



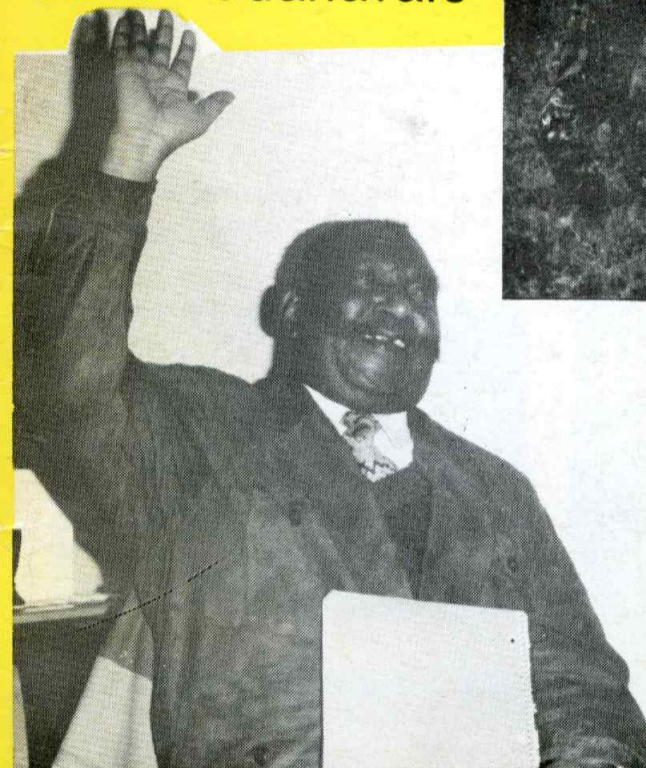
# AZANIA COMBAT

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

**ARM THE PEOPLE!  
LIBERATE  
AZANIA!**



'APLA is working  
towards Azania's  
Cuito Cuanavale'



## INSIDE

- Pretoria fears APLA link in grenade and AK attacks
- PAC leaders get credit for military and diplomatic gains
- Zeph rejects talks for now because . . .

'There can be meaningful talks  
only from a position of strength'



# CONTENTS

EDITORIAL: Negotiations out for now .....	2
APLA Operational File .....	3
PAC offensive acknowledged .....	4
PAC guerilla activity as seen by SA expert .....	6
PAC military record re-visited .....	8
From the Commander-in-Chief's Desk .....	9
PAC loses two outstanding fighters .....	10
Pretoria arms game exposed .....	12
Zimbabwe is not scared by Malan .....	14
Azania in war mood as Zeph blasts talks .....	16
Honestly Speaking .....	18
SA-Israel military links .....	20
PAC Intelligence File .....	24
Quotable Quotes .....	27
Church backs war .....	28
Historical Wars for Azania .....	30
Pictorial Combat .....	32

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

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

## AZANIA COMBAT EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor .....	Willie Mazambane
Political Editor .....	Romero Daniels
Sub-Editor .....	Peter Domingos
Features Editor .....	Sol Dumezweni
Operations Bureau Chief .....	Muriel Dimpho
World Affairs Bureau Chief .....	Priscilla Sherren
Photographic Bureau Chief .....	Lerato Mokoena
News Researcher .....	Teksor Tekere
Layout Designers .....	Willie Mazambane and Peter Domingos
Production Manager .....	Moses Lentshantsha
Circulation (South Africa) .....	Ben Mpi
Circulation (International) .....	Sello Tello
Information Background .....	Jonny Majozi (APLA Research and Information Section)
Cover Design .....	Willie Mazambane and Peter Domingos



# EDITORIAL

## Negotiations out for now

RECENT developments characterised by a lot of talks about talks are forcing us to re-visit a subject we would have thought had long been laid to rest, the subject of NEGOTIATIONS.

We must once again ask: "Who, at this critical stage of our liberation struggle, wants to negotiate with who about what?"

The Azanian People's Liberation Army, the fighting machine of the dispossessed Azanian masses, notes with satisfaction that it certainly is not the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania that wants to negotiate with anyone about anything at this stage.

It also notes with concurrence that the PAC, the true custodian of the interests of the Azanian people, has not stopped or sought to stop anyone from negotiating with Pretoria if they wished to do so.

