

The late Mangaliso Sobukwe



"We do not hate the European because he is white. We hate him because he is an oppressor in South Africa. And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok and not the person who wields it."



AZANIA COMBAT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY [APLA]

ISSUE 4

QUARTERLY 1987

INSIDE



- PAC army attacks on the rise.
- Boers fear APLA's operational style
- Townships become operational zones.
- How the PAC army was born and

APLA IN ACTION

"You will hear from us not only today, but also tomorrow, the next day, the next week . . . until Azania is liberated," PAC fighter warns Pretoria minutes after a daring APLA grenade attack in Soweto recently.



Contents

Editorial.....	2
APLA hits 65 cops in single attack.....	3
APLA methods worry Pretoria.....	5
Townships become war zones.....	6
Mlambo blasts 'black-on-black' violence.....	8
How POQO became APLA.....	10
Mangaliso Sobukwe re-visited.....	16
POETRY: Don't call me South Africa.....	19
White newsmen attack APLA.....	21
People's forum.....	22
Historical wars for Azania.....	24
Intelligence file.....	26
Children's Corner.....	30
And pictures galore.....	

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

COVER DESIGN AND MAGAZINE LAYOUT BY THE CREATIVE ARTS UNIT OF THE
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY'S POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

Published by the PAC Military Wing, APLA/POQO
P.O. Box 2412, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

EDITORIAL

APLA selects white targets

THE Africanist Congress of Azania is not an organisation that says one thing and does something else. The PAC has extended this fine tradition to its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

At its formation on April 6 1959, the PAC propounded what it called an "unfolding programme" to fight Pretoria, envisaging one campaign leading to another.

It is now a matter of record that the PAC-led Status Campaign (to free Africans mentally) in January 1960 had led to another PAC campaign, the Decisive Positive Action Campaign Against the Pass Laws, some 80 days later. And from there, the freedom road had led to the emergence of the PAC-inspired black consciousness movement and directly from that to Soweto on June 16 1976.

The pattern has been "one campaign leading to another in a never ending stream", as promised by the PAC. When therefore we say the current situation in Racist South Africa (RSA) is not a spontaneous affair but a logical development of the sustained and principled struggle of the African masses, particularly since the PAC formation, we base ourselves on these undeniable historical fact.

Then the PAC is on record as having stated that it would not engage in any activity if that activity would not help increase the fighting capacity of the African masses. A look at the PAC's Status Campaign and the anti-pass campaign will show that these two PAC actions decisively increased the fighting capacity of the oppressed masses, both ideologically and organisationally, and the 1976 uprisings went a step further in this regard.

Now is 1987, which has been declared by the PAC as the year of Arming the African masses, particularly militarily, to increase basically their physical fighting capacity. To this point so far, the PAC has remained absolutely consistent.

Arming and training the African masses internally remains PAC's most important programme today, and hundreds of the oppressed masses of our country have so far benefitted from this programme, which in actual fact began in earnest at the beginning of last year.

In its military programme, the PAC went further when the Chairman Johnson Mlambo ordered APLA combatants to strike the main blow at enemy soldiers and police because, in the words of his late predecessor Cde John Nyathi Pokela, "the war must be fought at the level of mortals".

APLA forces, including the internally trained and armed African masses are doing exactly that, and Pretoria is already finding it extremely difficult to hide the fact that its security forces are direct targets of frequent PAC guerilla attacks, in which a number of enemy casualties are now known to have been sustained.

As we mark the 11th commemoration of the 1976 national uprisings, which began in Soweto, we pay tribute to the gallant APLA combatants, many of whom are direct products of those uprisings.

It is common course that nowadays we throw bullets as opposed to stones in 1976 because now we are no longer just angry crowds of protesting students, but soldiers operating in well-organised military units against carefully selected strategic targets.

It is our express purpose to kill more and more South African security forces, particularly the boers, because unless whites, who have been living in comparative peace since the Anglo-Boer war in 1902, are made to feel unsafe and until they are themselves killed, they will still feel safe to continue killing the Africans.

And in fact, although some whites are among the security forces known to have been killed by APLA men, time has almost come when for every African being killed by the racist security forces, a white person must be killed.

One Racist One Bullet!

Phambili Nomzabaizwe Wabantu!

Viva PAC, Viva APLA!

**Izwe Lethu
I-Africa.**

REAL GUERILLA WAR HOTS UP

APLA operations increase as record 65 cops are hit in single PAC guerilla attack

GUERILLAS of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania recently carried out a simple but most dramatic attack ever seen in South Africa when a hand-grenade thrown from a moving vehicle killed a budding policeman and injured a record 64 others — the biggest number of security forces ever wounded in a single guerilla attack in South Africa.

Just minutes after the attack at the parade ground of the Soweto Municipal Police Training College, a caller telephoned a Johannesburg based international news agency to announce that the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC armed wing, had pulled the operation.

Such attacks would continue "until Azania is liberated", said the caller, who was later confirmed to have been an APLA combatant.

In another telephone call to the Johannesburg Star and other news organisations later in the afternoon, the Press was told: "The APLA 'Mission Support Unit' which carried out the attack will keep on with its attacks on the fascist security forces until we win."

"You will hear from us not only today, but also tomorrow, the next day and next week."

The Bureau of Information took note of the APLA warning, but was not prepared to comment, said a bureau spokesman.

An eye-witness told the Sowetan that she had been walking near the police college when she had heard a "deafening explosion".

"A few minutes earlier, I saw policemen being drilled on the college parade ground. All I could see after the blast were policemen sprawled on the ground. There was pandemonium as others woke up and started running in all directions," said the eye-witness.

"I have never heard such a powerful explosion before," she said, adding that she had then seen ambulances speeding towards the scene.

The enemy casualties following this attack brought the confirmed number of South African security forces known to have been hit by APLA guerillas since the beginning of this year to at least 12 dead and 67 wounded.

Eleven of these killed, almost all of them South African Defence Force personnel, were shot in different attacks in and around Alexandra township near

*By Combat Editor
Willie Mazambane*

Johannesburg by APLA men using the now famous Scorpion machine pistols.

Nearly 24 hours after the Soweto police college APLA attack eight South African police officers, three of them whites, were killed when their van collided with a truck in Southeastern Transvaal Province.

The Pretoria police headquarters said the officers had been returning to their stations after a night-shift road-block duty when the collision had occurred.

The three white officers, two of them women, were sitting in the front of the van and five blacks were in the van.

Meanwhile, the racist South African minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, condemned the Soweto police college APLA attack as "a reprehensible and cowardly attack".

The attack, he said, was once again an indication that the enemies of South Africa would use any means to undermine the (racist) law and order in the country.

Police in the meantime cordoned off the scene of the attack and launched a wide search of the surrounding areas in a bid to net the APLA men who lobbed the grenade over the training college's security fence from a moving Toyota bakkie.

The municipal police in two platoons of 36 men each, were being drilled on the college parade ground

From page 3

when the surprise attack on them was carried out.

The college's Commanding Officer, Commandant Pieter de Beer, said he had heard the blast from his office and had immediately looked towards the parade ground only to see his men sprawled on the ground.

"It was not a pretty sight to see my men floored," said the commandant, "but they (the APLA guerrillas are not going to get us down."

1. "If I could have laid my hands on them (the APLA men) I would have thrashed them," Commandant de Beer was quoted as saying in a typical "baas" attitude towards "kaffirs".
2. It is at the Tladi municipal police training college where black municipalities from all over South Africa send hundreds of young men for 13-week training courses to become township police.
3. The APLA attack was the first major guerrilla assault on the police college.

