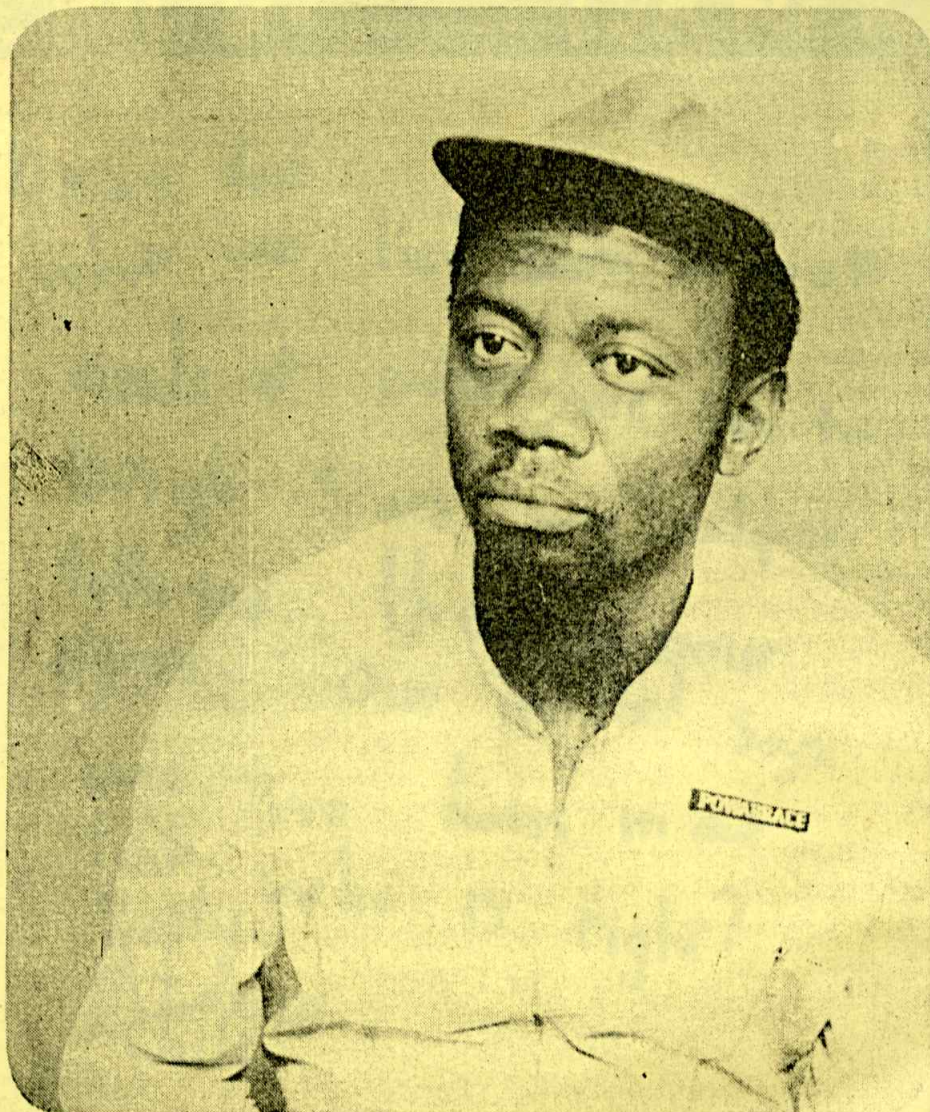
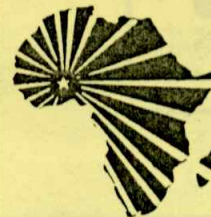


'APLA fighters are effectively spreading the guerilla war'



PAC Defence Secretary Cde Sabelo Phama



# AZANIA COMBAT

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

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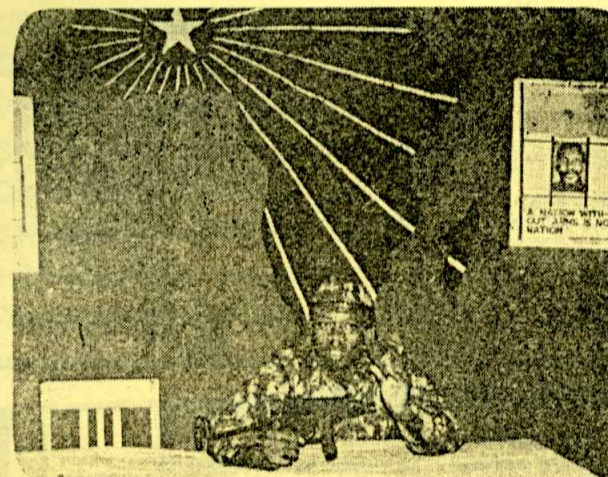


**BANNED  
IN SOUTH AFRICA  
APLA  
IN ACTION**

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

Story page 9

*APLA fighters are expanding the theatre of guerilla war in South Africa*



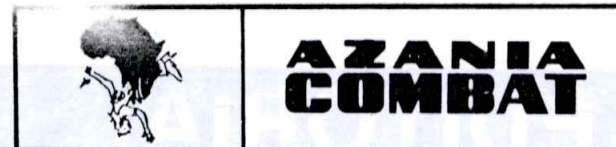
PAC Secretary for Defence Sabelo Phama

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- PAC Defence chief sums up APLA's 1987
- Veteran APLA commander and ex-Robben Island prisoner dies
- John Pokela was a great military strategist
- We are now facing Pretoria militarily...

# APLA operations spread





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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 APLA Political Department. The magazine is run by the political department through its research, information and propaganda section at the PAC army headquarters.

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# EDITORIAL

## Capitulation or resistance?

FELLOW Azanians, as we deliver blows on the Pretoria regime we must have taken note of the recent developments which have confronted us with a crucial dilemma whether to succumb or to continue resisting settler - colonialism in our country.

In this respect, we have been warned by the Commander - in - Chief Cde Johnson Mlambo of the divisive role of the South African white liberals now very very busy trying to defuse our militant struggle while posing as representatives of an "enlightened force".

This white liberal onslaught, though dangerous if left unchecked, does not however worry us that much because in our time we have come across "peace" packages being offered to Azanians by South African liberals and "liberal" Afrikaners as well as by some states around the world.

Each time these were offered, we have always asked ourselves: "Capitulation or resistance?"

While some groups in occupied Azania have been attracted to some of these packages, which have at times taken the form of purposeless dialogues, the PAC, its guerilla wing APLA as well as the Azanian masses have totally and unequivocally rejected all of them.

For this we have been branded "extreme leftists" or "radicals" and attacked as being "impossible" and "unco-operative". Our answer has always been that we would rather be any of these labels than capitulate in a cause as noble as ours in Azania. Never ever.

We know too well that as a social force the white liberals in South Africa have no clout but appear to be bent on either defusing our militancy or extracting guarantees for the white minority group from the national liberation movement.

They are bent on any of these because they know only too well that the coming into power of the indigenous African majority must necessarily point directly to two unavoidable events - the complete emancipation of the African masses and the loss of all exclusive privileges by the white minority.

Like the regime, the white liberals fear this future development so much that they will do anything to defuse the march towards it.

They know that non - racial democracy in our country must ultimately come only with African majority rule and that such a rule can only be built up on the smouldering ruins of the present white minority rule.

To those whites who genuinely want to be on our side we say they must accept our resolve to destroy the white minority rule and support the principle that the Azanian masses, including the so - called Coloureds and people of Asian origin, have the right to overthrow white domination with every means at their disposal and exercise their right to self - determination on the soil of Azania.

Fellow Azanians, as the PAC leadership has reaffirmed, the Pretoria regime, despite its huge war arsenal, is now inherently weak and extremely vulnerable because it is in defence of the indefensible.

As we continue delivering heavy blows politically and militarily on Pretoria, let us continue being vigilant against the machinations of the white liberals - the hidden side of the Pretoria regime.

One Settler One Bullet!

Izwe Lethu! I - Afrika!

COMBAT

## 'We are now facing Pretoria militarily' says Gora Ebrahim

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has resolved to increase its military attacks in racist South Africa (RSA) against the forces of apartheid and settler - colonialism, the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ibrahim, has said.

*From PANA and AP  
in Addis Ababa*

"In the 1960s and the 1970s, we did the ideological and the organisational work respectively," said Cde Ebrahim. "Our priority now is to face the enemy militarily."

Addressing a Press conference in the Ethiopian capital where he attended an OAU conference, Cde Ebrahim cited the Tladi police training camp attack by Azanian People's Liberation Army commandos as an example of PAC military challenges against Pretoria.

The bomb, which went off at the training college's main parade ground in the early hours of the morning, killed a policeman and injured more than 60 other policemen - the largest number of security forces ever wounded in a single guerilla attack in South Africa.

Cde Ebrahim also referred to the East-European-made Scorpion machine pistols, now widely known to be associated with PAC freedom fighters, and said the weapons had been used by the Azanian guerrillas over the last two years.

Estimating that there could be more than 500 Scorpions inside South Africa today, Cde Ebrahim said the racist authorities had not managed to capture these deadly machine pistols despite advertised rewards in cash for anyone with information leading to their capture from the PAC combatants.