As PAC President Cde Zeph Mothopeng put it at a recent Press conference in Johannesburg: "... Go and negotiate, if you want to."

The current balance of forces in South Africa is one reason why we refuse to buy the idea of negotiations, for we hold the view that negotiations can only take place between equals or, in the context of South Africa, when the regime would have been pushed into a tight corner, having received telling military and political blows.

At that stage, the only meaningful negotiations that would take place will be the sole purpose of formally transferring power from the white settler-colonial minority regime to the indigenous African majority.

In the meantime, we in the Azanian People's Liberation Army are fully behind the PAC political leadership in its stand on negotiations and we take this opportunity to pledge ourselves to remain on the battlefield.

As we remain on the battlefield, we will be continuing to attack the enemy's security forces while preserving and building up our own forces so that when the time is ripe we can negotiate from a position of strength.

## APLA grenade hits SA police says SA court

*From Muriel Dimpho*

A South African policeman was seriously wounded when an Azanian People's Liberation Army fighter threw a hand-grenade on him, a Johannesburg regional magistrate said recently when imposing a 10-year jail sentence on the fighter.

Vusumuzi Wellington Mandoyi is the first reported APLA fighter to be arrested, convicted and jailed for a grenade attack since the PAC army introduced in 1987 what has now come to be known as the "grenade warfare", in which all targets have been South African security forces.

Mandoyi was jailed for 10 years for "terrorism" and was imprisoned for a further four years for belonging to an unlawful organisation, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Shortly after the magistrate imposed the sentences, Mandoyi turned to face the packed public gallery and, giving the now popular open-hand PAC salute, he shouted "Izwe Lethu", to which those in the gallery responded "I-Afrika".

The magistrate, Mr S.J. Lombard, said in assessing sentence the court had to consider that Mandoyi had been a member of the PAC for 10 years, that he was trained militarily and that he had brought weapons into the country for "use against the police".

The incident in which he had thrown a hand-grenade which exploded and injured a policeman showed that the PAC fighter not only had the intention to use his weapons but had actually fulfilled that intention, said the magistrate.

"A trained person like you knew what harm the grenade could cause. You had the intention to seriously injure or kill," he said.

# APLA OPERATIONAL FILE

## APLA's grenade warfare baffles Pretoria as 74 attacks are acknowledged

SOUTH AFRICAN security authorities are baffled by the frequency of grenade attacks by guerillas and are investigating the possibility that a series of attacks involving the use of Scorpion machine pistols could have been carried out by the same guerilla forces.

*From Muriel Dimpho*

As the country witnesses what has now come to be known as "the grenade warfare", introduced by Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters just over two years ago, Pretoria has released statistics indicating that there were 74 grenade attacks as compared with 34 raids involving the use of assault rifles between February last year and January this year.

As it has become usual with all attacks carried out by or involving APLA, no arrests have been made or reported nor has there been any APLA guerilla or supporter put on trial for attacks involving the use of grenades, except for the one case reported on page 2 of this Combat issue.

"Simple," says APLA's Chief Information Officer Cde Jonny Majozi, "we plan all our attacks carefully and carry them out efficiently and with mathematical precision because, unlike others, post-operation arrests do not make us happy."

He told **Azania Combat's** correspondent in Dar Es Salaam recently that such arrests were nothing but setbacks "and we do not like them".

Added Cde Majozi: "While others happily take arrests as a sign that they are fighting or 'doing something', as it's normally put, we in APLA don't. Fighting, to us, means inflicting casualties on the enemy while preserving our own forces."

The APLA information officer said no guerilla army could survive and successfully establish itself on the ground without employing operational techniques designed to preserve its own forces while hitting hard on those of the enemy.



Such techniques had to be constantly reviewed and perfected, where this was necessary, to always maintain operational efficiency for greater successes on the field.

"I am not suggesting in any way that we are casualty-free. All I am saying is that we just don't like making our fighters arrest statistics by plunging them into ill-planned and publicity-geared type of operations just to prove that we are fighting or are 'doing something'," said Cde Majozi.

APLA is already on record for not accepting arrest statistics as a yardstick to measure the level of its military activity in South Africa.



## PAC gets aid from Indonesia

NEW YORK — In what is viewed here as a significant diplomatic gain, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania received US\$200 000 from the Indonesian government as part of its humanitarian assistance to the liberation movement.