APLA is making them taste their own stew

By Sword Pencil

"THE decks are cleared and the battle must be joined," so said the Late founding president of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Cde Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

That the masses inside Azania are escalating armed attacks on the racist military and security personnel with the unfaltering guidance of the Azanian People's Liberation Army is now a foregone conclusion.

It is also unquestionable that the momentum of the thrust is sustainable. Clearly, this is the vindication of the assertion by the APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, that the fighting capacity of the African people can only be enhanced by arming them.

The racist authorities have disdainfully acceded to this painful reality by misdirecting their anger through mounting escapades against the neighbouring states, when the racists very well know the consequences of sowing the wind — they are reaping the whirlwind.

As Lewis le Grange, then minister of law and order, said last year: "South Africa is facing a revolutionary onslaught of a multi-dimensional nature and banned organisations such as the PAC have been primarily responsible for this onslaught."

The onslaught the South Africans are talking about is the boomeranging of the stink they have been peddling for over 300 years. They know this.

Le Grange went on to say: "The PAC and other banned organisations aim their ability mainly at in-

creasing exploitable situations, the destruction of the government's ability and will be resist and the mobilisation of the people for increased activities against the state."

The poor racist minister could be right in all respects except that he misses the point that the PAC is not 'increasing exploitable situations' but is escalating the revolutionary situations it so painstakingly helped create.

This is so because the PAC and APLA forces have a non-reactive unfolding programme of action. Put differently, this is simply the organisation's commitment to honour its appointment with history. Honour it, yes, it shall.

Here it should be borne in mind that in the crucible of the armed struggle, the sworn aim of the APLA forces will continue to be that of physically eliminating the enemy forces while preserving themselves.

As Zimbabwe's premier, Cde Robert Gabriel Mugabe, once declared: "Boers are afraid to die. They fear death. The more of them you kill the nearer you will get to your goal."

Indeed APLA forces are more than prepared to help the boers taste their own stew by hitting them harder and hardest until final victory.

SA in fear of APLA method of operations

Combat Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa is concerned that more and more guerrillas of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are undergoing military training in several camps in Libya, it was reported here recently.

Pretoria, according to the pro-apartheid newspaper, *The Citizen*, is not just worried about the numbers that are being reportedly trained in Libya,

"but there is concern because the modus operandi of Libyan-trained 'terrorists' differs from that of the ANC cadres, most of whom are Russian-trained or are trained along Russian lines".

Says *The Citizen* (February 23 1987): "Global experience shows that Libyan-trained hit-squads have tended to concentrate on spectacular acts of terrorism such as killings, assassinations and abductions."

Pretoria's concern about the modus operandi of guerrillas of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the PAC military wing, follows claims by the regime that its security forces had recently captured a group of trained members of "the radical pro-PAC Muslim organisation, *Qibla*".

The group is said to have included three of what has come to be known as the "*PAC Athens Group*", which was widely reported as having caused international (meaning Western) concern when the 12 alleged PAC men flew into the Greek capital from Libya on their way to South Africa.

Quoting South African intelligence sources, *The Citizen* say: "Nine of the group are still at large."

The paper goes on to say that an apparent attempt to improve the quality of equipment supplied to PAC groups inside South Africa was noted after the claimed capture of the five PAC-connected men.

The Citizen, which incidentally carried the adverts aimed at tracking down PAC guerrillas who have used *Scorpions* in attacks against racist security forces, goes on to focus on the machineguns which have sent shivers down the spines of the racists in Pretoria.

"Previously, *Scorpions* supplied to the South African 'terrorists' have been antiquated, while those supplied to the PAC group (allegedly captured recently) were new," it says.

The PAC has not commented on *The Citizen's* report in line with its long standing policy of silence on issues relating to its men operating inside South Africa.

SA admits APLA presence but will not acknowledge its armed attacks

RACIST South African police have acknowledged the strong presence of the Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters in South Africa but stubbornly refuse to admit that the APLA men are hitting them, according to Patrick Laurence of the *Weekly Mail* (South Africa).

"Police may, of course, be reluctant to credit the PAC with attacks," says Laurence in an article on the *Mail* (April 24 - 29, 1987) based on the recent grenade attack on the Soweto Municipal Police Training College in which a policeman was killed and 64 others wounded.

Both the racist police and the notorious Bureau for Information have neither confirmed nor disputed reports that Azanian People's Liberation Army combatants had carried out the attack.

They have also chosen to remain permanently tight-lipped on the *Scorpion* attacks by the PAC fighters in several African townships, especially in and around Alexandra near Johannesburg, over the last few months.

"(However), police acknowledge that the PAC has infiltrated fighters and cadres into South Africa," says the *Weekly Mail*, quoting a senior South African security official.

APLA turns townships into operational zones, declares Gora Ebrahim

*Combat Correspondent
in Southern Africa*

THE African townships have become operational zones since the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania stepped up its military activities inside South Africa, the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, has said.

He told a Zimbabwean newspaper in a wide-ranging interview that the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC military wing, was arming and training the African masses internally in line with the PAC position that the struggle could only be fought effectively from within occupied Azania.

"To date, our people, especially those in the townships, have responded militantly to the call that

the struggle must continue to be an internally based one, and we see now that in just 2½ years the African townships have become operational zones.

"The oppressed and dispossessed Azanian masses are now directly confronting the regime's military machinery on almost a daily basis," said Cde Ebrahim.

"We can see that during the last 2½ years the Azanian masses have developed the struggle from one in which stones were used to using cocktail molotovs and small arms and ammunition."

Recently, the Pretoria regime had been compelled to put in newspaper and television advertisements, offering cash reward to anyone with information which could lead to the "Scorpion" machine pistols which had been used by APLA guerillas in recent attacks on security forces.

"The significance of this is that the APLA combatants have successfully deployed this weapon in many parts of the country and have successfully used it without letting any significant number of Scorpions fall into the hands of the enemy."

The PAC chairman and APLA commander-in-chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, had on behalf of the leadership of the organisation declared 1987 the year of arming the African people.

This was in keeping with the teaching by the imprisoned president, Cde Zeph Mothopeng, that "a nation without arms is no nation." It was also in response to the present situation in South Africa where the regime had become increasingly brutal against peaceful protests.



Cde Gora Ebrahim



South African freelance photographer Themba Nkosi, in capturing this frightening scene of boer soldiers calmly standing and chatting just next to their "kill", gives clearer meaning to the PAC belief that "until whites are themselves killed, they will still feel safe to continue killing blacks".

The PAC, said Cde Ebrahim, remained firm in its commitment to the principle that armed struggle was the main form of the struggle in South Africa, and the "arm the people" call by Cde Mlambo was aimed at developing that principle in concrete terms.

Asked why the PAC has criticised the use of the "necklace" as a method of struggle, he said it was necessary for the masses to punish the regime's agents and collaborators, and methods used against "these running dogs of the enemy" had been many, including "necklacing".

"The PAC, in conjunction with mass organisations internally, has now condemned the continued use of the 'necklace' because it was now being used by the enemy and opponents of the Azanian trend to side-track us from focussing the legitimate wrath of the people against Pretoria."

Cde Ebrahim said it was necessary for the struggling masses to clearly know the enemy and unite with all the anti-apartheid forces that could be united to form the broadest possible front against the regime.