The advertisements had followed an unusual pattern of guerilla attacks mainly in Alexandra and surrounding townships where Scorpions had been used by suspected PAC guerrillas in attacks specifically directed at security forces on patrol in the black townships.

The regime's failure to capture the weapons (although Pretoria has made wild claims that it has

captured a few of them) indicates the carelessness with which these weapons are infiltrated and used by the APLA men in South Africa, said Cde Ibrahim.

The PAC foreign secretary expressed the organisation's readiness to unite with other fighting forces in forming the broadest front of patriots to confront the enemy.

However, he said, the anti - Pretoria grouping had to accept that the evil system in South Africa could not be reformed; it had to be destroyed.

All the parties to the proposed front had to agree that the regime could not be the vehicle for change in South Africa, but the Azanian masses were the decisive factor in the solution of the problem in that country.



The PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim right, discussing a point with Cde Sabelo Phama, the PAC Defence Secretary, during a plenary session of the party central committee. (Picture by Azania Combat photographer)





## PAC DEFENCE SECRETARY LOOKS AT APLA IN 1987

# APLA's guerilla activity goes to rural South Africa

ALTHOUGH the world has heard of Azania People's Liberation Army guerilla attacks only in the urban areas, there has been a lot of unreported APLA operational activities in the rural areas of South Africa this year, the PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama has disclosed.

He was summarising APLA activities during 1987 in a wide-ranging exclusive interview with *Azania Combat* Editor Willie Mazambane and Political Editor Romero Daniels recently.

"APLA combatants have, in the period under review, been able to mount guerilla operations and carry out extensive mass political work in the rural areas," said Cde Phama.

On the political front, the PAC fighters had made tremendous strides in mobilising and uniting the rural

masses in countering the Pretoria regime's divide-and-rule tactics, in which tribalism was being encouraged, promoted and publicised by the boers.

Back on the military front, enemy forces, including the racist soldiers and police, had come under numerous

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### • From page 4

APLA attacks, in which considerable numbers of the enemy forces had been either killed or wounded.

Asked why not many of these had been reported, Cde Phama said the only APLA operations mentioned in the media were those carried out in or around the big cities because, as he put it, "those are the only places where you will find the newsmen, both local and foreign".

"A lot of struggle and a lot of fighting are taking place in rural South Africa, an area we regard as our most serious internal rear base."

It was the PAC position that the countryside in occupied Azania provided APLA forces with the greatest opportunities to absorb, train and arm guerilla recruits against enemy forces on a wide scale.

"Such opportunities and environment are not readily available in the urban areas, although as we mount urban guerilla attacks we are continually exploring chances of creating them."

The PAC defence chief said rural South Africa was regarded as those areas either held by white farmers or the barren lands which had been used by the regime to form bantustan territories.

Some bantustan puppet leaders had admitted criss-crossing of APLA and other guerilla fighters through areas they (the puppet leaders) were supposed to be controlling while others had gone further to admit escalation of APLA's rural guerilla war in areas adjacent to their territories.

"Guerilla warfare," said Cde Phama, "is a struggle waged by a people with limited resources but with powerful organisational and operational capacity, which they use to hit the enemy at its weakest points."

"And in South Africa, the rural areas are just that weakest point because the enemy's communication network and operational mobility are very limited there. We have also identified many loopholes in the enemy's security network."

"Although we are already exploiting some of these to out-maneuvre the enemy in our deployment of guerilla forces, our of guerilla forces, our army's military intelligence units are working out methods for their greater exploitation."

On the 1987 PAC arms programme, Cde Phama said APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, had given a directive to APLA commanders to place arming and training of the African masses at the top of their operational priorities for the year.

"Our fighters have made tremendous strides in this respect. They have succeeded in putting both weapons acquired internally and those from elsewhere on the distribution line."

# Stepping up guerilla war can curb SA aggression

THE Pretoria regime's acts of aggression against the Frontline and neighbouring states will not stop unless Azanian guerillas spread and intensify their attacks in South Africa itself, Cde Sabelo Phama has said.

"One of the reasons why we have consistently directed our fighters to expand the guerilla war theatre is that we want Pretoria to spread its forces internally, thereby denying it manpower to send abroad for aggression," said the PAC defence secretary.

"Once this has successfully been carried out, the regime will have to think twice before sending any of its forces across the borders because things then will be hot at home."

Cde Phama said disintegration of enemy forces internally would also create a situation in which Pretoria's internal authority would be undermined and dissent encouraged.

The PAC defence chief was speaking in a wide-ranging interview with *Azania Combat* senior editors recently.



*THE PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama.*



"And talking of arms will immediately lead you to the question of what sort of arms are involved in this massive PAC arm-the-people programme, and I will tell you that here we are talking of small weapons generally such as assault rifles, sub-machine guns and machine pistols.

"But the PAC arms programme also involves explosives which we are now able to acquire internally and make use of before the enemy can detect their origin and where they had been cached before use

"In this regard, there are also the home-made bombs which the masses are now able to produce themselves. We are constantly making efforts to add a little more sophistication to these bombs to enhance their effectiveness operationally."

Asked why the PAC Defence Department laid emphasis on the use of small arms, Cde Phama said at this stage of the guerilla war in racist South Africa smaller arms featured more prominently for the simple reason that they could easily be distributed and concealed.

"But more importantly, our type of armed attacks at the moment does not require heavy arms. Secondly, smaller arms travel more faster and more safely countrywide than the bigger ones.

"It is part of our strategy to overstretch the enemy to a point where it will have to try to 'catch ten flies with ten fingers' — a thing that will obviously be impossible to do. The use of small arms by strategically deployed men plays a crucial role in this aspect of our strategy," said Cde Phama.

"All in all, for our gallant APLA combatants, the year 1987 has been a year of great activity, a year in which no one can stand up and repeat that usual question 'what is the PAC doing?' the PAC defence secretary said.

## APLA operations shift to white SA

AZANIAN People's Liberation Army guerillas have during 1987 been able to shift some of their attacks from the African townships to some white areas of South Africa, the PAC Defence Secretary, Cde Sabelo Phama, has said.

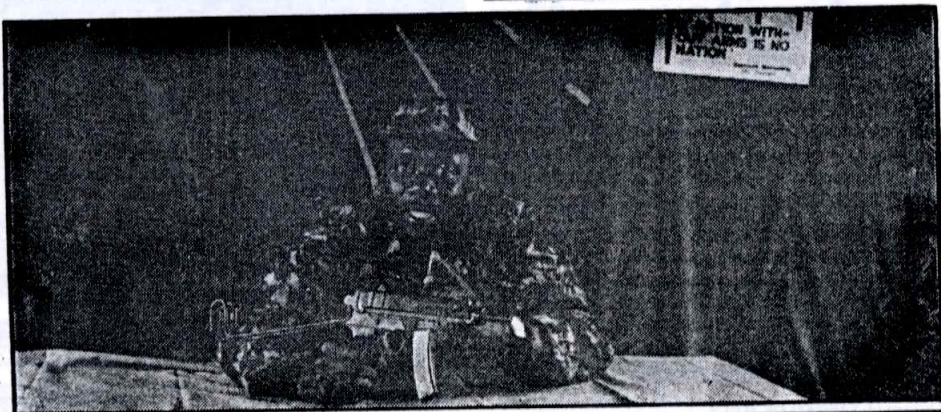
He told *Azania Combat*: "Our fighters have been able to mount some operations in the heart of 'white South Africa'."

The defence secretary referred to the battle between APLA fighters and racist security forces at the quiet white Johannesburg suburb of Bramley in August 1987 and asked: "Why should such armed clashes be confined to the African townships?"

However, Cde Phama was quick to add: "Although this does not change the overall PAC strategy of a protracted guerilla war fought from the countryside, we have to ensure that if there is no peace in the townships, there can't be peace in the white suburbs."

This did not mean that the PAC expected peace in the townships because there could not be any as long as the African indigenous majority remained suffocated under the white settler minority rule and apartheid

"All we are saying is that the war theatre is steadily but surely expanding to cover even areas which have hitherto been quiet. This is how it should be because before the war moves to such areas, the white community will not understand what is happening in the African townships."



APLA guerilla operations at the moment involve mainly small weapons such as assault rifles, machine — guns and machine pistols as well as various types of explosives. Here PAC defence — chief Cde Phama holds one such weapon — the now famous Scorpion.

# Pioneer of APLA's internal military training scheme dies

*By Combat Editor*

CDE Isaac Nontsendwana Mhleka, one of the Azanian People's Liberation Army's first senior officers to conduct internal military training and direct APLA activities from within South Africa, died in East London, South Africa, recently. He was 46.

## Lolwana gave SA a scare

*Combat Reporter*

A PIETERMARITZBURG Supreme Court Judge, who jailed Cde Isaac "Lolwana" Mhleka for eight years in 1978, observed that although the training given by this late APLA commander was "unsophisticated and elementary", it struck at the security of the State.

Lolwana, charged jointly with two other top PAC guerilla commanders, Cde Nogaga Gxekwa and Cde Stanley Pule, was convicted of providing military training to people in northern Zululand within South Africa from 1975 to 1976.

Jailing Lolwana for eight years, the judge said had it not been for the fact that the PAC fighter had been in custody for nearly two years while awaiting trial, he would have been sentenced to at least 10 years imprisonment.

