

# AZANIA COMBAT

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



**INSIDE**

APLA men in SA's  
bloodiest battle in 1988

PAC reaffirms its  
Stand against talks

SA experts recognises  
APLA strength

PAC can no longer  
be ignored



Cde Mncedisi Khethelo, one  
of APLA's fallen Lichtenburg  
Battle heroes.

(Story Page 3)



# CONTENTS

Editorial .....	2
APLA men in 1988's bloodiest battle with SA forces .....	3
PAC strength recognised by SA expert .....	5
Court Combat .....	8
From the Commander-in-Chief's Desk .....	9
PAC does not compete with ANC .....	10
PAC Intelligence File .....	12
Catalogue of admissions about PAC .....	14
PLO thanks PAC .....	16
Death robs PAC of its fine artist .....	17
PAC does not have "sort-target" problem .....	20
Diplomatic breakthrough for PAC .....	25
Quotable Quotes .....	26
PAC won the Sowetan election survey .....	27
People's Forum .....	28
The SA-ANC rugby saga .....	30
Combat Poetry .....	31

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

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, the Azanian  
People's Liberation Army  
P.O. Box 2412, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

Editor	Willie Mazambane
Political Editor	Romero Daniels
Operations Bureau Chief	Muriel Dimpho
Features Editor	Sol Dumézweni
Sub-Editing and Layout	Willie Mazambane and Peter Domingos
Chief Photographer	Lerato Mokoena
World Affairs Bureau Chief	Priscilla Sherrin
Circulation (South Africa)	Ben Mpi
Circulation (International)	Sello Tello
Information Background	Johnny Majazi of the APLA Research and Information Section
Cover Design	Creative Arts Unit in the APLA Political Department

ONE SETTLER! ONE BULLET

# AZANIA COMBAT

## EDITORIAL

### APLA courage sends fear amongst settlers

EVENTS in South Africa over the past few months have proved beyond reasonable doubt that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has not only registered its presence on the ground, but has done so emphatically and with determination.

And it all started quietly in January 1986 when the Commander in Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, made it public that APLA fighters were under specific orders to strike the main blow at the enemy soldiers and police.

APLA's implementation of those orders marked an introduction into South Africa of a new type of guerilla war, in which attacks were shifted from focussing on inanimate targets into focussing on military and police targets.

The latest in a series of such attacks was what is now commonly referred to as the **Lichtenburg Battle**, the bloodiest battle between guerillas and racist security forces so far this year.

At first, Pretoria and the liberal media tried to attribute responsibility for the attack to some other liberation movement, but military evidence persistently pointed to the PAC and APLA.

This issue of **Azania Combat** contains a catalogue of admissions by Pretoria and the liberal media that the PAC was not only responsible for the attack, but that the attack pointed to a much stronger and active PAC than was previously disclosed.

We have deliberately, and in certain instances sacrificially, allowed views of the usually anti-PAC media to come out in our news columns as strongly as they were expressed, even where the PAC basic positions have been distorted or deliberately misrepresented.

We have done this because we are one stubborn liberation movement that does not fear the media, let alone the hostile media, for we would have long been destroyed by the number of media attacks that we have had to face over the years and particularly during our crisis period.

We are now so accustomed to media attacks and to being ignored or denied publicity where we deserve it that we take the recent and current wide media coverage of the PAC's military and political gains as "one of those things".

We take that publicity not as a sign of a change of heart in Pretoria and in the liberal media officers, but as an inevitable development arising from APLA's intensified guerilla attacks.

We urge you, gallant APLA combatants, to maintain the momentum. The more we hit the boers the more they will talk about us and, more importantly, the nearer we will get to the liberation of beloved Azania.

One Settler! One Bullet!  
Izwe Lelhu! I-Afrika!

# THE LICHTENBURG ENCOUNTER

## APLA hits 12 SA forces in 1988's bloodiest battle

By Operations Correspondent  
Muriel Dimpho in Mafikeng

**TWELVE** South African security force members were hit in a grenade and gun battle with an Azanian People's Liberation Army unit at a Roadblock near Lichtenburg some 200 km west of Johannesburg.

Whether all or some of the security force members were killed or wounded has been a subject of dispute, with Pretoria admitting that the 12 men were hit by an APLA unit but claiming that they were "slightly injured".

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and independent observers believe that from Pretoria's own description of the events at the Lichtenburg roadblock, it is highly unlikely, if not completely out of this world, that the 12 security force members would have escaped with "slight injuries".

Pretoria's controversial version of what has been dubbed "the bloodiest battle" between guerillas and security forces in western Transvaal to date was that a car was stopped at the roadblock, mounted between Lichtenburg and Mafikeng.

"Five policemen were injured when hand-grenades were thrown at them by occupants of the car," said the regime in a statement issued by the police.

"The police then opened fire on the vehicle, killing two black men and a black woman. Another black man who survived the shooting was taken a short distance away from the roadblock to be searched. Police shot him dead after he took out a grenade and primed it," said the statement.

"When he fell, the grenade detonated, injuring a further seven members of the security forces," it said, adding that "none of the seven was seriously injured".

This version of events at Lichtenburg has been seriously questioned and challenged not only by the PAC, but also by the local media and foreign

correspondents in South Africa, independent observers and military analysts.

The first question that was asked was whether it was possible for the 12 security force members concerned to escape with "slight injuries" from what has generally been accepted as a "bloodiest battle".

More specifically, the question was whether a defensive hand grenade, with an effective explosive range of 50 metres, could just cause "slight injuries" to people searching the person who detonated and got killed by that hand grenade.

The second question was: If the 12 security force members were indeed "slightly injured", why were they not just treated for their minor injuries and then discharged from hospital?

To put it in another way: If Pretoria was so concerned with setting the record straight, as it would like many to believe, why did it refuse to disclose the name of the hospital where the 12 were being treated?

The third and probably the most crucial question was whether there were any security force survivors at all.

It has been said there were none, which explains the fact that one of the APLA men involved in the battle had been able to slip away because there was no longer any security force member at the roadblock able to stop him.

In an initial report based on an account by an APLA commanding officer inside South Africa, the PAC external headquarters in Dar Es Salaam said four APLA fighters had died in the battle.

(Continued on page 4)

However the organisation received a follow-up report from the same officer which said that APLA had in fact lost two fighters, Cde Siph Mahlaba, who commanded the unit, and Cde Mncedisi Khethelo.

The two others who died together with Cde Mahlaba and Cde Khethelo in the battle have not been confirmed by the PAC as members of its army or even of its internal political wing.

The fifth person in the group who escaped may not be named for operational reasons, an APLA information officer has said.

The PAC, in its statement on the battle, said the first casualties were five of the racist security forces and one of the APLA fighters. The other seven enemy forces had followed when another of the APLA combatants primed and detonated a grenade while he was being searched by the seven.

Pretoria, through a police spokesman, has since challenged the PAC account, describing it as "ridiculous and an attempt to save face".

The regime claimed its own version was the correct one "as will be proven during the legal processes which are to follow in an open court".

In a brief interview, the Commander of APLA, Cde Muntu Mzolo said: "We have already spoken out this matter and are not about to enter into some kind of a war of words with the enemy".

On Pretoria's promise to prove its point in an open court, Cde Mzolo said: "We have nothing to hide about Lichtenburg. We have said all that we know about this battle. And what we know is what Pretoria also knows".

"So this business about going to court to prove one point or another is to us just an empty threat designed to give us a little scare".

"The boers are just trying to give an impression that they are confident with their information so that the story they have told so far should be accepted as probably what could really have happened at Lichtenburg".

"In any case, our war against the racist security forces is not being fought in the courtrooms, but on the battlefield, which is a better place for a soldier to prove a point," said Cde Mzolo.

Meanwhile, the Lichtenburg Battle, as it has now come to be known, has given rise to an interesting development.