Such a front had to be based on the basic position that:

- Apartheid cannot be reformed but destroyed;
- The vehicle for change in South Africa is not the regime but the oppressed and dispossessed African majority;
- The principal form of the struggle is the armed struggle waged from within South Africa by the African masses themselves; and
- The East-West conflict should not be introduced to the liberation struggle in South Africa.

On the diplomatic front, Cde Ebrahim said the PAC

had been contacted by officials from the State Department in Washington and the Foreign Office in London and had told them that the internal struggle in South Africa was the "decisive factor".

"If today there is worldwide revulsion against apartheid it is not because of the sudden international realisation that apartheid is evil, but because of the struggle being waged by the African people internally."

PAC leadership urges APLA to widen war theatre

Combat Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM — The PAC leadership ended an extraordinary session with a communique calling on the Azanian People's Liberation Army to increase its attacks on the racist South African security forces and widen the theatre of the guerilla war against Pretoria.

The regime was no longer able to conceal the growing involvement of APLA combatants in the unprecedented onslaught against Pretoria, said the communique issued at the end of the week-long special session of the Central Committee.

The leadership commended the APLA fighters for the work they were doing in forging ahead with the armed struggle and for their close co-operation with the African masses in all operational areas.

"However, the Central Committee conceded that much work lay ahead and many problems remained to be resolved," said the communique.

The leadership took note that APLA activities were not confined to any one part of occupied Azania, and urged the combatants to continue spreading their operations to cover a much more wider geographical area of the country.

FROM COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S DESK

PAC chairman condemns 'black-on-black violence'

JOHANNESBURG — The chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has spoken very strongly against the so-called black-on-black violence, saying it only benefits the oppressive regime in occupied Azania.

Cde Mlambo, who dwelt at length on the subject recently, said violence among the masses was more than regrettable.

"It is misguided and we strongly condemn it because it benefits the oppressive regime in occupied Azania."

The PAC leader points to the historical basis of a society established by violence and daily maintained by violence, and says "this environment of violence has tainted some opponents of the system, who use the same means against the oppressed, not the oppressor".

He refers to "a complex psychological phenomenon of self-hatred" among some black activists who fear the "all-powerful" SADF and police so much that they see a possible dialogue with Pretoria, and hate those Azanians who differ with them.

Such activists, says Cde Mlambo, are misguided, but potential allies of the liberation movement, and their elimination will not advance the struggle.



Cde Johnson Mlambo

*By Shaun Johnson
and Sefako Nyaka*

"In short, some people don't know who their real enemy is, and abuse our noble principle of non-collaboration as a means of silencing other political tendencies in order to quickly gain political hegemony within the oppressed community."

The PAC leader says approximately 75 per cent of all the deaths, however, can be attributed to the racist State.

"Indirectly, the racists fan and play-up inter-organisational rivalries — one example being the exposure of one Meshack Mabogoane who was found with a hit-list of both AZAPO and UDF activists."

The PAC accepts that the "Africanist-Charterist" divisions which emerged within the African resistance in the 1950s continued to play an important role in the current politics.

But Cde Mlambo insists that the PAC view is that "a political organisation uses persuasion, it does not press-gang people to follow it. In the language of the PAC, 'vanquish your opponent with facts, and not with the knuckle-duster'".

He refers to a statement made by the jailed President Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC to a variety of leaders on Robben Island in 1980 in which he said: "The PAC or ANC, each fighting by itself, could eventually defeat the regime. But if PAC and ANC were united, victory would come much sooner."

Cde Mlambo says the PAC continues to endorse the concept of unity between the external missions of the liberation movements and that unity should be "indivisible and inseparable from the internal resistance unity".

The PAC concern with violence among anti-apartheid activists is reflected in the attitude the Azanian People's Liberation Army forces operating inside South Africa, reports Azania Combat's operational correspondent in Pretoria.

It has been reported here that a senior APLA field commander was shot and wounded in the leg by people suspected to have been political opponents but had not ordered the unit he had been commanding at the time to return fire.

Several APLA field commanders have spoken of a difficult and painful but absolutely necessary task of having to fight both the regime and the so-called black-on-black violence at one and the same time.

The commanders say their experience is that one cannot fight the violence among the people by fighting. And yet one is called upon to fight those among the people who are being used by the regime to perpetrate violence among them.

The PAC is perhaps the only major liberation movement in South Africa which has been totally open, honest and detailed in addressing the issue. It has given clear instructions to its internal political activists and military forces on how to deal with the situation.

It is its wish that everybody else should do the same in the interest of the masses and the struggle.

Book on the life and activities of Johnson Mlambo

A BOOKLET about the life and activities of APLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC chairman Cde Johnson Mlambo has just been published by the London Pan African Association in the British capital.

The booklet, "For the Liberation of Azania", which was edited by Lester Lewis, is being distributed by KTM Books Audio and Visual Limited, Rainbow Co-operative, of London.

"PAC members have been on Robben Island longer than those of any other organisation in South Africa, and those who have come out of the Island alive have gone right back into the frontline of battle," says Lewis in the booklet's introduction.

"After spending 20 years on Robben Island, where he was buried up to his neck and had white prison wardens urinating on his head, Cde Mlambo was drafted by the PAC back into the battle frontline."

"He is a man of steel who has emerged as the chairman of the PAC Central Committee while President Zeph Mothopeng is serving his third term of imprisonment," says Lewis.

The booklet, which includes a brief life background of Cde Mlambo, some of his moving speeches and statements, Lewis' exclusive wide-ranging interview with him and a PAC Roll of Honour, will be reviewed in the next issue of Azania Combat, with specific reference to military issues.

Court hears of PAC military training as Azanyu man is jailed

Combat Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An Azanian National Youth Unity member, who had been in custody for more than a year, was recently jailed for seven years here on charges of terrorism and for furthering the aims of the PAC.

Cde Andile Gusha (24), who said he had been told of PAC military training camps which had "enough soldiers", was given five years for "terrorism" and a further two, to run concurrently with the five, for furthering the PAC aims.

He told a regional magistrates court here that he had felt threatened in South Africa and had decided to leave the country when he had been told by one Cde Stanford Maliwa about alleged PAC military camps in Lesotho. Maliwa was later burned to death by "unknown persons".

The Reverend Moses Moletsane, a minister at St Cyprians in Langa here who described Cde Gusha as a "church server", said he (the Reverend) had presided at Cde Maliwa's memorial service, but was unaware that PAC pamphlets were being distributed at the service.

The magistrate, Mr J.M. Lemmer, said it was clear that Cde Gusha had intended to leave South Africa to attend a military course at PAC training camps. He had also attended a memorial service in Langa where PAC pamphlets "were handed-out".

ONE SETTLER ONE BULLET!

FOCUS ON APLA

'OPERATION VILLA PERI'

POQO became APLA in PAC year of action

IN April 1968, a group of 12 guerillas, selected from the then PAC army military training camp at Senkobo just outside Lusaka, was transported to the Zambian border with Mozambique.

By Combat Editor
Willie Mazambane

Just before the guerillas crossed the border into Mozambique, their weapons, which had previously been confiscated by the Zambian authorities, were restored to them.

They entered Mozambique reportedly on their way to South Africa through the assistance of anti-Portuguese local (Mozambican) guerillas, who in turn expected to receive help from the PAC men in sabotaging the Beira pipeline to the then Rhodesia.

The guerillas came across Portuguese soldiers at Villa Peri and fierce fighting erupted in what came to be known as "Operation Villa Peri" or "The Ho Chi Minh Trail".