Cde Gxekwa and Cde Pule, who were also charged with providing internal military training to ordinary people, were acquitted, but immediately re-detained and kept in custody for some time.

Better known by his father's name Lolwana, the late Cde Mhleka was a member of the APLA High Command when he and several other top commanders of the PAC guerilla wing began an internal military training programme for African masses in Ngwavuma inside South Africa in 1975.

While Soweto was erupting in June 1976 following Azanian student protests, this internal training programme was continuing in Ngwavuma, a Transvaal area lying near the border with Swaziland. It was around this period that Lolwana was arrested with two other APLA men.

Charged with recruiting and training people for PAC activities designed to overthrow the regime by violent means, Lolwana was jailed for an effective eight years, which he served on Robben Island where he joined other PAC members, including Cde Johnson Mlambo at the time.

Although the exact cause of his death was not yet known at the time of going to Press, a spokesman for South Africa's Prisoners' Welfare Programme in Umtata, Transkei, said Lolwana had been admitted to a local general hospital after a doctor had diagnosed TB of the spine.

A member of the PAC Central Committee's Military Commission and APLA's Chief Logistics told *Azania Combat* that he had learnt a day before Lolwana's death that he had been transferred to Frere Hospital in East London where he was due to undergo a major surgery.

Meanwhile, two members of the APLA High Command who have known Lolwana for a long time, have described the late Lolwana as "a hardened fighter who always led by example" and said his death was a big blow to the mounting armed struggle in Azania.

Cde Twoboy Xhameta, of the APLA Logistics Department, underwent military training with Lolwana in Ghana and Algeria in the mid-1960s while Cde Moses Ndoleni, also APLA High Command

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## ONE SETTLER ONE BULLET!



• From page 7

member, stayed with him together with the then Zania combatants at a military camp in the late 60s and early 70s.

Born at Elliotdale in Transkei in 1941, Lolwana was educated in the Cape before joining politics and becoming a PAC cell chairman at Langa in the same province in 1961 when the PAC introduced new organisational structures following its banning by the Pretoria regime.

In 1962 he was detained in Cape Town for a year for PAC political activities and left for Tanzania at the beginning of 1964 via Botswana, where he met Cde Xhamela. The two, together with several other PAC members, left for Ghana in October the same year.

After completing their military training in February 1965, the group left for Algeria for a further course, which was partly commando training.

They then returned to Tanzania in August 1967 and went to Zambia where they spent about a year before coming back to the East African country where they were to spend time at a camp with the then Zania fighters.

Lolwana left Tanzania in 1975 for Swaziland before becoming one of the PAC army's first military instructors to conduct military training inside South Africa. He was arrested around June 1976 at an area where the PAC's early internal military training programme for the African masses took place.

He appeared at a Pietermaritzburg court in August 1977 and was jailed in February 1978.

Hamba kahle Lolwana, qhawe iamaqhawel!

The struggle continues!

## To a fallen APLA fighter

By Poetic Combatant  
Puseletso Libetsa

When you die  
I do not die with you  
I do not die from your death  
When you die  
Your death recharges me with resolve  
Because you do not die with your life  
When you die  
You pass your weapon on to me  
To continue the fight  
For you are my comrade  
And I am your comrade  
Together we are patriots of Azania  
Our beloved land

## APLA presence is indisputable

Combat Reporter

**DAR ES SALAAM** — The Azanian People's Liberation Army, under difficult conditions and with limited resources, has succeeded in registering on the ground, says the PAC Central Committee in a communique issued here recently.

"APLA's active presence inside occupied Azania has greatly encouraged the Azanian masses, who for a long time had no modern army that they could say was their very own," said the communique issued at the end of a week-long PAC Central Committee plenary session.

"The PAC, APLA and the Azanian people remain convinced and optimistic that the illegal minority racist regime, despite the huge war arsenal at its disposal, is inherently weak and extremely vulnerable.

"An oriented, organised and militarily armed people can and will eventually triumph."

Noting with satisfaction the mobilisation of the Azanian youth, particularly the active role of the Azanian National Youth Unity, the PAC leadership resolved to increase the youth's fighting capacity and groom it for future leadership.

It called on the Azanian people to sustain and develop the struggle on all fronts, especially the military front, and assured them that APLA combatants on the ground would continue to be with them.

It urged the masses to resolutely persist with the principle of non-collaboration against all institutions of the regime as well as its apologists.



SPECIAL unit of APLA on parade after a military exercise

# EDITOR UNSHAKEN AS Pretoria bans Azania Combat

THE Pretoria regime has banned Azania Combat (Issue No 4) in a desperate move described by the magazine's editor as "not at all unexpected".

Combat Reporter

"We have always treated distribution of Azania Combat with as much care and seriousness as we treat the handling of arms and ammunition," said Azania Combat Editor Willie Mazambane.

The famous Issue No 4 — famous because even those who normally would not have bothered to get a copy now want one — contains a number of articles focussing mainly on the Azanian People's Liberation Army and its activities inside Racist South Africa (RSA).

It traces the history of the PAC guerilla wing from the beginning of the 1960s when it was still called POQO and comes along with it to 1968 when the name changed to APLA.

Issue No 4 notes that this name change had taken place in a PAC year of action, the year of "Operation Villa Peri" or the "The Ho Chi Minh Trail", when APLA fighters and Portuguese colonial troops got locked up in a fierce battle in pre-Independent Mozambique in 1968.

The issue goes on with APLA to 1975 when the PAC began its internal military training programme of the African masses at Mkalamefene, a disputed territory on the South African border with Swaziland.

It describes what type of army APLA is, touching on its internal principles and policies, including its provisions for democracy within its ranks in the political, economic and military spheres.

It outlines APLA's Code of Discipline in relation to women fighters and Azanian women generally.

Issue No 4 contains a poem entitled "Please, do not call me South Africa (I am Azania)" by a prominent Senegalese poet, Ahmed Sheikh, and an article on the

historical wars for Azania by a special correspondent, Sello Tello.

The cover article in the issue entitled "APLA operations increase as record 65 cops are hit in single PAC guerilla attack" does not appear to have made good reading to Pretoria, which has always made sure that APLA is never portrayed as a fighting force.

Issue No 4 also looks at the regime's fear of the PAC army's method of operations, quoting the pro-apartheid newspaper *The Citizen* as saying "... the modus operandi of PAC terrorists differs from that of ANC cadres, most of whom are Russian-trained or are trained along Russian lines".

The issue, whose cover title is "APLA in Action", is so loaded with information about the PAC army and its activities that it did not really come as a surprise when Pretoria ruled: "It is illegal to be found in possession of Azania Combat (Issue No 4)."

## Court hears of PAC language

THE Pretoria Regional Court has been told by a witness of an alleged "private language" used by underground officials, guerillas and other members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania operating inside Racist South Africa (RSA).

In the language, arms and ammunition were called "building material" while PAC armed and political activities in the country were referred to as the "building business", said the witness in the trial of seven alleged PAC members.

The doctrine of the PAC was described as "religion" while PAC leaders were referred to as "church elders".

# APLA attacks spread to Transkei bantustan

As the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) widens the theatre of its guerilla operations in occupied Azania, the then Transkei puppet leader Chief George Matanzima has spoken of a sharp rise in guerilla activities in his bantustan.

And a South African liberal newspaper, *Weekly Mail*, has said: "It is difficult to be sure who is responsible for specific guerilla operations. The Pan Africanist Congress has more of a stronger presence here (Transkei) than in other parts of the country . . ."

Matanzima's admission that the Azanian guerilla war has spread to his bantustan follows a call by the PAC leadership early this year on APLA to increase its military attacks and widen the theatre of the guerilla war against Pretoria and its stooges.

The call was made by the PAC Central Committee in a communique issued at the PAC external headquarters in Dar Es Salaam at the end of a week-long special session of the party leadership.

Matanzima, who said guerilla activities were "common nowadays", spoke of a rapid increase of arms of war in the bantustan this year — the year declared by the PAC leadership as one of arming the African masses.

"We are all aware that nowadays terrorist cells and huge numbers of arms caches are very common in the Transkei. As a result, police raids and other

similar operations have had to be intensified," admitted the puppet chief.

Matanzima's fears and statements were corroborated in observations made by renowned liberal writer Tom Lodge, who saw Transkei as one of the areas in which "there is anything approaching a state of rural insurrection".

Almost picking it up from there, the *Weekly Mail* took note of the mountainous nature of the Transkei border with neighbouring Lesotho as an advantage to the guerillas, and saw the unpopularity of Matanzima's puppet regime and the inaccessibility of many parts of Transkei as some of the factors causing high incidence of guerilla operations in the bantustan.

With no evidence that guerilla attacks in the Transkei were being launched from neighbouring Lesotho, as Pretoria would often allege, all pointers indicate that fighters of the Azanian People's Liberation Army are assaulting the bantustan within South Africa itself.

Since armed guerillas cannot fly into the bantustan capital of Umtata, there is no other explanation on the source of this hive of guerilla activity in the Transkei.