Roadblocks not only in the Lichtenburg area, but also in other parts of South Africa, are now regarded as potential battle zones.

There are also semi-official reports that changes are being effected on the roadblocks to allow for a quick and more efficient response of those manning them in the event of an attack by guerrillas.

In the Lichtenburg area, Pretoria has introduced patrols on the roads where roadblocks have been mounted.

## PAC army snubs SA fence plans

Combat Reporter

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has described as "futile" plans by South Africa to erect a 24 km security fence along its border with Botswana.

The South African news agency, S.A.P.A., said the security fence idea was believed to be a direct result of "recent clashes in the area between the security forces and guerrillas of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress".

Cde Jonny Majosi, a senior APLA information officer, said PAC army attacks against the security forces were not being carried out from any of the neighbouring states, including Botswana, but from within South Africa itself.

"While it is true that there had been clashes between our fighters and the racist security forces in and around the area where this fence is to be erected, we have always tried to avoid launching attacks in border areas," he said.

"One reason for this is that although Pretoria will always find an excuse to attack a neighbouring state, we do not want to give it to them on a silver plate.

"However," added Cde Majosi firmly, "this is not a guarantee that our fighters will not be involved any more in border area clashes.

"We are waging a national liberation war and therefore it should not be surprising to find our combatants fighting in the farthest corners of our country."

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the South African Defence Force has confirmed that tenders had been invited for the erection of the fence at Pontdrif border post in north-western Transvaal and for the installation and supply of electric and electronic equipment along the fence.



"PAC strategists state that APLA actions are principally directed at members of the security forces and this assertion seems to be supported by these attacks and clashes between APLA men and the security forces. And APLA soldiers appear to be trained and equipped for combat at close quarters. Certainly, they resist arrest or capture with ferocious courage."

## Expert recognises APLA as PAC strength becomes just too difficult to deny

By Combat Editor  
Willie Mazambane

THE battle between Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters and South African security forces near Lichtenburg west of Johannesburg "points to a significant revival in the Pan Africanist Congress' political and military fortunes", a South African political lecturer has said.

In an in-depth article in the *Weekly Mail* focussing on the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Professor Tom Lodge gives a brief history of the PAC and says the organisation broke away from the ANC in 1959 mainly on the ground that the ANC had weakened African nationalism by adopting the Freedom Charter.

Professor Lodge is a senior political lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand and is regarded in South Africa and abroad as an expert on the PAC and ANC together with their guerrilla wings, APLA and Umkhonto We Sizwe, respectively.

The PAC enjoyed popularity in certain regions of South Africa before "it was effectively suppressed in the early 1960s", says Professor Lodge, apparently choosing the word "suppressed" as opposed to "banned".

"Recent events, however, may indicate a revival, whether one believes the PAC or the police claims," Professor Lodge says in his article headlined "Is the Spirit of Robert Sobukwe Rising?"

He refers to what he says were unsuccessful

(Continued to page 6...)

attempts by the PAC between 1985 and 1986 to "revive" its military activities in South Africa and says: "After these setbacks, police say, APLA's veteran Deputy Commander Enock Zulu arrived in Cape Town to begin the task of reviving old PAC networks."

He also refers to the early 1987 trial of Andile Gusha, an alleged APLA combatant and PAC activist, and says the hearing testified to "an apparently growing PAC presence in the Western Cape, a traditional area of PAC strength".

PAC publications, says Professor Lodge apparently referring to Azania Combat and Azania Commando, state that in 1986 an APLA unit was active in another historical PAC stronghold, Sharpeville, where the APLA men reportedly killed 10 policemen (some of them white) in five guerilla operations.

He notes that sources also asserted that the killings in 1986 of brigadier Andrew Molohe of Bophuthatswana and, on a separate occasion, of a Ciskei consular official were the work of APLA men.

"The first PAC guerilla attacks to be partly confirmed by the police were the four actions attributed to the 'Alexandra Scorpion Gang' between December 1986 and February 1987," says Professor Lodge, adding that two soldiers and two policemen were wounded in these attacks.

He referred to several other APLA guerilla operations, including the August 1987 Corlett Drive Battle at Bramley near Johannesburg, and says:



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF APLA

"There may have been other incidents involving the PAC last year which were never reported by the Press."

Professor Lodge then makes an important and significant observation:

"PAC strategists state that APLA actions are principally directed at members of the security forces and this assertion seems to be supported by these attacks and clashes between APLA men and the security forces."

"APLA soldiers appear to be trained and equipped for combat at close quarters. Certainly, they resist arrest or capture with ferocious courage."

Professor Lodge's observation on the targets selected by APLA is important in that it poses a direct challenge to the liberal Press Trust of South, which in May this year sought to cause confusion by attributing guerilla attacks on the racist security forces to other organisations.

The truth is that the PAC is the only liberation movement that has come out strongly and unequivocally by stating publicly that its fighters are under a specific order to strike the main blow at the South African soldiers and police.

And, as Professor Lodge has rightly observed, APLA forces have been carrying out that order since it was made by the APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, at the beginning of 1986 when the PAC intensified its programme of training and arming the African people inside South Africa.

## SA admits that many cops came under guerilla attacks but is silent on PAC role

THE chief of the South African security police, Johan van der Merwe, has given Pretoria's statistics and other information related to attacks and other activities of guerillas fighting the settler-colonial and apartheid regime.

In what was described as a "detailed" briefing to South African parliamentary journalists, General van der Merwe, however, made no mention at all of the PAC, whose guerillas are now known to have been responsible for a significant number of spectacular attacks on the racist security forces.

The PAC, in fact, is the first and remains the only organisation in South Africa which openly stated that combatants of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are under specific orders to strike their main blow at the racist soldiers and police.

In his report, which also makes no mention of any of the country's black consciousness organisations, General van der Merwe described the security situation in South Africa and spoke of a fluctuation in the number of guerilla attacks each year.

The number of what Pretoria calls "unrest-related incidents", which often include guerilla attacks, had increased "very slightly" during the first six months of this year compared with the same period the previous years, he said.

However, he claimed the number of guerilla activities had "gone down substantially" this year compared with the same period over the two previous years "although people had the impression that they had increased (this year)".

General van der Merwe did not say why people had such an impression.

One third of the guerilla attacks this year had been directed at the police, he said, without making any mention of the attacks directed at the racist South African Defence Force (SADF).

Attacks that are known to have been carried out against SADF personnel include those mounted in Alexandra township by APLA fighters armed with Scorpion machine pistols. In fact it is those attacks which made these East European-made pistols famous in South Africa.

By Operations  
Correspondent  
Muriel Dimpho

General van der Merwe's attempt to play down the role of the PAC in the South African security situation appears to have come rather too late, considering the Press debate APLA operations have given rise to in South Africa.

## Unrepresented PAC hailed by FL leaders

From Priscilla Sherren

LUANDA — Leaders of the Frontline States, meeting here recently, have hailed the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in absentia for political and military successes gained in South Africa, particularly over the past several months.

The PAC, which was not represented at this summit of Frontline heads of state in the Angolan capital, was one of the three Southern African liberation movements which were commended for their role in the intensification of the struggle in South Africa and Namibia.

In a communique issued at the end of the one-day summit, the frontline leaders called on Pretoria to unban the PAC and the African National Congress.

They hailed the PAC, Swapo and the ANC for victories achieved in the struggle against Pretoria.

The summit, chaired by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, was attended by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania. Botswana was represented at ministerial level following the injury of President Quett Masire in an explosion aboard his presidential jet.



# COURT COMBAT

## 'PAC man trained people inside SA as early as 1975' SA court is told

ONE of five alleged PAC members charged with 24 counts of "terrorism" was said in the Pretoria Regional Court to have given a group of people military training inside South Africa as far back as 1975.