It was in that year, the year of *Operation Villa Peri*, that the name of POQO, the early PAC army, was changed to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the modern army of the PAC.

Although the following years were to see the PAC being officially denied transit routes for its guerillas back to South Africa, the APLA guerillas always found ways of getting back to their country because, they believed, "we cannot fly into South Africa".

In November 1972, talks began between the PAC and SWAPO to persuade the Namibian liberation movement to guide APLA units through the Caprivi Strip enroute to South Africa.

Frelimo's accession to power in Mozambique in June 1975 opened up fresh opportunities for APLA guerilla infiltration although there were some pro-



A would-be soldier at a PAC army training camp seen taking an aim.



GETTING ready to open fire during a target shooting perfection exercise at one of the PAC army training camps are two APLA men.

blems along the way.

In the early 1970s, APLA forces at a PAC training camp in Tanzania began a quiet small-scale military training programme, which had a bearing on the infiltration through the Mozambican route.

That training programme, which involved recruits mainly from areas of South Africa situated near the border with Swaziland, may well be said to have been historic when looked at in the light of the current PAC military programme of arming and training the African masses within South Africa.

But what exactly makes that training programme at the then PAC camp in Tanzania historic?

It is historic because when in October 1975 three APLA members flew from Tanzania to Swaziland where they drove to the border with South Africa, that training programme shifted from East Africa right to the door steps of apartheid and settler-colonialism.

The three men immediately began a small military training scheme for Azanians at Mkalampere, a disputed territory on the South African border with Swaziland.

"They started with providing basic lessons on firearms, naming parts of the 303 rifles which were being used in the programme and showing the trainees how to aim," writes Tom Lodge in his book, "Black Politics in South Africa since 1945".

"They were unable to begin target practice because the consequent explosive sound of the rifles could have attracted Swazi or South African police."

After a month, says Lodge, the APLA men obtained a couple of air rifles which they could allow the recruits to fire.

"Training was suspended for six weeks over December 1975 and January 1976 because of the presence in the area of South African soldiers, but immediately resumed with their departure," con-

tinues Tom Lodge.

Meanwhile, PAC officials were finding it difficult to persuade some neighbouring states to allow transit of arms and reinforcements through their territories. The OAU, for its part, was reluctant to give the PAC any weaponry unless these states agreed to PAC proposals.

While these problems were being addressed, APLA forces were understandably becoming a little impatient in the training camps, naturally resulting in some problems at times.

Observes Lodge: "Chances (at the time) that APLA guerillas would be able to use their newly learnt military skills appeared to recede further and further."

It is such problems — clearly beyond the power of the PAC to resolve — which left the organisation with no choice but to shift stress to internal training and fighting from within South Africa itself.

It must go on record that APLA forces have always understood and sympathised with the neighbouring states in regard to the problems of military routes. APLA would have acted the same if it were in the position of these states in view of Pretoria's aggressive policies.

It remains APLA's belief, as a matter of fact, that a war fought from within South Africa itself is not only more practicable and effective, but denies Pretoria ability to mobilise military manpower for aggression abroad.

As *Azania Combat* chronicles the dynamics of APLA, it cannot but highlight this correct approach to armed struggle, the PAC army's dynamic and clear understanding of the operational situation and this wonderful army's ability to fight on in defiance of any problem.



POQO uses pangas and home-made bombs. APLA now can use tanks and other heavy stuff, but the war is a guerilla one, involving generally the use of small weapons.

'MESSAGE OF PAARL'

POQO record is indisputable

AT the heart of Boland Region in South Africa's Cape Province lies the town of Paarl, a rich agricultural area dominated by fruit and vine cultivation, whose harvest has resulted in some of the world's finest wines for many years.

Right behind that agricultural richness, there has always been evident intensity of African anger, protest, challenge and confrontation.

That is Paarl, that town which may never forget the name POQO for it was right there in 1962 that the early PAC army left a landmark.

Armed attacks on members of the racist white minority, police and other collaborators with the regime took place in Paarl just under a year after the late PAC chairman and APLA commander-in-chief, Cde John Nyati Pokela, carried out an assignment from the Working Committee of the then PAC National Executive to direct POQO.

Panic in the white minority camp became evident throughout the land of apartheid and settler-colonialism, sparking off unprecedented debate in the racist corridors, offices, streets, everywhere.



IN our previous issue article headlined "POQO REMEMBERED: Truth About the Early PAC Army", Azania Combat correspondent Lizwi Dumezweni dealt at length with POQO's historical foundations, the alleged mystery surrounding its organisational and operational methods and the dynamics in general of this early PAC military force.

In this issue, Azania Combat's Political Editor Romero Daniels does not seek to re-address issues already dealt with the previous issue article, but only re-visits POQO with the view to explain the dynamics of the PAC army in its present form — the Azanian People's Liberation Army. The reaction in Pretoria today to APLA's organisational and operational methods only reflects the reactions to those of POQO in the 1960s.

One of the earliest warnings came from none other than the head of the Paarl Riots Commission, Mr Justice Snyman, who told the racists that unless they appreciated the message of the "riots", they were doomed.

"We must not only change our attitude, but we must also find a policy that is acceptable to the African, or find a way to make our policies acceptable to him," said the man at the head of what came to be known as the Snyman Commission.

The message of Paarl had to be appreciated, said Mr Justice Snyman, "and the attitude which had been built over 300 years must be broken down in less than 300 days".

From Mr Julius Lewin's bench was: "In my judgement, the events at Paarl mark the entry of our country into a new phase, a phase in which the forces of security will constantly have to be on alert."

Condemning POQO men to jail in June 1963, Mr Justice Hiemstra said "These sentences will no doubt leave bitterness in the hearts of many Bantu people for a long time to come."

Observed liberal writer Tom Lodge: "The Paarl insurrection was the one instance in which the PAC and POQO preparations developed, although prematurely, into a full-scale uprising.

"POQO/PAC violence fell into four categories — defensive murders of policemen and suspected informers, killings with a terrorist function, killings of whites who seemed to have been chosen indiscriminately and assassinations or attempts on the lives of bantustan chiefs and supporters," continues Lodge.

"By late 1962, judging from the evidence of men involved in the POQO attack at Paarl, POQO members were conscious of a plan for a nationally-co-ordinated insurrection, the directions for which would come from above."

Said Lodge in conclusion: "The Paarl uprising still represents the occasion which came closest to the apocalyptic ideal of POQO and other movements of a black insurrection carried into the heart of the white cities of South Africa."

That was 1962, the year of Paarl, and that was exactly 15 years before Major-General W. Black, the then director-general (operations) of the SADF, was to observe: "We (racists) already exist in political, economic, ideological and military circumstances usually associated with a state of war."

The observation by Major-General Black, made in 1977, was followed the same year by another from the then Chief of the SADF, General Magnus Malan, who said: "South Africa is involved in a total war. Every white man is involved and has a role to play."

Azania war must be long says Mgweba

Combat Reporter

THE Azanian liberation war must be long because its shortening will most definitely be in the interest of the Pretoria regime, a PAC central committee member, Cde Themba Mgweba, has said.

He told PAC members and supporters at a recent Party get-together that a protracted war would enable the organisation to adequately prepare the African masses mentally and physically for the independence of Azania.