## Facts behind the 'coup' in Transkei

*A CAPE TOWN — based Azania Combat correspondent, who has been keeping a very close watch on the political and military developments in the Transkei bantustan for quite some time, files this special investigative to this column of the APLA official organ.*

THE recent developments in the Transkei bantustan have dramatically exposed the South African ruling National Party's homeland policies for what they are — the maintenance of the bantustans through the manipulation of spineless petty bourgeois puppet leaders.

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The ironies of the politics of dishonesty have been particularly exposed in the case of the downfall of the puppet Matanzima dynasty, with Kaiser Matanzima having forced things his own way against the will of the people he claimed to lead, ending up being banished and labelled a threat to "state" security.

And the man labelling him was none other than his brother, George Matanzima, whom he had groomed so carefully for so many years to perpetuate his sell-out policies by means of repression.

Having successfully used the repressive force of Kaiser Matanzima's own laws, and of course skillfully using the tricks he learnt from him, George had consolidated his power among the various sections of the Pretoria-made instruments of bantustan power.

The main instrument was the puppet army, whose powers were increased almost overnight, to be strong enough to be used to oust George Matanzima himself.

The puppet Transkei Defence Force, which in fact was created specifically as an extension of the racist South African Defence Force, was established as a front wing or shield to protect the whites in the so-called metropolitan white South Africa against what John Vorster imagined to be an "external threat to the Republic".

To crown it all, a *Special Task Force* (otherwise known as the *Anti-Terrorist Squad*) was created and put under the direct commanding arm of the former commander of Ian Smith's notorious Selous Scouts, Ron Reid — Daly. High ranks of the Transkei army were later swelled by a number of such ex-Rhodesians, whose hands were still dripping the blood of innocent Zimbabwean sons and daughters.

The type of training given to this elite force is typical of that given to the Rhodesian Selous Scouts, who were ruthless, well-equipped and highly mobile.

Interestingly, the methods which the Selous Scouts used in Rhodesia during the liberation war failed to stop the gallant Zania fighters from dealing Smith a steady but sure blow and liberating Zimbabwe.

Like any other group of mercenaries, the former Selous Scouts in the Transkei had to devise some tactics of survival in the situation in which they were put. The traditional method of "divide and rule" had no better place and relevance than in the army.

A gap had to be created between the main puppet battalion and the *Special Task Force* in case any of the two would, for whatever reason, threaten South African interests, either directly or indirectly.

It had been recognised that people could not be oppressed and suppressed forever. Note had also been taken of the fact that soldiers in the puppet Transkei army were relatives or friends of people in Azania, whom they were now employed to hunt and kill in defence of settler-colonialism and apartheid.

With this background, it becomes apparent that a combination of a number of factors led to the recent army rebellion in the Transkei bantustan.

Opposition to the ex-Selous Scouts mercenaries had been simmering for years and at times threatening to come out in public. A number of officers had at times faced disciplinary action where mutiny was alleged.

Another factor was evidence led before the commission of inquiry into the financial affairs of a number of departments in the bantustan government which exposed systematic corruption that was distasteful to the intellectual community, let alone the man in the street.

The humiliating defeat of the Transkei puppet army by Lennox Sebe's own puppet army in a purposeless and poorly planned operation, in which Pretoria regime was involved, was another factor.

While the operation against the Sebe army was a desperate act on the part of George Matanzima to divert attention from the political and administrative crisis in the bantustan, the Pretoria masterminds were happy to keep their puppets apart while each demonstrated loyalty to the master.

But the worst crisis was yet to come with the arrest and detention of Brigadier Holomisa, the Transkei army's chief of staff, in a move that was to detonate the powder keg, with the process of confusion crystallising into identifiable positions.

It was for this reason that his subsequent release, under cover of the darkness of night and through the forceful pressure of an army committee specially set

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up for this purpose, did not come as a surprise. Nor was it good-heartedness on the part of George Matanzima as "prime minister" and "defence minister".

But the resignation of Zondwa Mtirara, army commander-in-chief, who owed his rise through the ranks of the puppet army mainly to membership of the Tembu group, was to mark George's loss of power and influence over the soldiers.

The situation of George Matanzima regarding the army became even clearer to everyone when his motorcade was stopped at a roadblock and searched. His version of the incident that "there is no mutiny in the Transkei roadblocks" just did not hold water.

The once mighty George Matanzima, now reduced to a pathetic powerless figure, found himself having to wait for the descent of the sharp axe that had been suspended over his neck for quite some time.

Then came the last straw in the form of the dramatic rounding up of all the ex-Selous Scouts, including Reid-Daly, and their deportation without

the consent of what was left of "the prime minister", George Matanzima.

The ex-Selous Scouts were told by Brigadier Holomisa that they had to be thankful for not being sent back to Zimbabwe to face charges for their crimes.

The significance of this whole drama is the exposure of the dirty game Pretoria is prepared to play even with its best puppets in its desperate bid for survival and the ease with which the regime is prepared to sacrifice them once its own interests are threatened.

This also points to one thing, which is the failure of the policy of bantustans. It makes it crystal clear that the regime's homeland policy can never withstand the heat of the liberation struggle now sweeping in Azania.

How else can history judge the Matanzimas and the like other than by the fact that they owed their survival to the piece of cake baked with the blood of the Azanian patriots in the fire of the SADF machine-guns and made to simmer in the oven of death, pain and anguish in the streets of the black townships of Racist South Africa (RSA).

## PAC WOMEN'S FILE

# PAC is stepping up armed struggle, Zimbabweans told

**HARARE** — The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, through its guerrilla army the Azanian People's Liberation Army, is at the moment stepping up the struggle inside South Africa at a very high level, a member of the PAC Women's wing, Cde Ncinci Violet Simelane, has said here.

"It is no longer the PAC which has to convince the world how strong an impact it is making inside South Africa, but the boers themselves are now reluctantly admitting that PAC is striking deep inside occupied Azania in full force" she said.

Cde Simelane, a branch executive member of the PAC women's wing, was addressing a rally at the

University of Zimbabwe in Harare on the occasion of Zimbabwe's Heroes Day.

Speaking on behalf of the PAC at the commemorative ceremony, Cde Simelane said: "We remain committed to the complete elimination of apartheid colonialism, and not its reformation.

"The PAC is committed to armed struggle as a

To make the most fitting contribution to the war for Azania's total liberation . . . .

**JOIN THE PAC**  
the organisation of the  
African People.  
**IZWE LETHU !**



principal form of fighting to liberate Azania and for the return of the land to the dispossessed Azanians, and we are at the moment intensifying the struggle at a very high level."

On Zimbabwe's fallen sons and daughters, Cde Simelane said: "To us, the PAC, these heroes did not sacrifice their lives only for Zimbabwe, but for the whole of Africa. It is therefore our duty, regardless of which part of the continent we come from, to pay tribute to them because an injury to one is an injury to all."

Added Cde Simelane: "We are increasing the fighting capacity of the oppressed and dispossessed but fighting Azanian masses. We are mobilising and arming them ideologically, organisationally and militarily."

Reiterating the PAC position that the Azanian people are the decisive factor, she said: "We maintain that the East-West superpower conflict must be kept out of our struggle because we believe that it is the African who will liberate the African."

Cde Simelane referred to the historic and principled relationship between Zanu (PF) and PAC, and said this relationship had always been based on common commitments to fight for the repossession of the usurped land of Africa through armed struggle and not through negotiations.

"After all, there is nothing to plead for when it comes to the land question. Africa, first and foremost, belongs to the indigenous African majority."

Cde Simelane said as Zimbabwean fallen heroes were being remembered, Azanians were also remembering such other fallen heroes as Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, Cde John Pokela, Cde Steve Biko, Cde Abraham Tiro and others.

**APLA Political Commissariat:**

*"The settler-colonialists speak German, English, Italian, French, Spanish, Greek, Portuguese, but they understand one language — the whizz of the bullet."*

**Cde Muntu Myeza, Top AZAPO official:**

*"FOR condemning necklacing, Oliver Tambo and his ANC are welcomed into the ranks of the right thinking people. Although it has taken him about two years to realise that the so-called 'necklace' method of murder is a despicable act, we welcome his belated condemnation nonetheless."*



# 'One Settler One Bullet' proposed as Combat slogan

Dear Editor

Allow me to express my honest appreciation on what the PAC army has done. To launch and sustain a magazine is in itself an achievement of significant proportion.

Everything is good about *Azania Combat*, particularly the last issue (Issue No 4), in which, amongst other things, you resolve to keep *Azania Combat* a military magazine.

I appreciate your response to the letter by Cde Priscilla Sherren suggesting that *Azania Combat* should give greater coverage to political issues and cut down on what she calls "too much military stuff" in the editorial columns.

No, Cde Priscilla, we would like to read about military matters in *Azania Combat*. Politics are taken care of by *Azania News*, the PAC official organ, and even *Azania Today*, another PAC political publication.

Finally, Cde Editor, I kindly request that *Azania Combat* should adopt "One Settler One Bullet" as its official slogan. I think APLA should stress the fact that the white racists in South Africa are all settlers.

The fact that whites have been in South Africa for a long time does not improve their status.

They will remain settlers until such time that the people of Azania seize power and then re-determine the status of the white settler community as a whole.

There is just no way in which whites could be allowed to confer upon themselves the status of being Azanians while their presence in South Africa is illegal. They do not even have a lawful standing in terms of the international law to declare themselves local people in Azania.