Enock Mabatu Zulu, described in court as "an official of the PAC High Command", had allegedly given military training to local people in Ingwavuma, northern Natal, said public prosecutor Mr I. Pretorius when presenting his argument at the close of the defence case.

In the trial, Mabatu Zulu, Ndoda Neanga, Paul Mahohlo, Vincent Mathupwa and Reverend Daniel Nkopodi have pleaded not guilty to 24 counts of "terrorism".

Zulu was said by Mr Pretorius to have been a Deputy Camp Commander when he conducted the alleged internal military training, but there was no indication whether the camp concerned was inside South Africa.

Mr Pretorius also claimed that there was evidence that Zulu had given lessons in "battlefield tactics" to guerrillas in PAC military camps in Tanzania.

## Muslim who refused to testify against alleged PAC men

A TWO-YEAR jail sentence has been imposed by the South African "justice" on a Cape Town man who refused to give evidence for the State against seven alleged PAC members charged with 24 counts of "terrorism".

Kept in custody for nearly two years, over two months of which in solitary confinement, and subjected to lengthy periods of interrogation and torture, Abdul Aziz Kader still refused to testify against the alleged PAC men.

He firmly told the Pretoria Regional Court that it was against his Islamic principles to give evidence for the State and that he would have betrayed his obligations to the oppressed community if he agreed to do so.

Passing the two year jail sentence, the magistrate, Mr J.H. Bekker, said "there is no evidence" that Kader had been tortured while in detention and that there was also no evidence that the police "interrogation was brutal".

Kader, he said, had failed to give a "just" reason why he did not want to testify against the alleged PAC men.

## Priest could not spy on 'PAC men'

A CHURCH minister charged with "terrorism" involving the PAC has said he had lied two years ago when he told a magistrate that he had intended informing the police about alleged PAC members he had transported from Botswana into South Africa.

"I do not work for the police and I am not their informer. The police have their intelligence service. I work for the AME Church," said Reverend Daniel Nkopodi when asked by the State prosecutor why he had later decided not to report the alleged PAC men to the police.

Reverend Nkopodi, four other alleged members of the PAC and two of the Muslim organisation, Qibla, have pleaded not guilty before Pretoria regional magistrate Mr J.H. Bekker to 24 counts of terrorism.

When testifying before Groot Marico magistrate Mr Ezak Potgieter on April 11 last year, Reverend Nkopodi said after giving a number of PAC members a lift from Botswana to South Africa, he had intended to tell the police "who they were, where they were and where they had hidden their weapons".

This, he later said in Pretoria, was of course a lie as he had no intention whatsoever to do so.

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



Commander-in-Chief Mlambo, with PAC Military Commission member Cde Joe Mkwanazi (right)

## APLA covers considerable ground in implementing the PAC arms supplies scheme

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has covered a considerable ground in giving a practical meaning to the PAC's declaration of 1987 as a year of training and arming the African masses, Cde Johnson Mlambo has said.

"This exercise continues with increased intensity," said Cde Mlambo, the APLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC chairman, in a wide-ranging exclusive interview with Boniface Byarugaba of the (Tanzanian) *Daily News*.

The PAC had after a thorough analysis of the situation in South Africa and in the region resolved that the Azanian liberation war had to be entirely home-based and completely self-reliant.

"As a result of this conclusion, all our liberation efforts have been and still are premised on our declared commitment to increase the fighting capacity of the African masses in our country by simply making available to them arms of war and skills to operate those weapons," said Cde Mlambo.

"I am happy to say that, in this regard, we have, through our military wing APLA, managed to provide this vital material to our people.

"This can be borne by the reported increase in the military campaigns against the settler racist soldiers and police. Even the regime has had to admit, although reluctantly, APLA's deep involvement in these campaigns."

The APLA commander-in-chief said the PAC believed that the major ingredients towards a decisive onslaught against white domination in South Africa were already there.

"After a long period of painstaking mobilisation, education and limited mass action, we can now safely say the struggle for genuine liberation in Azania has reached a new climax," he said.

# 'We do not compete with ANC says PAC'

RECENT weeks have seen an unprecedented debate in several South African newspapers about what was being described as "PAC's revival of its military activities" and what was being seen as a possible competition between the PAC and ANC.

## 'We are implementing our own programme'

One newspaper linked at least seven bomb explosions in the Witwatersrand (PWV) area in June this year to what it saw as the "competition between the PAC and ANC for supremacy".

This alleged competition, according to the newspaper, had "hotted up recently".

However, a PAC army information officer, Cde Jonny Majozi, has dismissed the "competition" suggestion, saying neither the PAC nor its guerilla wing, APLA, were competing with anyone.

"We can hardly be expected to compete with a fellow liberation movement when we have such a giant task as the liberation of Azania," he said. "Far from competing, we are and have always been implementing our programme to this end."

On the supposed "hotting up" of the alleged competition, Cde Majozi said: "If anything has hotted up, it is our direct attacks on the South African army and police personnel. To this, yes, we admit."



# 'We won't talk with Pretoria'

THE Commander-in-Chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has reaffirmed the PAC's rejection of negotiations with Pretoria, saying there was absolutely nothing to talk about at this stage.

He was replying to a question by (Tanzanian) *Daily News* senior journalist Boniface Byaruhaba, who had referred to indirect South African contacts with a section of the liberation movement and asked whether the PAC fitted in anywhere in the exercise.

"The PAC does not and shall not fit in anywhere where the inalienable right of the indigenous people of Azania to national liberation and self-determination is likely to be compromised," said Cde Mlambo.

"The racists understand only one language, the language of the gun, and nothing else."

The issue of talks fell on the crucial question of the basic purpose of such an exercise. The complete transfer of power from the white minority to the indigenous African was not negotiable, said the commander-in-chief.

## Don't fight each other — PAC chief

FIGHTING among the oppressed African masses in Azania has been condemned by the PAC Chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, who described it as "misguided, uncalled for and self-defeating".

In an interview with the (Tanzanian) *Daily News*, Cde Mlambo said: "The PAC strongly condemns this violence, for it benefits no one but the oppressive regime."

The environment of such violence, said Cde Mlambo, had tainted some opponents of the Pretoria regime who now used violent menace against the oppressed and not the oppressor.

"Some people do not know who their real enemy is and

"The PAC does not and shall not fit in anywhere where the inalienable right of the indigenous people of Azania to national liberation and self-determination is likely to be compromised."

abuse our noble principle of non-collaboration with the enemy as a means of silencing other political tendencies in order to gain political hegemony within the oppressed community rapidly.

"We call upon all those involved in this unnecessary violence to stop forthwith."

Cde Mlambo, who is also APLA Commander-in-Chief, was replying to a question on the PAC attitude towards the Pietermaritzburg in fighting.



## SA's new missile VC3 is exposed

Combat Correspondent

DETAILS have emerged about South African arms manufacturer Armcor's new Darter air-to-air missile, which is a further development on another such missile, the VC3, currently being used by the South African Airforce (SAA).

The Darter missile-aiming helmet enables the pilot to select a particular target even when several targets are in the area. An alternative semi-automatic wide-angle scan mode is said to reduce pilot workload during the approach to the target.

Targets may be engaged within 15 degrees of the sun and rejection of infra-red sources such as the horizon and cloud formations provide a look down and shoot down ability against interfering backgrounds.

The missile, according to a report published in the authoritative *June's Defence Weekly*, carries a 16 kg pre fragmented RDX-Kraton based warhead.

It has a solid propellant rocket motor, which burns for two seconds and propels the missile to a maximum speed of 650 metres a second above the launch vehicle speed.

Once launched, the infra-red telescope is capable of the high look angles, up to 55 degrees off axis, demanded of an all aspect missile, with the pilot being given an audio indication once the missile has locked on to the target.

The Darter missile is obviously not intended for use against Azanian guerrillas because they do not operate in the air but on the ground.