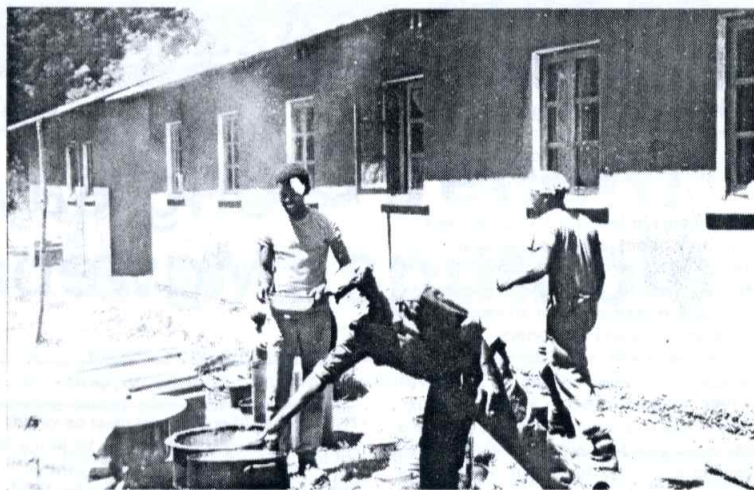
"This war must be long, and it cannot be shortened because that would be in the interest of the boers," said Cde Mgweba. "We have to give ourselves time to prepare the masses and our army members for the liberation of the country."

Guests at the function included the Defence Secretary, Cde Sabelo Phama (who was the main guest), the Foreign Affairs Secretary, Cde Gora Ebrahim, the Finance Secretary, Cde Joe Moabi, other senior party officials and senior APLA officers and cadres.



AZANIA COMBAT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY [APLA]



Democracy everywhere, including in welfare

Democracy in APLA — the people's army

From APLA Political Commissariat

IT has always been the fine tradition of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) to provide democracy for all its members.

Having summed up its own and world revolutionary experiences, APLA concluded that its fighters had to keep their democratic rights if their enthusiasm and creative responsibility were to be maintained and their initiative and fighting ability mobilised.

The PAC military wing has always regarded democracy in its ranks as the basic principle of army political work and a concrete expression of mass line in army building. Democracy in APLA is practiced in three main fields — the political, the economic and the military.

Political Democracy:

All APLA cadres receive equal treatment politically. There is clear division of responsibility and there is mutual respect among all the forces.

All have a right to make suggestions and to criticise higher authorities. However, it is an offence to express criticisms outside the army. At the same time, all have the right and duty to combat anything which serves to harm APLA and the PAC interests. All unhealthy practices and tendencies are persistently eradicated.

Economic Democracy:

APLA sees economy as the decisive factor in human development. Its members, therefore, actively take part in the management of their own welfare. Officers and soldiers, under normal circumstances, are invited for inspection of the army accounts.

All officers and soldiers practice prudence and modesty in their life-style. In the PAC army, there are no "privileged comrades" or "senior comrades" or "chief comrades" or "special comrades". All are comrades unqualified.

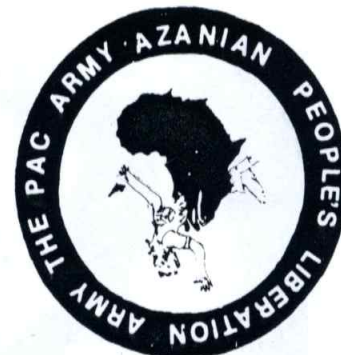
Military Democracy:

In camp, in training and in combat, officers and soldiers learn from and help each other. In meetings, the two are encouraged to discuss fighting techniques and tasks and all come up with ideas to add perfection to the PAC fighting machine.

After every operation, if conditions permit, officers and soldiers come together to evaluate performance in order to carry forward the good points and correct mistakes for the success of future operations.

These democratic practices, however, do not seek to replace the golden rule: "Obey orders in all your actions. To carry out an order blindly is to violate that order."

Such is the fine tradition of APLA, the pride of the Azanian people. The PAC army does not provide these



democratic rights simply because it may be said that it is fashionable to do so. It provides them because it must cease to be a true people's army without them.

APLA is in no doubt that democracy in the army brings creativeness and initiative of the forces into play. It helps promote liberatory tendencies and thinking while eradicating the incorrect ones. It raises the political consciousness and fighting capacity of the whole army.

And it must be said without any fear of self-contradiction that the democratic rights enunciated above can only be guaranteed in a true people's army and there is only one such army in occupied Azania — the Azanian People's Liberation Army. There is no other one in South Africa.



Even a small APLA unit gets some report



Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe: "We do not hate the European because he is white. We hate him because he is an oppressor (in South Africa). And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok and not the one who wields it."

Beneath the faded pictures, the ghost of Sobukwe rises

*By Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg*

AN unmarked office on the top floor of a building in Johannesburg serves as the headquarters of fledgling movement which represents a long-standing South African political tradition: Africanism.

On the wall are fading photographs of the late Robert Sobukwe, founding president of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, and Anton Lembede, the late guru of the Africanists and first president of the African National Congress Youth League.

"We are an Africanist organisation," says Nhlanhla

Lebea, national organiser of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu).

The Africanist tradition emphasises the primacy of African nationalism in the struggle for liberation, downgrades the role of class divisions and is suspicious of the role of white liberals in movements espousing the cause of Africans.

"We believe in rallying the African people — and all the oppressed sections of South African society — on the basis of a common nationality around the credo of African nationalism," Lebea says.

The door to the unmarked office was locked. It would presumably not have been opened if Lebea had not been told by an intermediary that a Weekly Mail journalist wanted to speak to him.

An Oxford dictionary lay on the table, indicating that Lebea and the Azanyu vice-president, former Robber Island prisoner Molefe Modogla, took their task of reading and interpreting the writings and speeches of the founders of Africanism seriously.

"We are aware of the conditions of exploitation under the capitalist system and we are mobilising people on the basis of African nationalism regardless of class cleavages," Lebea says.

"We have a situation here where the African people are oppressed regardless of class," He underlines the point verbally by repeating it: "They are oppressed as a people."

The present phase of the struggle is "anti-colonial". It is therefore a "nationalist struggle" for rule by Africans.

Membership of Azanyu is open to all Africans "as defined by us," he says.

"We define any African as any person who is indigenous to the continent and any person who pays loyalty to Africa and to the democratic norms of the African majority.

The influence of Sobukwe seemingly reaches across the years as Lebea talks. His words recall those of Sobukwe in his opening address to the PAC inaugural conference in April 1959 after the Africanists broke from the ANC in November 1958.

Sobukwe said then: "We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Afrika (sic) and who is prepared to accept democratic rule of an African majority, being regarded as an African."

He added: "We guarantee no minority rights, because we think of individuals, not groups... Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Afrika. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree.

Lebea, however, is quick to deny that Azanyu is the PAC in a new guise.

"We are not a front of some kind for the PAC," he says. "We happen to have similar perception on the problems facing the Azanian masses." But Azanyu, it seems, is rooted in the Africanist tradition.

"The African people have been dispossessed of their land for economic reasons by European settlers. It is a colonial question," Lebea maintains.

Azanyu is struggling to achieve the eminence of its ideological precursors.

But it is nourished by a tradition with deep roots and the intellectual heritage of Lembede and Sobukwe.



Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe: "We are not leading the masses to death, but we are leading them to life abundant."

PAC WOMEN'S FILE

APLA Code on women very clear

By Combat Political Editor
Romero Daniels

THE Azania People's Liberation Army (APLA), the PAC military wing, is clear and unequivocal when it comes to how male and female fighters should relate to each other and how they should conduct themselves.