Can we therefore, Cde Editor, adopt the slogan "One Settler One Bullet"? If so, I propose that it should appear in all the issues of the wonderful magazine.

May I, if possible, be supplied with Issues No 1 and 3 of *Azania Combat*?  
*One Settler One Bullet!*

Manci Makana,  
Pennsylvania,  
United States

## Warm welcome to Azania Commando

Dear Sir,

ALLOW me to salute you and your editorial staff for launching *Azania Commando*, the occasional supplement to *Azania Combat*.

Its birth was overdue, particularly in the face of South Africa's intensified multi-million dollar campaign of disinformation and propaganda against the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

By putting the Azanian military record straight, the APLA publications, especially *Azania Commando*, are not only exposing those who are bent on trying to conceal the strong presence of PAC guerilla fighters inside South Africa, but also bring APLA even much closer to the masses.

Forward with the *Azania Commando* and the *Azania Combat* until beloved Azania is genuinely and totally liberated.

Raymond Johnson  
PAC chief representative  
Guinea (Conakry)

# News 'white - out' on the PAC fails

Dear Editor,

I just read *Azania Combat* and I was to say the least elated.

This is because, as you know, the bourgeois media and that of the "phony left" have put a virtual "news white-out" on about everything relating to political organisations whose line defines the land in Azania as the central issue in the South African problem and all movements who have nothing to do with the white settler minority — both radical or liberal.

They have done their dauntest to dish out favourable news about civil rights-minded South African groups to the public here in the United States of America.

The white slave-masters of all descriptions have presided over the "funeral" of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Azanian People's Liberation Army a thousand times. But the PAC and APLA have each time come back stronger than ever.

This stunning resistance emerges even much more clearer in the no-nonsense editorial columns of your paper, *Azania Combat*.

Please, kindly send me copies of each issue of *Azania Combat* you produce. Although I know that its production requires resources, I am unable to subscribe financially due to some difficulties I am in at the moment.

However, one thing I am able to do anytime is to propagate your political stance, with which I am in total agreement.

Your brother in struggle  
Malek  
United States

## 'I will soon be on battlefield'

Dear Editor,

Greetings to my brethren and sisters in the ranks of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

I was recently graced with a copy of Issue No 2 of your magazine, *Azania Combat*. I must say I am nothing less than pleased with its contents and I am in accord with every sentence.

The very title of the publication exemplifies the level the Azanian struggle is at and must be in 1987, the year declared by Chairman Johnson Mlambo as one of arming the African masses. The struggle is undoubtedly already at some level of combat.

The articles (in Issue No 2) entitled "Africa's Long Search for a Defence Force" and "PAC Team Joins Africa at OAU Defence Talks" should be on the front page of our agenda as African people.

I give praises to the PAC and APLA for being the first in South Africa to realise that the armed struggle is our only option, something which is quite in line with the calls for an African defence force.

Today we should as well be considering the setting-up of such a force and the launching of a united African military offensive against the illegal white settler minority regime in Racist South Africa (RSA).

My regret is that I am not yet there on the battlefield along side the APLA combatants. I will soon be there no doubt. South Africa may belong to all... Azania belongs to Azanians.

Ras Jaurtra Sekou  
Harlem, United States.

## Combat heading was misleading

Dear Editor

First, let me commend you strongly and sincerely on your conception and production of *Azania Combat*, official organ of the Azanian People's Liberation Army. This magazine is undoubtedly vibrant and full of action.

I must at the same time point out the type of deliverance of objectives and strategies you must watch. I refer to the editorial of *Azania Combat* (Issue No 4) of 1987 which was headlined "APLA selects white targets".

The body of the editorial article is very much to the point, but takes for granted that the reader knows that the whites being referred to are the South African whites.

If this issue is meant to be read inside Azania, it will create no misunderstanding. But if it should be read outside Azania, it should create some uneasiness among white supporters of the Azanian liberation struggle.



# THE FAMOUS COURT HEARING

## Nyathi Pokela was a military strategist as early as the 60s

*By Combat Editor  
Willie Mazambane*

**THE** man who presided over the meeting of which the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania adopted armed struggle as the main form of fighting had a clear vision about war as early as those turbulent days of the Azanian freedom struggle at the beginning of the 1960s.

The late John Nyathi Pokela's military clarity, his war planning skills and his tactical approach to strategic issues were first revealed at a South African Supreme Court hearing on May 1 to 8 in 1967.

It was when his case was brought to South Africa's highest court for a decision on whether it was lawful for a South African court to try him for the same offence he had been tried for and acquitted of by a foreign court).



*The late military strategist  
John Nyathi Pokela*

The Supreme Court hearing followed a submission by Mr. F. Kroon, who was Cde Pokela's legal representative, of a special plea known as *Autrefois Acquit* (meaning already acquitted on the same charge by another competent court).

The special plea provided for in terms of South Africa's Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 was based on the fact that Cde Pokela had already been acquitted by a Lesotho court of the offence with which he was then being charged in South Africa.

He had been tried by a then Basotholand (now Lesotho) resident magistrate in a court at Maseru (herein referred to as the "foreign court") between July 18 and October 9 1965 on a charge of contravening Lesotho's Prevention of Violence Abroad Proclamation of 1963.

Cde Pokela, together with Cde Pearce Linda Gqobose, were found not guilty and discharged at the end of the trial in the foreign court.

In 1967, he was kidnapped by Pretoria's agents and taken to South Africa where he faced basically the same charges as those he had been acquitted of in the foreign court.

According to the South African charge sheet, Cde Pokela had "personally, and together with other PAC members, recruited people for military training and instruction in the art of warfare, including guerilla tactics, for purposes of causing an insurrection or

tactics, for purposes of causing an insurrection or forcible resistance to the government of the Republic".

He had "murdered and maliciously attempted to kill members of the white population and members of the police force, and damaged or attempted to destroy several police stations and other property of the State".

Cde Pokela, the charge sheet continued, had "worked, through means of violence, towards bringing about political, industrial, social and economic chaos within South Africa by promoting disturbance or disorder".

He had encouraged feelings of hostility between Europeans (as whites in South Africa called themselves then) and blacks in a move calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of the PAC or POQO.

He had gathered information about specific sections of railway lines and timed the movement of trains, especially the Blue Train, as part of his plans to cause derailments, resulting in maximum loss of life.

He had worked out the routine of rail workers in particular areas, with the view to using them for his ends, and identified special tools for use in unscrewing bolts attached to the rail lines.

He had gathered information about the situation of police stations, aerodromes, military camps, rifle storages and other important State buildings such as post offices, power stations, water reservoirs and other structures of strategic importance to the "Republic".

He had sought data about suitable places within South Africa for the storing and concealment of firearms and guerilla personnel for use in sustained guerilla activities over a wide geographical area of the country. The charge sheet goes on and on...

Mind you, we are in the early 60s when Cde Pokela is planning and doing all these things listed in the charge sheet.

This could only indicate that Pretoria was not dealing with an ordinary "terrorist" in Cde Pokela, but a farsighted guerilla strategist, remember not in 1987, but in the early 60s.

The boers were dealing with a man who was to become PAC chairman in the early 1980s and

introduce major and far-reaching re-organisational changes in the Azanian People's Liberation Army to make it what it is today — an army fighting "at the level of mortals" — as he would put it.

They were dealing with a man who was to warn them that "unless whites, who have been living in cooperative 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 Africans".

Yes, the boers were taking no chances in dealing with a man like that, a man who did not mind at all being hated by them and their liberal friends for openly advocating the demise white rule.

Why shouldn't whites be killed in the first place? Are they special human beings? Which and whose rule is that which provides for the killing of Africans and preservation of the white lives?

To the late Cde Pokela, this rule did not apply, and the boers knew this only too well. They know that this was one damn "kaffir" who could not be let loose.

Throwing the special plea out of the window, South African Supreme Court Judge Mr "Justice" Kotze said "The present indictment is based on statutes designed to ensure safety of the Republic of South Africa whereas the charges in the foreign court were based on a statute of a foreign country designed to combat violence abroad."

"Abroad" is the word used. But what did "abroad" refer to?

The honorable judge must have known that, looking at Lesotho's geographical proximity, "abroad" could only mean South Africa, where in fact all violence in Southern Africa has always originated.

But because Cde Pokela could not be let loose, the judge chose not to know this obvious fact. This is South Africa's brand of "justice".

"Consequently," said the South African judge, "we come to the conclusion that there is no basis upon which the special plea (on Cde Pokela's behalf) can be sustained. It follows therefore that the plea is overruled."

Azania Combat chose to re-visit the late former PAC leader through this now world famous "State versus Pokela" case, whose outcome is not really what interested the PAC army magazine, but what the case involved, that is, Pokela's military skills on display.



# “PAC trained us how to shoot with pellets” witnesses tell court

SEVERAL people described in the Pretoria Regional Court how they had been given training as far back as 1975 in the art of shooting by a certain “Zulu” at a place near South Africa’s border with Swaziland.

One of the people claiming to have been trained by an alleged instructor from the Azanian People’s Liberation Army told the court that the training had taken place at the border area of Mkalamfene where “Zulu” and his men had allegedly used pellet guns for the military training exercise.