It was against this backdrop that Argentina's supply of the *Mirage III* fighter-bombers could encourage Pretoria to renege on any agreement that could be reached in the talks and revert to its acts of destabilisation and destruction in Angola.

The officer said crates with the *Mirage III* components had been seen by impeccable sources being unloaded in a South African port during the months preceding June this year.

It seemed likely that Argentina was providing South Africa with aircraft frames and parts which Atlas Aircraft Corporation, an Armcor subsidiary, would assemble.

AAC would do so under an Israeli radar, weapons and engines package deal, in terms of which Israel has renovated its *Mirage* fleet.

**ONE SETTLER  
ONE BULLET!**

## Argentinian connection may hinder Angola peace

Intelligence Correspondent

THE decision by Argentina to sell *Mirage III* fighter-bombers to Pretoria could help tempt South Africa to try its luck again in southern Angola, a PAC military intelligence officer has said.

South Africa's acts of aggression had in the past been partly possible thanks to Pretoria's military air superiority, noted the officer.

The fact that this previous air superiority had now been broken could be one reason why the South African army generals, who have long been responsible for Pretoria's aggression, had decided to talk to Angola and Cuba, he said.

## SA plans for police air-wing amid mounting APLA attacks

THE racist South African Police (SAP), faced with mounting APLA guerrilla attacks against its personnel, has revealed plans to mark its 75 anniversary by launching a new air wing to counter what has been described as "the most serious revolutionary onslaught" in the history of South Africa.

The plans were revealed in what is probably the first White Paper on the SAP ever tabled in the South African parliament since the racist police force was formed in 1913.

Tabling the paper, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said: "It is common knowledge that South Africa is today the target of the most serious revolutionary threat or onslaught in our entire history."

The proposed new air wing is intended to support the repressive activities of a police force whose face has been hardened by the political uprisings which have intensified since the 1970s and which have made the SAP one of the world's most brutal and ruthless police forces.

The White Paper tabled by Vlok focuses on counter insurgency and what is called riot control. While bases on the borders remain manned by counter insurgency units, at the heart of riot control is an elite Task Force.

"This unit consists of a small group of members who have been subjected to stringent selection and who receive highly specialised training," boasts the paper.

In addition, a divisional riot unit has been deployed in every police division in the country. These units receive specialised training and are combat ready to react effectively in crisis situations.

The latest addition to counter insurgency and riot control units is the air wing, which uses both fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters. Although the air wing is still being developed, it has already proved that it

is an indispensable link in the effective combating of insurgency and riots, says the paper.

The White Paper does not say how, if the SAP was so good, it is possible for guerrillas, especially of APLA, to launch attacks anywhere in the country and safely retreat to internal bases.

## SA police give figures on cops hit in attacks

From Operations Correspondent  
Muriel Dimpho in Johannesburg

**MORE than 70 policemen were killed and 880 others injured in attacks on the racist security forces over the past year, a senior South African police officer has said.**

Brigadier Hermann Stadler did not say whether these include the 64 municipal policemen wounded in the sensational attack by an Azanian People's Liberation Army unit at the municipal police training college at Hlathi in Soweto in March last year.

This was the biggest number of security forces ever hit in a single guerrilla attack in South Africa.

The attack followed an announcement by the APLA Commander in Chief and PAC chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, that APLA combatants were under orders to strike their main blow at the South African security forces.

Brigadier Stadler, in an affidavit placed before the Rand Supreme Court, said 750 attacks on the security forces were recorded last year alone while more than 3 700 police vehicles had come under attacks.





## PAC can no longer be ignored

The APLA attacks on the South African security forces, especially those in which the Scorpion machine pistols have been used, call for a "thorough re-evaluation" of all previous suggestions that the PAC was not a force to reckon with, says a pro-apartheid publication.

"The current Pretoria terror trial of seven PAC members, including the (alleged) Director of Operations and Deputy Commander of APLA, indicates a possible re-emergence of this terrorist organisation and requires that a thorough re-evaluation of the PAC be undertaken," says the so called *Freedom Bulletin*.

Furthermore the acceptance of responsibility by the PAC for the Scorpion machine pistol attacks on members of the police indicates that the organisation has revived its terror campaign inside South Africa," went on the magazine, in its Issue No 7, published in Bryanston, South Africa.

It then makes a detailed analysis of the PAC strategy and tactics of people's war and notes that this strategy consists of three main components: a revolutionary party, a people's liberation army and a united front.

The PAC strategy, says the magazine, is based on three consecutive phases, namely:

- Guerrilla warfare, consisting of hit and run operational tactics and the creation of guerilla zones in rural areas;
- Mobile warfare, consisting of large scale mobile military actions launched from semi-liberated guerilla zones; and
- Final offensive, consisting of a final conventional offensive by APLA against strongholds of the South African army and other security units.

In this strategy, the PAC is understood to interpret its military activities as components of the political struggle, with the military army being considered as a machine that should help in the political education and mobilisation of the masses.

"The PAC's primary concern is the violent overthrow of the current South African government,

with APLA being seen as an instrument which, with the support of the masses, would effect that overthrow," says the magazine.

**Compiled by Azania Combat  
Editor Willie Mazambane  
and Combat's Operations  
Bureau Head Muriel Dimpho**

## 'There's nothing racist in PAC'

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is not, as is sometimes believed, a racist organisation, admitted Professor Tom Lodge a Witwatersrand University political lecturer often regarded as an expert on the liberation movements.

"Though it perceives white South Africans as 'settlers' and that citizenship of a liberated Azania should be confined to Africans, its definition of 'African' is essentially cultural rather than racial or genetic," said Professor Lodge.

He was giving evidence in mitigation in the trial of a PAC member and Azanian People's Liberation Army fighter, Temba Phikwane, recently.

"Hypothetically, the PAC admits of the possibility that whites can become Africans through an appropriate re-orientation of their values and culture and believes that this will happen on a large scale after liberation occurs.

"Before that time, political and material privileges effectively make it very difficult for whites who wholly identify with the African cause and African situation," admitted Professor Lodge.

## APLA targets are carefully selected

EXCEPT for two instances, none of the attacks said to have been carried out by a PAC fighter constitute an attack on a civilian target, a South African court has been told.

PAC spokesmen suggested that the principal targets of the Azanian People's Liberation Army offences are the security forces, indeed Professor Tom Lodge of the University of Witwatersrand when giving mitigatory evidence in the trial of an alleged PAC and APLA member, Temba Phikwane.

Cde Johnson Mlambo, APLA commander in chief, was quoted in court as having said: "The instruments of apartheid power in the name of troops and police must be hit hard and this will happen as the PAC programme inside the country unfolds."

Admitted Professor Lodge: "The evidence up to now does not support the view that the PAC advocates a strategy of indiscriminate terrorism."

## PAC was key driving force behind 1976 Soweto unrest

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was "the major driving force" behind the 1976 Soweto uprisings, Pretoria has admitted in a pro-apartheid magazine.

This admission by the so-called *Freedom Bulletin*, which reflects Pretoria's views on the situation in South Africa, is in fact a recognition of a finding by a South African court in 1978 that the PAC, particularly its president Cde Zeph Mothopeng, had played a significant role in the Soweto uprisings.

Cde Mothopeng is currently serving a 30-year prison term for predicting and encouraging the uprisings.

*Freedom Bulletin*, in its Issue No 7, linked the PAC to the uprisings in an article analysing the PAC and the internal problems it had gone through in the late 1970s before its late former chairman Cde John Pokela brought internal unity and put the organisation back into the political and military map of South Africa.

The PAC, for instance, was the major driving force behind the 1976 Soweto unrest, but was unable to exploit this situation for propaganda value due to internal strife during 1976 and 1977, says the magazine.

## PAC was the first group in SA to form a guerilla army

THE PAC was the first liberation organisation in South Africa to organise an underground wing for waging guerilla war against the Pretoria regime, it has been confirmed in South Africa.