It is stated without any reservation in APLA's code of Discipline that: "Men should not take liberties with women, and women should not use their feminine beauty of charm to lure men into compromising situations."

APLA forces are required by order to put across this principle of the masses everywhere, in every village, every township, every town and every city,

where the PAC fighters operate. It is a serious offence to violate the Code.

This APLA fine tradition has its basis on the teaching of the PAC that members "should develop and show true respect for African womanhood and demonstrate in practice and in theory sex equality..."

African women in South Africa are suffering from double oppression, that is, they are suffocating under white minority rule as part of the oppressed African majority while suffering from male chauvinism. But they are also the most ruthlessly exploited under the settler-colonial capitalist mode of economy.

For African women, therefore, it is suffering all the way. Historical experience says those who suffer most fight more than those who suffer less. APLA's Code of Discipline is designed to concretise that experience by making women fight, and fight even more than their male counterparts, if they can.

But it is the PAC army's belief that while men should support the women in their efforts to transform themselves, the main force in that struggle for transformation is the women themselves, in the final analysis.

USA attitude towards PAC

Combat Correspondent

HARARE — The United States sees the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania as a "devotee of armed struggle", the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker has said.

He was replying to a question concerning the PAC during a telephone interview laid on for Zimbabwean and foreign journalists based in Harare.

Asked by one of the foreign newsmen if United States officials had met any PAC leader regarding the situation in South Africa, he said Washington had been in contact with the PAC and other mass organisations in South Africa.

"I might mention in the case of the PAC that ...

it is a devotee of armed struggle and, furthermore, we have the same problems about terrorism. So talking to people doesn't mean we agree with them," said Dr Crocker.

State Department officials have met PAC representatives at the request of Washington, but the contact has produced nothing that may be called agreement or common approach in tackling the South African issue.

REVOLUTIONARY POETRY

Please, do not call me South Africa

By Ahmed Sheikh
of Senegal

I am Azania
Land of black folks
Grain grown
When stones were still as soft as butter
I am Azania
Land of Zanj
Truth made redundant
By the tyrant's gag
I am Azania
I ran wild and free
I tamed iron
Long before the steel-eyed plunderers came
I've seen kingdoms rise
And I've seen kingdoms fall
I once stretched my hands
Up to the coast of Somalia
Dip deep by the great walls of Zimbabwe
There my name is entombed
I am Azania
Once land of hospitality
I lunged my arms wide open
To Captain Diaz and Vasco da Gama
For I thought them lost
We sang and ate
Danced and laughed
For I had plenty to give
And I knew not their design
Then one day
One infamous day in 1652
The treacherous seas belched forth
Three drunken ships at Table Bay
Dromedaries, Heiger, Goede Hoop
As dusk was inching in
We met
We clashed
Their ribs into our assegais
My sons and daughters fell too
In a hail of settlers' bullets
Battles of yesteryear
Are engraved in my memory
I praise you Sons and Daughters of
Thaba Busiu
Isandlwana
Sandile's Kap
Keiskama Hoek
Blood River
I praise you all
I am Azania
Land of black folks
I bend but do not break

My name itself
A platform and programme
I scattered the white mist
Over Kliptown

I am Azania
Mangaliso Sobukwe heard my call
Then there was Sharperville

I am Azania
The name reconciled with itself
In the deeds of Bantu ka Biko
Nyati Pokela
Uncle Zeph Mothopeng
The name wrapped up
A forest of black fists in Soweto

I am Azania
Battered flesh in the Bantustans
Sturdy voices of Robben Island

I am Azania
The mine
That ventilates back its own breath
Sweat
Tears and blood
Trapped in gold particles

I am Azania
Moan made murmur
Murmur made cry
Cry made shriek
Shriek drilling the settler's ear

I am Azania
The fierce black bull
In the tormentor's dream
I am that black dot
On the boers' white history books

I am Azania
Black consciousness unbound
Only the pure I take
For I have no time
For liberal hypocritical minds

I am Azania
The meeting point of
Pen, Chisel, Brush, Hammer and Gun

I am Azania
Land of Zanj
Burning truth
Charring the tyrant's gag
Truth made dream
The dream made true
Please, do not call me South Africa!

Azanyu member challenges the white SA journalist over the APLA strength

JOHANNESBURG — The estimation of the strength of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) by the white South African journalist called Howard Barrell has been strongly challenged here by a member of the Azanian National Youth Unit (Azanyu)

Barrell, a journalist with the so-called *Agenda Press* (South Africa), did his "estimation" of the strength of the PAC army in an article on the *Weekly Mail* of December 12 1986 headlined "Weighing up the ANC"

In part he said: "...The military potential of the Pan Africanist Congress is negligible. APLA/Poqo has a total of about 400 guerillas."

The Azanyu member, Cde Themba "Mangaliso" Godi, in an article said: "I took strong exception to Howard Barrell's estimation of the strength of APLA/Poqo."

He told Barrell in the article (*Weekly Mail* January 9-15, 1987) that "while not claiming to be authority on the PAC, one cannot but doubt the authenticity of your estimation."

"When one takes into consideration the tremendous strides the PAC has taken to improve its support and image in the country, one is led to believe that it cannot today be repeated that the 'PAC is not a factor' in South Africa."

"When one evaluates the great strides taken by the

PAC in reactivating its internal wing — we live in the townships and rub shoulders with the daily increasing numbers of PAC supporters, some of whom are open about it — one cannot dispute its cruciality to Azania," said Cde Godi.

Howard Barrell has made it his biggest job to write against the PAC and its army, and his most important task to manufacture favourable stories about others, some of whom have themselves expressed doubts about the credibility of such stories.

In the story being challenged by the Azanyu member, he says guerillas of some other movement are being given conventional military training to form what he (Barrell) calls "the nucleus of the post-apartheid army".

Says Themba Godi in reply: "Building castles in the air. This reminds me of a like-minded organisation which also had about 20 000 cadres (mainly in Zambia) kept as a conventional army waiting for the liberation of their country."

"Remember, history is full of victims of self-delusion," said the Azanyu member.

Meanwhile, the PAC and its army, APLA, have not made any official comment on the so-called estimation by Howard Barrell.

Israeli arms collaboration

TUNIS — The claim by Israel that no new military contracts will be signed by the Zionist State with South Africa is meaningless unless existing contracts and their duration are made public, the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim, has said.

He said this in a Press statement issued here recently while attending an Arab League conference where the PAC foreign affairs secretary made history by addressing a full session of the league's ministerial council.

Cde Ebrahim was responding to reports from Washington that under pressure from the United States, Zionist Israel was to phase out its arms deals with South Africa "gradually and without fuss". This was reportedly going to include an end to the transfer of Israeli military technology to South Africa.

SA white Press join forces with Info Bureau in attacking APLA

Combat Correspondent

TWO South African newspapers — the *Johannesburg Star* and the *Weekly Mail* — have made it their serious occupation to convince their readers and the world that the PAC has "a total of only 450 guerillas and trainees".

In almost every military-related story about the PAC or its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), it has become common to see the PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama, being addressed as "chief of the 450 PAC guerillas and trainees".

The 450-guerilla theory was originated by one Howard Barrell, a South African white liberal journalist working for something called "*Agenda Press*" and was later picked up by some old man called Robin Drew, who still finds himself better in journalism than in the superb old-aged homes of South Africa reserved for whites like him.