## ‘PAC wants black rule’ court heard

THE main aim of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in South Africa is to change the country into one ruled by an African government, the Pretoria Regional Court has heard.

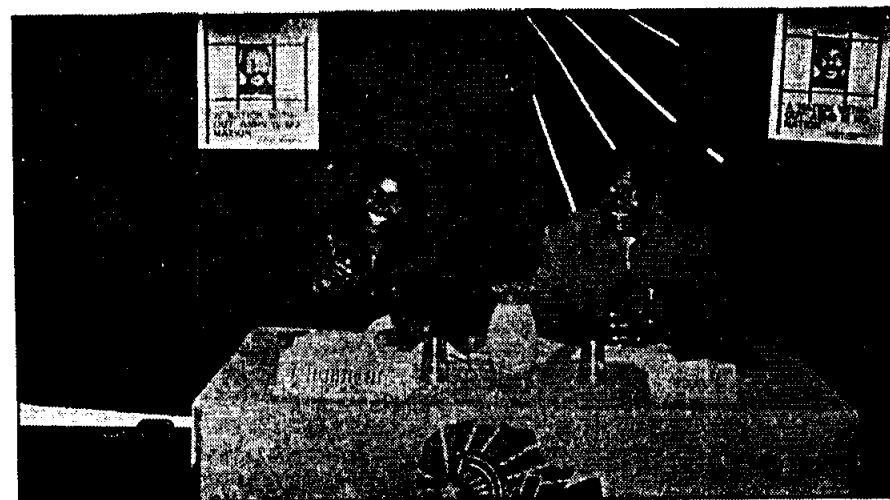
A man alleged to be a former member of the PAC said the organisation pushed its aim through “the use of arms and political education”. He claimed he upheld the principles he was taught by the PAC, adding that he did not regard himself as a “terrorist” but as a freedom fighter.

Cross-examined by Mr E. Moseneke, counsel for the defence, the man agreed that “the goal of the revolution was not violence, but to change the thinking of people...”.

Asked by Mr Moseneke about the meaning of the slogan of the PAC, Africa for the Africans, he said it meant “an equal South Africa without creed or colour and discrimination”.

Political education, he said, played an important role in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

On military hardware, the man said although the PAC had a lot of weapons, these were not easy to acquire because “the PAC does not want to follow the superpowers”.



APLA Commander – in – Chief Cde Johnson Mlambo and PAC Military Commission member Cde Joe Mkwana at a talk in PAC military camp recently.

**ONE SETTLER  
ONE BULLET!**





## HONESTLY SPEAKING

# Liberals are on the offensive against liberation of Azania through the barrel of the gun

*By Waters Toboti*

IT appears that the liberals in South Africa and abroad are now on the offensive against the struggle to liberate the country through the barrel of the gun.

And if leaders of the liberation movements in Azania are not vigilant, the struggle may be hijacked and sold down the drain.

Everybody, inside and outside Azania, is supposed to follow the revolutionary plans and programmes of

the recognised liberation movements of Azania, but it appears the liberals have their own plans and programmes.

Some liberals, black and white, and at home and abroad, say they are convinced that in the war that goes on inside our country, there will be no victory with the revolution ending in a "draw", so to say.

These people are given large sums of money by the enemies of Africa so as to shout about this new concept at the "pitch of their voices". Needless to say that I have never heard of any "draw" in a revolution and Azania will not be an exception. And the war inside racist South Africa between the oppressor and the oppressed still continues unabated despite the tricks of the liberal and capitalist devil.

### Liberal movements in racist South Africa

In racist South Africa two liberal organisations have been formed under white leadership. The first one is called the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA). Its leader is the former leader of the now "sick" Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, a very articulate and eloquent Afrikaner liberal former opposition leader in the racist Parliament.

We are told that the objective of IDASA is to form a bridge for negotiations between the oppressed indigenous African majority and the oppressor white settler minority. However, the structure and purpose of this "negotiation bridge" have never been clearly spelt out to the oppressed Azanians.

The super exploited masses of our country are still watching these developments with keen interest, and are very vigilant, make no mistake about that.

The second newly formed liberal organisation is the national Democratic Movement (NDM), which is under the leadership of Mr Wynand Malam, a member of Parliament in the racist Government. A newly converted Afrikaner liberal, Mr Malam was once an open strong supporter of the policies of Herrenvolkism or white supremacy.

We are also told that the programme of NDM is not different from that of IDASA; to promote dialogue between the oppressed indigenous majority and the oppressor white settler minority. Both IDASA and NDM do not accept one person one vote and armed struggle as a solution to our problem and they are anti-scientific socialism and both are confirmed capitalist organisations.

Some blacks inside the country are invited, because of their high educational qualifications, to join these liberal organisations as political clerks. These African liberals get a lot of money from their liberal masters.

We are also told that a "sea" of money is being poured from overseas into these liberal organisations for two reasons:—

- (a) To strengthen them and
- (b) to bribe the oppressed African majority away from the idea of an armed struggle as a principal element in our national democratic revolution

Indeed the liberal element inside occupied Azania is doing its maximum best to convince the oppressed that dialogue, detente and negotiation are the only fair solutions to our political problems. However the African masses are turning their backs against this political bribery.

Another biggest threat to the Azanian revolution comes from certain forces in Africa. Many anti-apartheid movements are now germinating all over Africa. Some of these movements are financed by dubious bodies in America and elsewhere in Europe.

They say they want to create understanding between the oppressed African majority and the Afrikaner liberals. They say we must talk to one another. They say the black people of Azania must learn to understand the whites or vice versa.

This understanding will come through contact, we are told. If we are suspicious of this contact we are classified as ultra-radicals and money is kept away from us.

Meanwhile our fighting forces need guns and material support and not contact with a certain camp of our christian oppressors. If this is not a sellout, how far should one go in order to sell out?

We know our white oppressors inside racist South Africa and we don't have to be introduced by anyone to them. We were born and bred with them. We work with them in the mines and factories of occupied Azania. In fact we are supposed to lecture the whole world about our situation. But we are being lectured. Hence these many nefarious seminars to which our oppressors are being invited.

We wish we would be given all the "mountain" of money lavished in these seminars by anti-apartheid movements in Africa, we would, at least, be able to deploy about 50 trained cadres, at a time, inside racist South Africa.

It is very important to have contact with people, but that contact should not be at the expense of our revolution and should not discourage our people from taking up arms against their oppressor. The principal form of our struggle is armed struggle and our brothers and sisters in Africa should assist us to effect and perfect this form of struggle as quick as we can afford.

Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, Late PAC founding president:

*"I wish to make it clear again that we are anti-nobody. We are pro-Africa. We breathe, we dream, we live Africa because Africa and humanity are inseparable. . . . We dare not compromise, nor dare we use moderate language in the cause of freedom."*

# COMBAT POETRY

## Words, just words

By Puseletso Libetsa

*And so the children have learnt not to weep  
They have left cries and wallings  
to the sting and staccato of the Scorpion  
which cries metal tears  
Tears that come out raining  
flooding and bloodying*

*I have ceased to define my image in words  
that grow like mashrooms  
in mouths sweet with deceit  
Words, have I hurled at the silent world?  
Words, do we hurl into the sky in anger  
only to see them fall on deafened ears  
while we die everywhere in the land?*

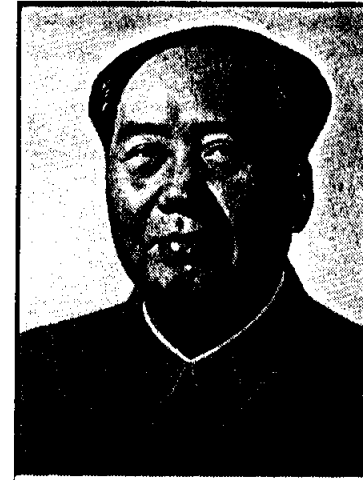
*I have ceased talking  
defining myself in words  
whose countless numbers bear testimony  
to my tolerance*

*The Scorpion will now define me good, better and best  
For I have seen Azania's bloody image  
in the silent waters that is our tears  
collected in memories of struggle  
threatening to drown us into defeat*

*I have ceased to define myself in words  
words, just words*

## Quotable Quotes

*'Without a people's army the people have  
nothing'*



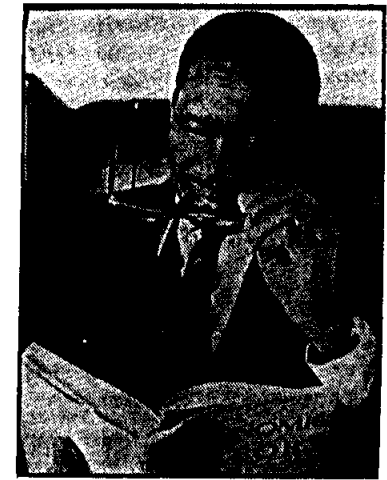
The late Cde Mao Tsetung of the Chinese Communist Party

*'A nation without arms is not a nation'*



Imprisoned PAC President Cde Zeph Mothopeng

*'White supremacy, under whatever guise  
it manifests itself, must be destroyed'*



The late Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe of the Pan Africanist Congress

*'The PAC's massive programme to arm  
and train the African masses is  
succeeding'*



APLA Commander - in - Chief Cde Johnson Mlambo



# SADF bid to cover-up shock security spending

As the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) intensifies its armed activities deep inside South Africa, the Pretoria regime has announced a defence budget that is 22 times larger than its defence spending in 1972.