In what could be described as a catalogue of admissions, obviously arising from APLA's intensified guerilla activities inside South Africa, Pretoria for the first time publicly acknowledged that the PAC, and not some other organisation, was the first to decide to meet State violence with revolutionary violence.

In a pro-apartheid publication, *Freedom Bulletin*, reflecting Pretoria's views on the country's security situation, it was stated: "Contrary to popular belief, it was the PAC which first formed an armed wing called POQO, subsequent to the banning of the organisation in April 1960.

The magazine noted that after a spate of attacks directed primarily at the racist police and other supporters of the regime, particularly whites, about 15 000 POQO members were arrested in 1963.

The PAC is the only liberation movement in South Africa "to have had so many active and militant members during the 1960s", it said.

# Arafat thanks Mlambo for PAC support

*Combat Reporter*

THE PLO chairman, Cde Yasser Arafat, has thanked the APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, for the PAC's and the Azanian people's solidarity with the Palestinian people following the assassination of Cde Khalil Al-Wazir.

As part of the PAC and Azanian people's solidarity, APLA official organ *Azania Combat* carried a special tribute article in its Issue No 6 which was accompanied by a full page photograph of the fallen Palestinian hero displayed prominently on the inside back cover.

As the Palestinian people pick up the gun from the fallen hero the Azanian people draw inspiration from Abu Jihad to forge ahead in the struggle to liberate Azania, for the struggle of the Palestinian and Azanian peoples is one," said the magazine in the article by its political editor, Romero Daniels.

In his message to Cde Mlambo, Cde Arafat

described Abu Jihad's assassins as "criminal forces of the Zionist enemy".

This heinous crime will not deter us from continuing our just struggle to liberate our usurped land and to regain the inalienable national rights of our people, including our right to return, to self-determination and to establish our independent state."

"The great heritage of struggle left to us by our great martyr Abu Jihad will be the beacon lighting for us the road to freedom and liberation and which will enable us to hoist high the banner of the revolution over Jerusalem - the capital of our independent state."

In his message, Cde Arafat thanked Cde Mlambo and wished the PAC and the Azanian people success in the mounting struggle against the Pretoria regime.

The late Cde Al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, was deputy commander-in-chief of the Palestinian forces at the time of his assassination.

*The PAC Chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, and his PLO counterpart, Cde Yasser Arafat, at an international conference in which they represented the Azanian and Palestinian peoples respectively.*



## Death robs PAC of its fine artist

*From Molefe Molapo  
in Dar Es Salaam*

ON Wednesday June 1 1988, the dynamic life of an Azanian People's Liberation Army combatant and one of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania's finest artists, Cde Velile Christopher Gweni, came to an end. He was 34.

Verge, as Cde Gweni was fondly known within the PAC and APLA, died at Muhimbili Medical Centre in Dar Es Salaam a few hours after being admitted.

Born in Mdantsane township in East London, Cape Province, on August 12 1954, Verge completed his secondary education at Hlokomla School in the township in 1976.

In 1978, he sat for his junior certificate of education and senior certificate of education under the University of Cambridge at Lobatse Secondary School. He achieved a first class pass in both examinations.

He then went to Lesotho where he worked as a cartoonist for the now defunct *Lesotho Weekly* newspaper in Maseru where he won a prize for outstanding art work.

In 1981, Verge left Maseru to join the PAC external headquarters in Dar Es Salaam where he worked as a cartoonist for a daily paper at a PAC transit centre and later at an APLA military camp before being incorporated into the PAC's department of information.

It was around this period that the PAC placed his talents at the disposal of the Organisation of African Unity's *Printing Press* in Dar Es Salaam where he worked with courage and determination until his untimely death.

His death therefore came as a blow not only to the PAC, but also to the OAU.



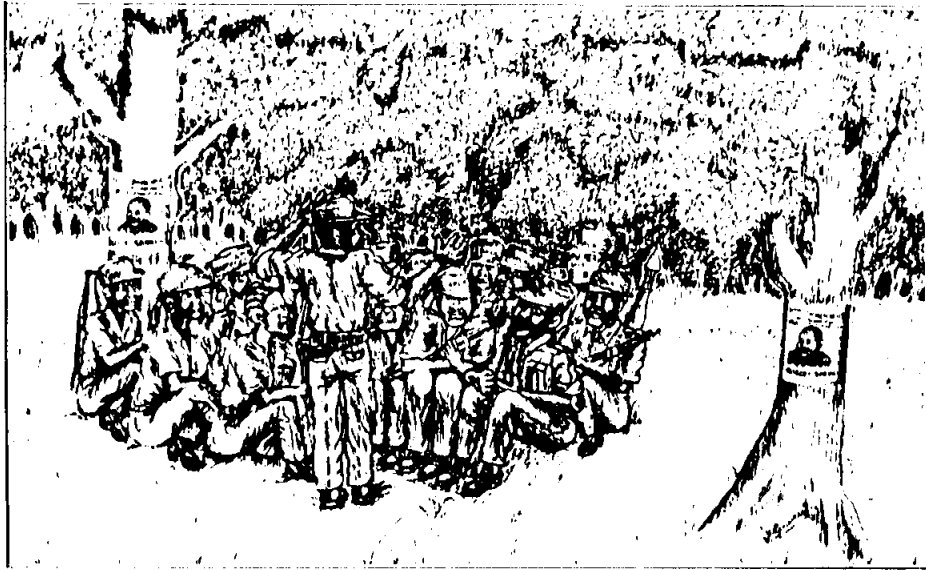
Cde Velile "Verge" Gweni  
(August 12 1954 — June 1 1988)



*The late artist busy on one of his last works as Cde Babes Baba, another PAC cadre who worked with Verge at the OAU Printing Press in Dar Es Salaam, looks on.*

# COMBAT'S ART MAN DIES

## Tribute to co-founder of of APLA's creative arts



**AZANIA Combat** has received with deep regret and sorrow the death of its Arts and Graphics Editor, Cde Velile Gweni, who passed away after a short illness.

"Verge", as Cde Gweni was generally known among his comrades, was an extremely talented artist and graphic designer, a seasoned cartoonist and, above all, a determined combatant of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

But to *Azania Combat* Editor Cde Willie Mazambane and staff, he was better known as head of the *Creative Arts Unit*, a section of the APLA Political Commissariat.

The *Creative Arts Unit*, co-founded by Verge and Cde Mazambane, has been the designer of nearly all posters and banners published by the PAC since being set up in May 1981 and is currently the body in charge of all the artistic touch that has made *Azania Combat* what it is today.

### From Combat Features Editor Sol Dumezwani

Yet it all started as a small project designed to inject some art into a PAC camp daily newspaper then edited by Cde Mazambane.

With Verge's uncontrollable urge in search of an even more meaningful role for art, the project developed into some kind of an art workshop operating within the camp's information centre and serving the artistic interests of the camp community.

But Verge's extraordinary arts and graphics skills required exposure extending well beyond the confines of an isolated camp.

(Continued to page 19...)

(From page 18)

Together with Cde Mazambane, he began working on an ambitious massive programme of producing posters, banners and paintings, working all day and often well into the early hours of the morning.

Elsewhere, two other PAC artists, Cde Noah Thoke and Cde Victor Tihong, were quietly doing some abstract art work.

The four men, led by Verge, were to form a dynamic team that was to mount one of Dar Es Salaam's biggest art exhibitions.

The exhibition, mounted at the city's main library in February 1983 to mark the fifth commemoration of the death of PAC founding president Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, drew scores of people, including members of the Dar Es Salaam University's arts department.

"What you see here is a combination and blending of abstract and fine arts which have resulted in what

we have called 'creative arts'." Verge explained to an amazed university arts lecturer during the exhibition.