It is this Robin Drew, head of an *Argus* bureau, who found it convenient to use the theory in a recent story in the *Star* which was considered by the PAC as highly provocative, dangerously misleading and smelling of the South African Bureau of Information's propaganda.

Because the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim, has already dismissed the bulk of the *Star's* disinformation stuff about the PAC, *Azania Combat* finds it totally unnecessary to give a detailed response to the 450-guerilla nonsense.

Suffice it to say all of them — Howard Barrell and Robin Drew — would probably be the world's most stupid twits to expect the PAC to give the correct figures about APLA membership because that would most obviously be providing intelligence data to Pretoria.

Such data is obviously being sought by the regime, and Pretoria would naturally be most pleased if the 450-guerilla story were to strike response from the PAC.

As for Robin Drew and Howard Barrell, the two gentlemen must perhaps be booking themselves tickets to somewhere, but certainly not a "liberated Azania".



THE People's Republic of China has trained hundreds of APLA combatants since the early 1970s. Here the PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama, is welcomed by a senior Chinese Communist Party leader during a visit to Beijing.

Azania Combat is for Cde Ordinary

Dear Editor,

The predictors of doom to *Azania Combat* have been doomed by the magazine's survival, the consistency of its appearance, its objectivity and factual accuracy and its determined march forward. Never has a magazine confounded so many an enemy.

Azania Combat is a source of pride, for its powerful impact cuts across all in such a manner that no one can ignore it, nor could the magazine have failed to earn itself respect from both friend and foe alike.

As an APLA combatant, I am particularly proud because the magazine is not only truly the eyes and ears of the Azanian people's armed forces, but truly their mouthpiece.

I like the style with which information is communicated — generally short stories containing short paragraphs and short sentences. But, even more importantly, the use of simple English language which is just perfect for Cde Ordinary.

Jonas Madlagusha,
PAC army camp



What about more political stuff?

Dear Editor,

Your magazine (*Azania Combat*) makes good reading to me. I even feel sometimes that perhaps it should have more than the usual 32 pages.

However, I must be frank to state that I find it just too military. Can't we have some more political stories, complete with analysis and your own conclusions?

Priscilla Sherren,
London

The Editor replies:

YOUR observations are quite understandable. It is true that we normally concentrate mainly on military issues, the reason being that Azania Combat, as the name implies, is an army magazine which is expected to deal with military issues. In fact, sometimes we feel we are not military enough in our editorial columns.

But at the same time we agree that we just couldn't do without political stories. Hence the magazine has a Political Editor. We definitely need political stories because, as the saying goes, "war is the continuation of politics by other means".

And in this Azania Combat issue, we have sought to go more political than we have done in any previous issue of the magazine. This is a special issue dedicated to the Azanian People's Liberation Army, whose political foundations and military methods must be accurately reflected and clearly understood.

However, we cannot remain permanently over-political because politics is the business of our sister magazine, Azania News, the PAC official organ. Where situations call for political analysis, Azania Combat, as usual, will respond accordingly.

Quotable Quotes

Cde Pokela:

"The PAC aims at taking over state power in South Africa and wants to use that state power to develop and structure a socialist society in Azania. We will carry out our campaign and we are doing it in our own time."

Cde Johnson Mlambo,

PAC chairman and APLA Commander-in-Chief:

"To our women, youth, peasants, workers and other communities, the PAC recognises your contributions in your respective fronts. You are different battalions in one army of self-same struggle."

Cde Johnson Mlambo,
APLA Commander-in-Chief:

"The ability of a revolutionary force to survive is itself progress under certain conditions, and we owe this ability to the fact that the PAC and the Azanian people are one."

Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe,
Late PAC founding president:

"History has taught us that a group in power has never voluntarily relinquished its position. It has always been forced to do so. And we do not expect miracles to happen in South Africa."

Cde Steve Bantu Biko,
Late black consciousness leader:

"South Africa is our country and all of it belongs to us. The arrogance that makes white people to travel all the way from Holland to come and Balkanise our country and shift us around has to be destroyed. Our kindness has been misused and our hospitality turned against us."

Cde Edwin Makoti,
PAC Publicity and Information Secretary:

"As we march into the theatre of war, we are required to clearly answer one question which determines the nature of our struggle: In whose interest should state power be wielded? This is the rallying call of our war of liberation, and requires a practical answer, which can only be supplied by the battlefield."



HISTORICAL WARS FOR AZANIA

Arms always key to effective resistance

THIS year (1987) has been declared by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania as the Year of Arming the African Masses. Special correspondent Sello Tello, in this Azania Combat column normally handled by the APLA Political Department staff, goes down the corridor of time to find the historical basis of this 1987 PAC declaration. And as he goes down the memory lane, he finds the foundations of Cde Zeph Mothopeng's famous line: "A nation without arms is no nation".

FROM the onset, firearms were crucial in the establishment of settler-colonialism in South Africa.

It was therefore not accidental that the ability of African communities to resist this type of colonialism in South Africa, particularly in the 19th century, was always characterised by possession and use of firearms.

The protracted resistance offered by the Xhosas in the Cape Province and the resilience of the smaller Southern Sotho communities in the interior of the country are just two of the most dramatic illustrations of this fact.

The Zulus, for their part, were always suspected by the settler-colonialists of harbouring many caches of arms, occasionally using them for spectacular surprise attacks on the foreign invaders. This, however, did not mean that Africans in the Natal Province could compete equally with the settlers regarding arms arsenals.

One stumbling block to African arms expansion was the British colonial administration's tough restrictions on arms sales to the African people. Such restrictions still exist in present day South Africa and have, in fact, been much more toughened.



A YOUNG Cde Zeph Mothopeng, who during those days originated the famous line: "A nation without arms is no nation".

However, Africans in the Natal around 1877 were subsequently able to secretly purchase firearms, using cash wages paid to them as labourers at the Kimberley diamond fields. This resulted in major political repercussions to the European invaders.

Acquisition of firearms lifted African hopes in the resistance to settler-colonialism while making the colonial authorities nervous.

Not very long, the Natal colonial authorities began campaigning for a General Disarmament Proclamation, and in this they succeeded in 1872.

The fears and attitudes of the settlers were perhaps best summed up by their declaration: "When the kaffirs get guns, they fancy themselves as equals of their white rulers and neighbours, and they are prepared, as we have seen in the case of Langaibalele's people, to assume an attitude of stubborn disobedience and defiance which must sooner or later result in rebellion and bloodshed."

In the same year (1872), Langaibalele expressed a sense of independence by ignoring the Natal promulgation to register firearms. The colonial authorities reacted fiercely in a bid to pre-empt any subsequent challenge to their power.

Langaibalele was hunted down by a heavily-armed large colonial force across the entire Transkei and subsequently forced into Basotholand where he was captured.

This brought back hopes to the settler-colonialists, whose security, frontier expansion and prosperity seemed to be inextricably intertwined with their suppression of and domination over the indigenous African majority.

A leading Natal newspaper then commented: "We (the Europeans) believe in the divinely purposed supremacy of the whites over the blacks, and all history interprets this belief."

However, the Natal and boer forces were not until the metropolitan international later in the 1870s able to establish an unquestioned hegemony over the Africans while the Afrikaners in the Transvaal existed rather tenuously in the interior.

The colonialists in the Cape also were not in full control of "their" border zones, nor really capable of administering "their" trans-frontier African "responsibilities" until well into the 1880s.