*Report: Romero Daniëls  
and Willie Mazambane*

The racist South African Defence Force (SADF), in a document issued shortly after the budget was tabled in the apartheid parliament, described the R6,6 billion defence budget (more than 22 times the 1972 defence spending) as "modest".

The SADF document said the 30 percent increase in this year's defence budget was "not unreasonable".

Spending on the racist South African Police (SAP) went up by more than 50 percent from R1,07 billion in the R46 billion South African budget announced in the racist parliament recently.

In its document, in defence of the big defence allocation, the SADF referred to the high South African inflation rate and noted that the United States, Britain and Israel spent greater proportion of their respective gross national products on defence.

The racist army gave out what were apparently carefully selected figures to support its defence of the "guns-not-butter" defence budget.

The figures, which were lifted out of context from current South African statistics, deliberately ignore several facts which suggest that at the end of the day, the security force budget will have reached R12 billion — almost twice the figure given on budget day.

The first fact the SADF document omitted to mention is the current South African inflation rate of about 15 percent. By that deliberate omission, the document sought to shelve the fact that the official defence budget rose twice the inflation rate figure.

It also consequently plays down the fact that the R6,6 billion defence spending amounts to 14,7 percent of the overall South African budget compared to 13,7 percent last year and 13,2 percent in 1985.

Considering the existence of different arms of the security forces in South Africa today, the country's security budget must include the R1,5 billion police vote, which saw a 43 percent rise from last year's.



*P.W. Botha, the man behind the killer defence budget*

The budget must also include the R198 million secret services vote, which rose by 17,3 percent from last year's.

It must include the R9,2 million vote for detained persons (a 73,8 percent increase), the R2 million control for security measures within the Department of Development Aid (100 percent increase) as well as the R334 million for defence housing and building under the Public Works vote.

In short, huge sums of defence spending can be found in various other ministries' votes.

It is noteworthy that South Africa's defence expenditure always exceeds the estimates contained in the official defence budget, with a seven percent excess recorded last year. This excess rule also applies to the police expenditure.

Taking these facts into account, the official security forces spending should come to approximately R9,5 billion so far.

The defence budget, as it was officially presented in the racist parliament, did not include some secret items of security forces expenditure such as the amount placed in the Special Defence Account, the bantustans' defence and police budgets and the South West African colonial force budget, and the foreign currency from overseas sales of South African arms.

With the addition of these expenditures, South Africa's security force spending for the year ending March 1988 will reach about R12 billion, which will be about 25 percent of the overall country's budget and over 8 percent of the Gross National Product — more than the percentage the United States and British defences each take from their respective budgets.

A glance at the R6,6 billion official defence budget indicates that the largest single increase in the various arms of the racist security forces went to air defence, having risen from R1,6 billion last year to R2,6 billion this year.

The second largest increase was in landward defence, with a rise from R2 billion last year to R2,4 billion this year. The SADF's explanation of this one is that the rise was necessitated by "the transfer of responsibility for border protection to the SADF and increased aid to the police".

Whatever the fascist soldiers say, all these billions of rands explain one thing: Racist South Africa (RSA) has been plunged into a full scale war by its own settler-colonial and apartheid policies. And the rising figures of rands in defence spending indicate that Pretoria is losing that war because it is in defence of the indefensible.

## *Fascist defence budget distribution*

THE R6,6 billion for apartheid defence in the new financial year is divided as follows (with last year's allocation in brackets):

- Overhead Command and Control ..... R140 million (R212 million)
- Landward Defence ..... R2,4 billion (R2 billion)
- Air Defence ..... R2,6 billion (R1,6 billion)
- Maritime Defence ..... R497 million (R431 million)
- Medical Support ..... R216 million (R178 million)
- General Support ..... R978 million (R908 million)
- Largest portion of the R1,5 billion allocated to police will be on personnel expenditure. This will be R1,2 billion compared to R852 million last year. Spending on equipment is up from R81 million last year to R128 million.

*Graph prepared and designed by the Creative Arts Unit of the Azanian People's Liberation Army Political Department and figures compiled by the APLA Research, Information and Propaganda Section at PAC army headquarters.*

# DIPLOMATIC COMBAT



PEOPLE in the Caribbean, Australasia and the Pacific region now have a better view of the PAC and the struggle to liberate Azania. This follows wide-ranging diplomatic activities by the PAC chief representative in the region, Cde Max Nemadzivhanani, and the hard work done by support groups. Here Australians gather in central Canberra to express their solidarity with the oppressed but struggling Azanian masses. (Picture by Combat photographer).

## Caribbean people get better view of PAC, APLA

*Combat Correspondent*

NEW YORK — The visit by a PAC official to the Caribbean nations has opened the eyes of the people in that region on the role of the PAC and the Azanian People's Liberation Army, a spokeswoman for the tour organisers has said.

"As a result, the African people in the Caribbean now refuse to be uncommitted observers in the struggle against the Pretoria regime," said Ms Moremi Hunt of the All African's Revolutionary Party.

Ms Hunt, whose organisation co-ordinated and funded the tour by PAC chief representative to Australasia and the South Pacific Cde Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said: "We now support the PAC and other genuine opponents of apartheid with a clear understanding that the fight in Azania is also for the dignity of all the black people the world over."

While on the four-week tour, Cde Nemadzivhanani addressed public meetings and rallies and held formal and informal talks with representatives of governments, trade unions, religious groups, student bodies, mass political organisations and solidarity groups.

### EDITOR'S NOTE

SOLDIERS are normally associated only with tough and rough things such as guns and bombs. Some people go even further to believe that soldiers do not think or speak-out but shoot.

However, the truth is that while soldiers are of course military people, they are not just robots as some people would suggest. They are thinkers as well.

As for PAC guerilla soldiers, these are political fighters. Put differently, they are militarily-trained politicians.

This is clearly evident in this issue of Azania Combat, the official organ of the PAC guerilla wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. In this issue, which contains far more political stories than the magazine normally carries, the PAC soldiers explain exactly who they are — political fighters.

However, Azania Combat remains a combat magazine. In this issue we are just bringing up the issues behind that combat.

## VANCOUVER SUMMIT

### British interests in SA are now targets says Ahmed Ebrahim

*By Combat's World  
Affairs Reporter*

VANCOUVER — Margaret Thatcher's open defiance of the rest of Commonwealth leaders on the issue of sanctions will make British interests in South Africa open targets of the Azanian freedom fighters, the PAC Secretary for Foreign affairs, Cde Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, said here recently.

He told a Press conference at the end of the Vancouver Summit of Commonwealth leaders that the British prime minister was a declared ally of settler-colonialism and apartheid.

Cde Ibrahim, who led the PAC delegation to the summit, was responding to Mrs Thatcher's opposition to sanctions against Pretoria and her decision to oppose even the setting up of a Commonwealth ministerial committee to monitor existing measures against the regime.

"British interests, which Mrs Thatcher has placed over and above those of the Azanian people, will become open targets of the struggle of the Azanian masses for national liberation and self-determination," he said.

The Vancouver Summit revealed the true nature of British imperialism and reconfirmed PAC's declared policy that in the final analysis the oppressed but fighting Azanian masses are their own liberators."

## Free Africa's commitment is put to test

*Combat Reporter  
in Dar Es Salaam*

THE need for all African countries to make their contributions towards the Liberation and African Fund was raised at the 23rd Summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa recently when delegates focussed on the issue of whether free Africa was still committed to the total liberation of the continent — a commitment declared nearly 24 years ago.

It became clear that the struggle could not continue effectively with half the OAU members contributing while the other half did not meet its financial obligations. These contributions, it can be said, are needed now more than ever before.

With the meagre contributions from few of the states, the liberation struggle will be weakened and freedom delayed where it could be speedily executed.

"As we look at the long list of member states who have been in arrears of contributions to the Special Fund of the Liberation of Africa we cannot but wonder whether the commitment of indepen-

Africa to the total liberation of our continent still remains total and unshakable," said Mr Brownson Debe, Assistant OAU Secretary General.

"As we contemplate the difficulties of the Liberation Committee in raising an annual budget to meet the requirements of the national liberation movements we begin to wonder whether we have lost touch with the spirit of freedom and independence which inspired our founding fathers to establish this committee."

The OAU summit was attended by top officials of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the other Southern African national liberation movements, including SWAPO of Namibia. The movements assured the committee of the best use of the liberation fund.

## 'I saw AK-47s in PAC mealie meal bags' witness

THE court in the "terror" trial of seven alleged members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has heard of one of the alleged methods used by the PAC to conceal arms for infiltration and distribution inside South Africa.

A state witness claimed that he had seen 10 AK-47 assault rifles in a maize meal bag in a trunk of which one of the accused in the trial was allegedly in possession.



Combat heading  
was misleading

In the latter case, it will leave an impression that the PAC and its army have targetted all whites, including PAC's own white supporters.

In the body of the article, one can write about whites in South Africa being the enemy, because the article explains that fact. A title like "APLA selects whites targets" immediately puts the reader on guard and makes him or her subjective before reading the article.