The exhibition, during which visitors were treated to emotional poetry by PAC and Tanzanian poets, provided the first opportunity for Verge and his team to put "creative arts" on public display.

Indeed, everything on exhibit was "creatively artistic" with that Velile Gweni touch very noticeable.

"We have suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Cde Verge," said Mazambane almost in tears. "How do you replace a man of that calibre, a man who was to me the very personification of art itself?"

Cde Velile Gweni would be greatly missed not only by *Azania Combat* and the *Creative Arts Unit*, but by the whole APLA and the PAC.



(An art piece by Puseletso Libetsa, one of Verge's colleagues in APLA's Creative Arts Unit).



## 'PAC is clear of the soft or hard target psychosis'

By Priscilla Sherren



Cde Gora Ebrahim

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has never suffered from "a psychosis of what constitutes hard or soft targets," the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim, has said.

He was answering a question in an interview with *The Herald* (of Zimbabwe), whose journalist had asked if a liberation movement was justified to attack what are considered "soft targets".

"We have never suffered from a psychosis of what constitutes hard or soft targets," said Cde Ebrahim, who is also the PAC's acting Secretary for Publicity and Information.

"We are committed to totally overthrowing the settler-colonial apartheid regime and, therefore, all those who make it possible for that regime to continue to exist and oppress our people justifiably constitute our targets."

Cde Ebrahim, however, referred to the PAC strategy and tactics under which combatants of the Azanian People's Liberation Army had been given orders by the APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, to strike the main blow at enemy soldiers and police.

He told a joint meeting of the PAC Military Commission and the APLA High Command that APLA had scored great successes over the past two years, particularly from the middle of last year to the beginning of this year, but more was yet to be done.

"Our blows on the enemy security forces have strengthened the security of the Africanist formations inside Azania and increased their confidence in the PAC," said the commander in chief.

"We note with satisfaction the reputation APLA fighters have established by resisting capture after carrying out attacks and thus giving a practical meaning to the principle of hitting an enemy while preserving oneself."

Cde Mlambo urged the APLA commanders and cadres to maintain this reputation by not only guarding it jealously, but by using it to forge ahead.

They had to do so by strictly adhering to the military strategy and tactics of the PAC which had to date been proven on the ground to be not only correct, but very effective.

## APLA has fought bloodiest battles with SA forces

Combat Reporter

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army has accounted for the bloodiest battles between guerrillas and racist security forces in South Africa over the last two years, the APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has said.

"But these battles, by our standards, are still too thinly spread to revive the mood of insurrection engendered during the heydays of POQO (the early PAC guerrilla wing)," said Cde Mlambo when addressing senior APLA commanders.

## HONESTLY SPEAKING

## PAC does not accept setbacks just to prove that it is fighting

PREVIOUSLY, the Pretoria regime claimed that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania either no longer existed or was "a spent force"

By Peter Domingos

One method of promoting this "PAC death" suggestion has been to simply remain tight lipped about any PAC activity which tended to indicate that the organisation was existing, let alone that it was indeed active.

However, after just over two years of intensified military and political activity by the PAC inside South Africa, things have decisively changed.

Pretoria has been forced, through the shedding of its armed forces' own blood, to admit not only that the PAC and its military wing APLA were existing and active, but that they were probably the greatest threat to settler colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.

However, there is now a new type of conspiracy in Pretoria against the PAC and APLA.

In this conspiracy, Pretoria admits the existence of the PAC and APLA and then deliberately casts doubt on their strength and effectiveness. In doing so, the regime counts on the direct or indirect support of the liberal Press.

For instance, liberal writer Professor Tom Lodge, in an article on the PAC and APLA published in the *Weekly Mail* (August 5 1988), admits the PAC presence inside South Africa and then adds that the organisation has "some long way to go before it can claim a mass following".

He goes on to say: "PAC propaganda refers to an internal wing of the organisation. Its existence, however, has yet to be attested to in (the South African) courtrooms."

What Professor Lodge is really saying is that the existence of a PAC internal wing can only be proven through the arrest of and legal action against its members.

If this is how to prove existence, then it will most definitely be unacceptable to the PAC, which boasts a strategy and tactics designed to protect the organisation, its members, supporters, couriers and sympathisers while striking at and weakening the enemy forces.

Professor Lodge's "rough" way of proving existence and

activeness is shared by another liberal writer, Patrick Lawrence, who chose to focus his views on APLA activities on the alleged lack of them.

Says he: "Of the roughly 540 insurgents captured or killed by the security forces last year, only 85 — less than a fifth — were identified as PAC men. The accused in most security trials are ANC men."

The question is: Does the low number of PAC fighters arrested or killed prove weakness or operational inefficiency on the part of these fighters?

APLA has had fighters arrested or killed in battles with South African security forces, but it is also on record that in most of their operations the PAC combatants have efficiently attacked the enemy forces and quickly and safely retreated, swiftly slipping away to prepare for another attack. This is what guerrilla warfare is all about.

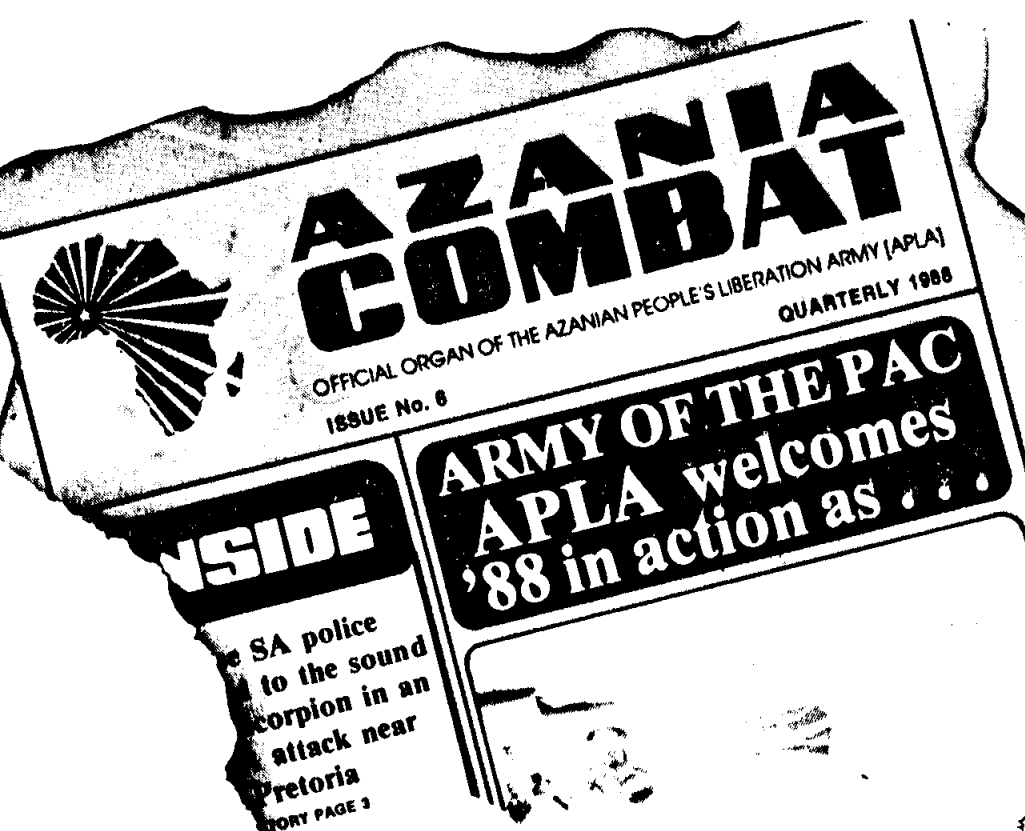
Honestly speaking, evidence of war is to be found on the battlefield and not necessarily in courtrooms or cemeteries.

The fewer the freedom fighters killed or captured means the more efficiently operations are being carried out and the closer the oppressed people are getting to freedom.

