only prize for the boldest!  
Izwe Lethu — the land is ours all the time.



**The late Cde "TM"**

## ZANU-PF, PAC, ANC, BCM, UM hail gallant TM

By Priscilla Sherren

THE Zimbabwean ruling party ZANU (PF), and the South African liberation movements and anti-apartheid groups have all paid tribute to the fallen former APLA Commander, Cde Templeton "TM" Ntantala, who they described as a national hero.

At a memorial service in Harare, ZANU (PF) Politburo member and Cabinet minister Dr Herbert Eshewokunze led Zimbabweans, South Africans and people from other countries in singing an emotional church song he remembered as the favourite of the now late Cde Ntantala.

And then he declared: "I would like to remember Cde 'TM' as a man who maintained that force had to be met with force."

PAC National Executive Council member Cde Elliot Mfaza, who had known and worked with Cde Ntantala since the PAC formation, described the late former APLA Commander as "a dedicated PAC stalwart, who left us a rich legacy".

An ANC representative declared: "Cde 'TM' will be remembered as a fighter who refused to surrender. He wanted to push the struggle forward all the time".

The BMC(A) and the Unity Movement representatives described the late Cde Ntantala as a dedicated son of Azania who had died fighting and from whose example all freedom fighters had to learn.

The memorial service, organised by the PAC branch in Harare, was attended by diplomats, including Palestinian Ambassador to Zimbabwe Cde Ali Hallmeh, who also paid tribute to the late former APLA Commander.