Zwelonke

## SA's new threat to Frontline

*From Intelligence  
Correspondent*

**PIETERSBURG** — The Pretoria regime, in its destabilisation drive against the Frontline States and its bid to ensure continued occupation of Azania by the white settler minority, has just completed a huge military base in the far Northern Transvaal.

The base, situated inside the Venda bantustan and about 22 km west of Louis Trichard past the village of Madombidzha and Rathidili, took just over three years to construct. It is still not yet known how much the Pretoria regime has spent in its construction.

The base, which is on a farm about 5 km from Rathidili Village and nestled among several villages, including Ravale and Madabani, along the road to Mara Navigation Station, was officially opened by the mad General Magnus Malan in October this year.

"It is within an easy striking range against both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, countries that are constantly being threatened by the Pretoria regime" according to an intelligence source in the area.

Africans in surrounding villages had been threatened with removals to make way for the base, but that the regime had later rescinded the decision, the source said

## PAC fighter opens fire at SA policeman

*Operations Reporter*

A GUERILLA believed to be an Azanian People's Liberation Army fighter, and armed with the famous East European-made Skorpion machine-pistol, shot and wounded a municipal policeman at Hledelberg in South Africa recently.

The attack on the policeman at Ratanda township was the second incident involving Skorpions in the East Rand area in three days, local police liaison officer Colonel Desmond Keyter admitted.

Meanwhile, a man was said in a South African court to have provided members of the public with Skorpion machine-pistols and more than 150 live 7.65 bullets.

The man, Robert Mangope (30), was jailed for two years for possession of the weapons and ammunition, and sentenced to four years imprisonment for providing them to members to the public.

In his evidence before presiding magistrate Mr C. Butler, the man said he had obtained the pistols from a person known as "Churchill".

Skorpions are now generally regarded by Africans in South Africa as a PAC weapon because they have frequently been used by guerillas of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC military wing, in attacks mainly on the racist security forces.

And the attacks in which these portable deadly weapons have been used totally differ from those of people other than APLA fighters or people trained and armed by combatants of the PAC guerilla wing in that the attacks are directed mainly at the fascist security forces and carried out in a real guerilla warfare style.

# Black newsmen say they are guerillas in enemy territory

BLACK journalists in South Africa consider themselves as guerillas operating in an enemy territory, the Assistant Editor of the *Sowetan*, Cde Joe Tihlooe said in Harare recently.

"We are operating within a situation where there is blood all around us. This, however is not new. I believe it began in 1652 (when European invaders came to Azania)," said Cde Tihlooe at a panel discussion organised by the Media Workers Association of South Africa.

In reply to a question by Howard Barrell, a liberal South African journalist who has come under frequent criticisms by Azania Combat for distorting information about the PAC and its army, Cde Tihlooe said the *Sowetan* did not discriminate in its coverage of news about anti-apartheid political organisations.

The *Sowetan* assistant editor was apparently referring to the tendency among the white liberal, and of course the Afrikaner, newspapers to report nothing which seeks to boost the image of the PAC and APLA while highlighting anything serving to promote groups towards whom liberals are friendly.

"We do not embark on a deliberate campaign to ignore certain organisations and pretend that they do not exist. We see biasness on the part of the so-called emerging media, particularly the *Weekly Mail*, whose readers are not being given a full picture of what is taking place in South Africa.

"We on the *Sowetan*, for our part, publish anything newsworthy by any organisation, be it the PAC and Azapo or the ANC and UDF," said Cde Tihlooe.

"Unfortunately, certain newspapers have taken particular positions in favour of particular groups and against others, particularly the black consciousness ones.

"For refusing to discriminate against any group, we are accused of biasness.

"The *Weekly Mail* is a pro-UDF publication and does not support any of the black consciousness organisations

*By Combat Southern  
Africa Correspondent*

perhaps because they do not have white members."

The *Weekly Mail*, some of whose stories about the PAC and its army have been considered provocative and misleading by *Azania Combat* and *Azania Commando*, also came under a barrage of criticism from *Sowetan* news editor Cde Thami Mazwai.

"If the *Weekly Mail* is fighting the PAC as it does, why should the (South African) government worry about the PAC," said Cde Mazwai, adding that the liberal newspaper had embarked on a systematic campaign against the PAC, Azapo and the whole black consciousness movement.

Another *Sowetan* journalist, Cde Manthatha Tsedu, said: "When I read a story in the *Weekly Mail* suggesting that the PAC had only 450-odd guerillas, at first I thought that the newspaper or the journalist who wrote that story had no discipline or direction.

"But I abandoned that thought because I know the real motives of this newspaper."

Said Cde am Mabe of the (Johannesburg) *Star* "The day the black people will have their own Press will be the day when their aspirations will be better known."

Cde Mabe contented that events in the black townships could be best covered only by black journalists "because they live in the townships and their experiences are based on the life in these townships".

Following a motion moved by Cde Mazwai and Cde Tsedu, the meeting called for the unconditional release from detention of Cde Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mxokisi Fuzile, Phiso Ngqumba and Brian Sokutu.

# HISTORICAL WARS

## 'This country is mine' Europeans were told

*From APLA Political Commissariat*

THE second British occupation of South Africa in 1806 brought no changes for the Africans but more repression, with the Brits inacting one colonial law after another which on the whole defined and re-defined the master - servant relationship between the Europeans and the indigenous African population.

One such law was the so-called "Hottentot Code", whose purpose was to facilitate control and tight grip of the Khoisan Africans by the European colonial invaders. Despite these laws, African resistance continued.

Following the victory of the Africans over the Dutch settlers in Suurveld, the Europeans were either driven out or became subjects of Ndlambe or the Gqunukwebe chief Cungwa. As a result, the British administration in the Cape colony began to fear African expansion further west.

"Unless a sufficient force is immediately sent", wrote a British officer on the frontier, "I shall not be surprised to see the kaffirs extend themselves within a short distance of Cape Town."

British troops failed to stop Africans led by Ndlambe and Cungwa in their onslaught on the invading foreign army. Ndlambe, standing near the Sunday River, stamped his foot on the ground and told a British officer "This country is mine. I won it in war and shall maintain it."

In 1812 a new British military governor, General Cradock, declared war on Africans in Suurveld after claiming that Africans had threatened to cut meat supplied from the Eastern Colony to the Cape.

The colonial army, made up of the British and the Dutch as well as Griqua collaborators under Lieutenant - Colonel Graham, invaded Suurveld.

With more sophisticated weapons and newly acquired military tactics from the Napoleon wars, the colonial force defeated the Africans before Graham built a line of forts

(military) between new villages called Cradock Village and Grahamstown to stop Africans from counter - attacking.

However, the war for Suurveld was yet to be over. Following the 1818 Battle of Amalinde victory, in which British puppet Ngqika was defeated by an African force led by Ndlambe assisted by prophet Makhanda, a march began across the Fish River to recapture Suurveld from the settlers.

The following year, Makhanda and 10 000 African troops attacked Grahamstown, but failed to capture it. Three months after that attack, the Europeans counter - attacked, driving Makhanda's forces back across Kei River in a bloody battle.

With Makhanda's defeat, the British forces took 30 000 African cattle as war booty and the Africans were expelled from the area between the Fish and Keiskama Rivers, bringing to an end the 5th Cape Nguni War in 1819.

And the end of that war was to see the brutality of colonialism, with British troops indiscriminately killing unarmed and innocent African men, women and children.

The most significant factors that contributed to the African defeat were the sophistication of the European invaders' weaponry, their scorched earth policies and the collaboration with the invaders of some Africans led by Ngqika.

Ngqika's collusion with the Brits had a devastating effect on the African defences since he had known the African war plans and secrets.

## Dingane, pillar of hope and resistance

*FROM APLA OPERATIONS DEPARTMENT*

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, calls upon the African masses in Azania to observe the great resistance day - December 16.

It was on this historic day 149 years ago that Dingane, the legendary chief of the Zulus, waged one of the fiercest battles against European invaders in what is now occupied Azania.

It was on Sunday, December 16 1883, that the colonialist army, led by blood-thirsty settler Andries Pretorius, attacked the Africans in the Natal Province of South Africa. The invaders waged what they called "a holy war" against "the African heathens".

The Europeans all took a common oath or covenant to keep that day "holy" forever, the day on which their version of God had given them victory against Africans. They have since renewed that oath every night of December 16.

For the Africans, however, this is the day when indigenous men, women and children were to be mercilessly slaughtered following the settler victory.

The defeat of the Africans in the Battle of Blood River was to bring about white domination in South Africa characterised by political oppression, economic exploitation, military suppression and social degradation of the African masses by a white minority.

This battle must remind all Azanians that white domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword. It therefore cannot be destroyed by anything other than the sword.

Dingane's Day must be a day on which all Azanians should re-dedicate themselves to recover the stolen land of Azania, with Dingane being a pillar of hope and resistance in the war to repossess that land.

Long Live the Spirit of Dingane!

The Land Belongs to Us!





# CHILDREN'S CORNER

DEAR God  
 when we lied down in gross  
 roads at night we saw two  
 Bright Stars. my brother  
 tells me. they are your  
 eyes. Our mother says  
 are. two holes in our  
 tent who is right?  
 Reply  
 A Zanian  
 Child