*Azania Combat*, in its issue No 3, could not have put it better when it said: "... The fact that not many of the gallant APLA combatants operating in the country have been killed, wounded or arrested explains the correctness of the PAC strategy and tactics."

"We are not at all suggesting that there is ever a struggle without casualties, but casualties are only setbacks, and we would therefore prefer not to have them, if we can help it."

"We cannot take comfort at having setbacks simply because without them it will be said (by people like Lodge and Lawrence) that the PAC is doing little or nothing. We do not want publicity for setbacks because that, to us, is bad publicity," said the PAC army publication in an editorial.



## 'It's a non-event' says Combat editor on Issue No 6 ban

**THE Pretoria regime has banned the previous issue of Azania Combat, the now popular official organ of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.**

Azania Combat editor Willie Mazambane said he and the magazine's staff were not at all surprised with the banning of Issue No 6, which carried several stories on the PAC strategy and tactics of people's war.

Senior Combat staff member Cde Ben Mpi, who is in charge of the magazine's circulation inside South Africa, said: "PAC publications have always been restricted in South Africa."

The banning of Azania Combat Issue No 6, therefore, was just a reiteration by Pretoria of this constant restriction.

Cde Mpi said the usual secret distribution of the magazine would continue as if nothing had happened.

In its editorial comment, Issue No 6 calls on the Azanian masses to support the peoples of Angola and Mozambique by stepping up their activities within South Africa itself.

"We can think of no better solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa than to hit the enemy harder at home," says the editorial.

"In this way, we will not only be keeping the enemy busy at home, but will be steadily but surely moving nearer and nearer to liberating beloved Azania, for then we will be enjoying an undisturbed backing of our brothers and sisters in the region."

This issue contains a cover story split into various articles focussing on different aspects of the PAC strategy and tactics of the people's war.

The articles were written against the backdrop of APLA's intensified guerilla operations, which are fully covered in the issue.



**Pan Africanist Congress of Azania**

**'We are now facing Pretoria militarily'**

**ONE SETTLER  
ONE BULLET!**



# DIPLOMATIC COMBAT



The PAC Chairman and APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson, Mlambo (right), with Frontline States leaders (from left) President Kenneth Kaunda, President Robert Mugabe, President Jose Edvard dos Santos and President Quett Masire.



Cde Mlambo flanked by the PAC Deputy Administrative Secretary, Cde Keke Nkula (left), and the Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama.

## Maputo and Lusaka open doors to PAC as war mounts in SA



By Combat's World  
Correspondent  
Priscilla Sherren



**THE recent PAC – Mozambican talks and Zambia's invitation of the PAC to that country's ruling party national congress reflect the rapidly increasing role of the PAC in the military and political developments in South Africa.**

Announcing what has since been described by diplomatic sources in Harare as a significant diplomatic breakthrough for the PAC, the organisation's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Gora Ebrahim, said the PAC had been pursuing a consistent political and military line for some time now.

He told Zimbabwe's major daily newspaper, *The Herald*, that a PAC delegation, led by PAC Chairman Cde. Johnson Mlambo, had held bilateral talks with Mozambican officials, including President Joachim Chissano.

This is believed to be the first formal high level contact between the PAC and Mozambique.

Cde Ebrahim also disclosed that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia had for the first time since the mid-1960s invited the PAC to the national congress of Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP).

Cde Mlambo later joined President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Chissano of Mozambique, President Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, President Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and other leaders at the UNIP talks in the central Zambian town of Kabwe.

Cde Ebrahim said it was during a six day official visit by a PAC delegation to Mozambique that President Kaunda had extended the invitation for the UNIP congress. While in Mozambique, the PAC team also attended the two-day ninth SADC summit which was held in Maputo.

The PAC foreign affairs secretary said Mozambican officials had briefed the PAC delegation on the situation in Mozambique and on the successes the Frelimo forces had scored against the South Africa-

backed MNR bandits.

The PAC team, for its part, briefed the Mozambicans on the latest developments in South Africa and on the PAC's political and military activities in that country.

"Our talks with the Mozambican officials and Zambia's move in inviting us to the UNIP congress reflect the rapidly increasing role the PAC is playing in the political and military situation in South Africa," said Cde Ebrahim.

"We have since 1981, when we stepped up our activities inside South Africa, pursued a consistent military and political line, stressing that apartheid cannot be reformed and that the vehicle for change in South Africa is the African masses and not the regime."

Militarily, the PAC position had been and continued to be that while all forms of struggle had to be encouraged and supported, armed struggle remained the principal form of struggle and that such a struggle had to be internally based.

Referring to reports in the South African media on the rise in attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Cde Ebrahim said the South African security and police officials now found it difficult to deny the strong PAC military presence inside the country.

"They have in fact gone further to openly admit that our fighters were now able to train and arm the African masses from within South Africa itself and then deploy them to carry out attacks on racist army and police targets.

"It is these successes that have led to the opening of many doors which had hitherto been considered as closed to the PAC," said Cde Ebrahim.



# QUOTABLE QUOTES

*"THE main instruments of apartheid power in the hands of the troops and police must be hit hard and this will happen as the PAC programme inside the country unfolds"*

— APLA Commander-in-Chief Cde Johnson Mlambo

*"A LOT of struggle and a lot of fighting are taking place in rural South Africa, an area we (in the PAC) regard as our most serious internal rear base"*

— PAC Secretary for Defence Cde Sabelo Phama

*"WE have nothing to hide about Lichtenburg (Battle). We have told all we know and all that was there to say about this battle. And what we know is what Phetola also knows but cannot disclose."*

— APLA Commander Cde Muntu Mzolo

*"MY children have already suffered and my people continue to suffer. For this reason, I've never asked myself whether or not to go on with the struggle. For I have to go on and on until victory."*

— PAC Social Welfare Secretary and one-time POQO fighter Cde Ntsho Booi

*"We (in the PAC) have never suffered from a psychosis of what constitutes soft or hard targets"*

— PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs Cde Gora Ebrahim

*"You will hear from us not only today, but also tomorrow, the next day, the next week . . . until Azania is liberated"*

— An APLA fighter after an attack on South African police

*"The boers are afraid to die. They fear death. The more of them you kill the nearer you will get to your goal"*

— Zimbabwean President Cde Robert Mugabe to Azanians.

# POLITICAL COMBAT

## The Sowetan election poll proved PAC, BCM leaders to be four times stronger within SA black community

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and organisations espousing its ideology won with a landslide victory in the Sowetan's 1987 election poll, contrary to well-publicised previous reports which gave victory to groups subscribing to some other political thinking.

By Features Editor  
Sol Dumezweni

The truth about the outcome of that election poll emerged in a report by one of South Africa's prominent journalists who has over the past few months been conducting in-depth studies to assess and establish the real strength and influence of the PAC and its guerilla army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a two-part article headlined "Radical Trends", in the (Johannesburg) Star, Patrick Lawrence referred to various pointers to the PAC strength and said: "Another pointer to the growth in the Africanist sentiment is the poll conducted by the Sowetan last year.

"Leaders in the Africanist and black consciousness camp drew more than 1 400 votes against just over 350 for the Charterists," says Lawrence.

The poll figures, therefore, indicated that the PAC and its camp were four times more popular than the other camp.

Lawrence says although some observers saw the Sowetan as pro-Africanist, with the majority of its readers sharing that outlook, "the poll cannot be dismissed as irrelevant"

"There is a strong surge of sentiment in favour of Africanism," remarked a known sympathiser of the United Democratic Front during a conversation in Soweto, according to Lawrence.

"The UDF sympathiser's appraisal is important because the UDF represents a competing ideological tradition, that is, the Freedom Charter."

Lawrence notes that a growing number of workers in South Africa now exchange salutations by raising their hands and extending an open palm instead of a clenched fist.