Further, while the Europeans possessed all the potential technology as well as firepower to conquer all of South Africa, the variety of colonial groupings involved prevented the working out of a unified white policy on such crucial issues of settlement as defence and African administration.

But such colonial divisions were not just disagreements among the European colonial invaders, but a direct result of stubborn African resistance. More importantly, they were a result of African defiance of all odds to acquire arms of war for a more effective resistance, a more determined fight and, in two words, an armed struggle.

It is therefore historically logical that President Zeph Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was to observe some 70 years later: "A nation without arms is no nation."

MILITARY BRIEFS

SADF personnel in mass suicides

JOHANNESBURG — Three times as many racist servicemen attempted suicide in the settler-colonial South African Defence Force than had died in military operations and training exercises last year, it has been revealed here.

A total of 362 racist national servicemen tried to kill themselves last year alone, according to figures released in the South African parliament by fascist Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

This is three times the 115 servicemen reported by Pretoria to have been killed in operations and exercises during the same period. A total of 24 SADF personnel committed suicide during that year and these are 18 national servicemen, four Permanent Force and two Citizen Force personnel.

Bots prison warden charged with aiding two PAC escapees

From Combat's Legal Affairs Correspondent

LOBATSE — A Botswana State prison warden, Winston Ditiwa, who is alleged to have assisted two PAC men in a dramatic escape from custody here on June 4 last year, has been told by a senior magistrate that he has a case to answer.

An argument by his attorney, Mr Liso Ngcongco, that the detention of the two escapees, Cde Junior Majova and Ebrahim Desai, had been unlawful has already been dismissed by senior magistrate Mr Yusuf Petkar.

Ditiwa's attorney had submitted that his client had had no case to answer because Botswana Assistant Attorney-General Mr Samuel Afful, appearing for the State, had failed to satisfactorily prove an essential element that the detention of the two PAC men had been lawful.

When the two escaped from custody on charges of possession of quantities of arms of war, Press reports said it had been believed that they had been picked up by a PAC guerilla rescue team.

INTELLIGENCE FILE

Quiet security coup may have been staged in South Africa

By Combat Editor

AN elaborate network of security committees now scattered all over South Africa could perhaps be a signal that a bloodless coup may have taken place in the apartheid-ruled country, with parliament having become a little more than a rubber stamp.

The quiet coup, which may have taken place during the last seven years, was certainly not one that would have been heralded by tanks blasting away in the streets, nor by soldiers parading in triumph through Pretoria, Cape Town, Johannesburg or Bloemfontein.

But, seemingly, it was just as effective and far-reaching. South African opposition sources and PAC intelligence officers are in agreement that the security network, set up to counter anti-apartheid activism mainly in the country's black townships, is rapidly establishing itself as a shadow administration under the cloak of the state of emergency imposed about a year ago.

The network, known as the *National Security Management System*, is usurping the role of local civilian bodies all over South Africa and taking the troubled country into a new phase of secret administration controlled only by the security forces.

The NSMS was established some seven years ago, but the scale of its operations has burgeoned during the last two years of township unrest and particularly since the emergency decree was declared in June last year.

The main strand of the wide and sticky security web is the *State Security Council* (SSC). This is not an entirely new part of the web; it has been making recommendations on national security to the apartheid cabinet for some years. It has now been strengthened considerably.

A Black Sash researcher, Joy Harnden, says in a recent paper based on an extensive study of the security network: "The powers vested in the SSC



have allowed the South African army to upgrade, overhaul and develop the state security decision-making apparatus."

Below the *State Security Council* comes the *National Security Management System*, and the next layer of power of the NSMS is that of what are called *Joint Management Centres*, with their *sub- and mini-JMCs*.

Then there are the planned *Regional Services Councils* (RSC) to be formally introduced in several areas of South Africa on July 1 this year to take up the work now being done by the sub-JMCs.

It is not clear whether or how the RSCs, who seem to be mainly administrative structures which are destined to play a hidden political role, will fit into

the whole network. But it appears they will eventually fit somewhere in the security jigsaw puzzle.

Their role, says Harnden, will be to identify and neutralise conflict points at grassroots level.

It is now an open secret that every layer of the Pretoria regime is linked with the sprawling security web as part of a policy which pervades every aspect of political, economic, social and cultural life in South Africa.

The *State Security Council* is plugged into the cabinet; the *Inter-Departmental Committees* are linked to the regime's departmental heads; the *Joint Management Centres* to the regional executive bodies; the *sub-JMCs* to the regional services council; and the *mini-JMCs* to local authorities.

This is an elaborate arrangement to give the security forces direct access to every level of decision-making.

Those in charge of the network insist that the system is not a secret, that it is run openly by civil servants, that it has no independent budget and that it makes no political decisions.

The system, it is claimed, deals "only" with security matters and that it has "no" executive powers. The security chiefs running the system insist that it can only make recommendations.

But they acknowledge that if their recommendations are not accepted by local authorities, they can appeal through their own separate hierarchy, which reaches all the way up to President Pieter Botha, for orders compelling the local authorities to comply.

The security officials also make it clear that they regard almost any social matter, from housing and road conditions to consumer and rent boycotts, as potential security problems and therefore matters of legitimate security concern.

The guiding philosophy is that South Africa is a target of a "total onslaught", Lieutenant-General Pieter van der Westhuizen, the system's chief executive, is quoted in a recent newspaper report as saying.

To counter this, says Lt-Gen. van der Westhuizen, South Africa must have a "total strategy".

The setting up of the *National Security Management System* must be seen in this light. More than 500 regional and local security committees have been established throughout South Africa since 1980 to keep their ears to the ground and identify potential grievances which might be exploited, and devise strategies to eliminate these grievances.

Sources say that such operations extend to disinformation programmes to discredit selected black opposition organisations like the PAC perceived as radical and boost the image of those considered moderate.

Little has been published in South Africa about this apparent security intrigue, and most South Africans are unaware of its existence, says journalist Allister Sparks in a *Washington Post Service* report recently.

Under the new South African censorship restrictions on news about "security action", the sprawling security web is likely to slip even deeper into the shadows.

The few reports and public statements which have appeared on the issue have revealed sharp differences of attitudes towards the web, with one newspaper describing the security bodies as "peace corps" and another as "the army's quiet coup".

Whatever it is, it may have already taken place. All that is happening now could just be consolidation and addition of a little more perfection.



AZANIA COMBAT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY [APLA]

REMEMBER SOWETO



SINGING for Azania during commemoration of the 1976 national uprisings are PAC women, who include (from left) Cde Fitho Ntantala, Cde Catherine, Cde Judith Sibanda, Dr V.V. Jantjie (glasses) and Cde Nonkululeko Mayende (daughter of the slain Cdes Victoria and Griffiths Mxenge).



WHILE people of their age get down to their usual playing, "children of the revolution" lead a march in remembrance of the victims of settler-colonial and apartheid brutality, among them Hector Peterson, who died young in Soweto on June 16, 1976.

THE AZANIAN TENDENCY



THE Azanian tendency, whose founding father is none other than the late PAC president Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, is seen here in action. Their posters not as beautiful and expensive as those of organisations funded by white groups and individuals, but the message on them is more beautiful and very African.



PAC chairman Cde Johnson Mlambo addressing himself to the nation

CHILDREN CORNER

Dear God
No one knows our
flesh and Bones
Lie silently in a
mass grave of
June Sixtine veld We
are proud that
we form part
of Azanian
Landscape
we still ask
What crime?
Your
Azanian children