"The open palm, as distinct from the clenched fist or, before that, the thumbs up (Mayibuye) salute of the ANC, is the fraternal sign of the prohibited PAC," he says.

Lawrence then looks at the history of the PAC and Africanism, which he says sees the struggle in South Africa as primarily a struggle against colonialism and for "national liberation and self determination of the indigenous African people".

"The fact that whites have been in South Africa for nearly 335 years — with Jan van Riebeeck having landed in South Africa on April 6 1652 — does not, in the Africanist view, mean that the situation is not a colonial one," he says.

What it meant was that "we have a special form of colonialism in South Africa, settler colonialism, in which the colonising power is established in the colonised territory instead of being located in a distant home country such as in Europe", an Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) official is said to have explained.

Referring to the Africanist definition of an African as "anyone who owes his allegiance and loyalty only to Africa and is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority", Lawrence says that without taking that "giant psychological step" whites remain settlers, from the Africanist perspective.

Although it is portrayed in a persuasive, gentle and humane manner, Africanism "can show a harsher face . . .", he says.

The banning of the PAC in April 1960, for instance, gave rise to the secret POQO (the early PAC army), whose attacks in various parts of South Africa sent fear to members of the white community.

"Similar uncompromising attitudes may be maturing in the camps of the modern PAC army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, whose recruits are reported to chant a chilling slogan: 'One Settler One Bullet'."

# PEOPLE'S FORUM

## Reading Azania Combat was like reading a love poem of struggle

Dear Editor

Recently, a sister from the Real Dragon Project, under which political prisoners and prisoners of war here in the United States are supplied with political literature, mailed me a copy of *Azania Combat*.

I must state that reading the magazine was like reading a love poem of struggle. The magazine is truly an indispensable publication, a publication of my search for information about Azania.

I wish to commend the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Azanian People's Liberation Army for their escalation of the guerrilla war and the detailed coverage of that war by your magazine.

I am one freedom fighter in sheer elation to see concrete evidence that the Giant of Racism, fattened by the United States and British super profits, is being hacked to its knees for all presently.

Enclosed in my letter a poem, *Azania Will Be Free* which I wrote in tribute to the APLA fighters after reading the *Azania Combat* issue mailed to me.

It is my hope that these fighters will draw strength from and enjoy the poem. I would be even exceptionally proud if you could print the poem in the *Combat Poetry* column of your magazine.

May I now bring it to your attention that I am at present in the hole at McAlester Prison, where the white racist insects keep me locked up all day and everyday in the same way that the racists in Pretoria keep Azanians on Robben Island.

Because of this, I am unable to send you Amerikkkan dollars for subscription to *Azania Combat*. However I can send you postage stamps. If you could let me know whether this could suit you, I would greatly appreciate.

Victory to APLA!

Rickie Green  
McAlester Prison  
United States

## Azania will be free

By Rickie Green

*Azania is the righteous name  
for that country*

*And Azania will be free  
Azania will be free  
Azania will be free*

*Under the leadership of the PAC  
and its freedom fighters*

*Azania will be free  
Azania will be free  
Azania will be free*

*Onward march, PAC freedom fighter  
Onward march*

*The racists have murdered  
Starved and razed  
They have slaughtered Azanians  
But the voices shout*

*Azania will be free  
Azania will be free  
Azania will be free*

*With the Scorpion in hand  
Invincible courage in heart  
Steel solid determination in soul  
Sorrow of Azanians in mind*

*Onward to victory, PAC fighter  
Onward, son and daughter of the soil*

*Azania will be free  
Azania will be free  
Azania will be free*

## Azania Combat is cited in court as war mounts in SA

By Muriel Dimpho

PHOTOSTATED pages from several issues of *Azania Combat* and *Azania Commando* were produced by the State in a South African court as part of evidence of an intensified PAC drive to overthrow the Pretoria regime by violent means.

The pages, reproduced in an enlarged form and attached to an in-depth report on the political and military activities of the PAC, were produced in the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court in the trial of an alleged PAC member and APLA fighter, Themba Phikwane.

Brigadier Harmanus Stadler, who produced the report, told the court that he had over the past 25 years done an

extensive study of the PAC, ANC and SACP and found that the PAC had become "very militant" from its very formation.

Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, who was the first president of the ANC Youth League, had great influence on the PAC founding fathers and was the architect of the league's programme of action, which formed the basis of the PAC's militant political line, he said.

"When Robert Sobukwe was elected the first president of the PAC he adopted a militant stand. Sobukwe, or Prof, as he was known to his thousands of admirers, had with other PAC officials adopted resolutions to send young men out of the country for military training," said Brigadier Stadler.

"Later, a military wing, known as POQO (and now called APLA), was formed and began attacking whites in Queenstown, Burgershoop, Paarl and other parts of the country."

The photostated pages of *Azania Combat* and *Azania Commando*, with certain portions of the stories underlined as the most relevant lines, were produced as evidence of the latest PAC military and political activities.

**APLA operations shift to white SA**

**AZANIA COMBAT**

**no arms is no Nation Uncle Zeph**

**APLA presence is indisputable**

**EDITOR UNSHAKEN AS Pretoria bans Azania Combat**

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

**AZANIA COMBAT**

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



# AZANIA COMBAT

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF APLA

# World condemns SA attempts to crawl out of international rugby isolation by back door

By Priscilla Sherren

The PAC, the mass media in Zimbabwe and around the world, sporting organisations worldwide, anti-apartheid groups and the international community are one in their criticism of an accord between the ANC and the apartheid South Africa's rugby officials.

They are generally in agreement that the ANC is being used by South Africa in an attempt to get out of international rugby isolation through the backdoor.

The world has reaffirmed with one solid voice that "there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society"

The peace-loving peoples of the world have told the ANC that it should not take them for granted.

After many years of international effort to keep South Africa out of the world of sport, including rugby, the world has said things are to remain that way until the Pretoria regime is brought down to its knees.

There is no coming back by backdoor for Pretoria, even if one liberation movement says yes to it, so say the Azanians and the world community to the ANC and its apartheid South African rugby friends.

## COMBAT POETRY

### Come, calm mother

By Wanjaku Kiare

In a corner street  
A woman tightly clutches a child  
Scratching a brick wall that holds her prisoner

Let she be armed  
The bloodthirsty hounds' fingers  
Itchy with fear, let loose the trigger

Her falling sound echoes to all the waiting mothers  
A warm warning signal  
As the child slips through her arms  
Survivors' screams shriek in unison  
Reddened eyes drip strained streams of blood  
Omniscient feet grip the trembling earth

Yes mother, we have felt your painful sound  
Opportunities planting their ragged flag into your womb  
Through their fathers, their sounds  
And their unholy ghost

Lost pirates looting, raping  
Tricky (realities) signed  
Civil servants conspiring  
Convicts confiscating

In the name of their "civilisation" they named you  
They said naked they found you, discovered you  
"The dark continent  
The unknown south  
The spice islands  
The untamed wilderness", they called you

But mother you have never been lost or nameless  
We've seen their off-spring sprouting on black backs  
Red blood spilled  
The United (mis)Stakes mistaking Vietnam

Yes mother  
Azania is wrestling the diseased boer  
So come, calm mother  
We have gathered your spilled blood  
We are carrying the child along the angered river  
Struggling along the wounded curved bends  
In determined swelling currents  
Echo on mother  
The flowing stream screams with you  
Echo on mother



# APLA IN ACTION

South Africa will never be the same again

## Azanian People's Liberation Army

APLA, wing of the PAC, lead the way carry of the African people

APLA forces are under orders to strike the main blow at  
army, soldiers and police. *Commander in Chief*  
Mandela

We will stop at nothing falling short of the return of the  
land of Azania to its rightful owners, the indigenous African  
people, and self-determination on that soil. *Defence*  
Secretary Phisoa

LOWE LETHU

SAFRUKAI