The contribution was first reported in the *Indonesia News* magazine, which said a cheque for the amount had been handed over to the PAC diplomatic mission in New York recently as part of Indonesia's pledge to the Africa Fund.

## SA propaganda

**THE racist South African Defence Force spent almost a quarter of a million rands on a newspaper aimed at blacks during the 1988/89 financial year, the South African defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, has disclosed.**

In a written reply to a question by DP MP for Sandton in the racist South African parliament, Gen Malan said the SADF spent R240 000 on the newspaper, *The Warrior*, and a further R205 648 on direct subsidies to another 14 publications.

# CATALOGUE OF ADMISSIONS

## Behind the PAC's successful attacks and deep diplomatic penetration is the quality of the organisation's leadership

THE significant gains made by the PAC militarily and politically in South Africa and in its diplomatic penetration worldwide have been largely due to the quality of the organisation's leadership, admitted a South African political scientist.



AN ever cheerful but never compromising late former APLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC Chairman Cde John Pokela making a point to PAC medical students during one of his brief visits to their training institute.

### From Muriel Dimpho

Gary van Staden, a Witwatersrand University post-graduate student, looks at how the late Cde John Pokela had, on becoming PAC chairman and APLA commander-in-chief in 1981, set about tackling internal problems that had gripped the organisation in the late 1970s.

At the time of his death in Harare in 1985, Cde Pokela had succeeded in putting the PAC back to the rail, bringing total unity within its ranks and getting positive results in its activities inside and outside South Africa.

His successor was Cde Johnson Mlambo, described in one booklet as "a man of steel ... drafted by the PAC (after 20 years on Robben Island) right back into the battle frontline".

The booklet, *For the Liberation of Azania*, was edited by Lester Lewis, published by

London Pan African Association and distributed by KTM Books Audio and Visual Ltd of London.

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

### Maturity

For his part, Van Staden says: "That Mlambo had emerged as a natural successor (to the late Cde Pokela) and the ease of the transfer of leadership, a transfer achieved in a matter of a few weeks, were clear evidence of the new political maturity Pokela had brought to the PAC."

In an in-depth article entitled "Return of the Prodigal Son: Prospects for a Revival of the Pan Africanist Congress", Van Staden says: "Like his predecessors, Mlambo had been part of the PAC from the very beginning, although unlike them, he had not been very well known at the time."

Cde Mlambo, he noted, had the advantage of recent experience inside South Africa, having left the country just over a year before his appointment as chairman, a post he took over while he was still the PAC's Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

"The process of rebuilding the PAC, which Pokela had begun, continued under Mlambo's leadership with even more concrete results," says Van Staden.

### Foothold

Chairman Mlambo, who is also APLA commander-in-chief, had by the first few months of his leadership been able to declare that the PAC was gaining "a strong foothold" inside South Africa and that the PAC guerilla forces were beginning to operate against South African security force targets and collaborators.

On the next page is a very rough scenario of PAC and APLA activities in the period from January 1986 to October 1988 (see comment below the presentation):



APLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC Chairman Cde Johnson Mlambo flanked by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (left) and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe as the three leaders left the conference hall in Addis Ababa where the PAC leader, as part of the PAC diplomatic drive and penetration, joined other African leaders in an OAU conference recently. (Pic by Combat Chief Photographer Lerato Mokoena)



# PAC's guerilla activity as seen by Van Staden

MARCH 1986:	Arrest of two APLA guerillas reveals that up to 10 APLA men had been infiltrated allegedly from Botswana during that month or the previous one and were still at large;
APRIL 1986:	South African intelligence sources disclose that 150 PAC guerillas had been trained in Libya in 1982 alone and the disclosure follows revelations in the South African parliament that "scores" of Libyan-trained PAC guerillas were scattered all over the country;
MAY 1986:	South African authorities, particularly law and order minister (then) Louis le Grange, note that the PAC has been re-organising its cells structures to increase the role of local black populace in the organisation's military activities;
JUNE 1986:	Bophuthatswana Brigadier Andrew Molope is gunned down in an AK-47 attack linked to the PAC;
AUGUST 1986:	Five APLA guerillas, two of them senior field commanders, are arrested in Bophuthatswana and this is followed by the arrest after a grenade tussle with the South African police of APLA's second-in-command Cde Enock Zulu after he had evaded capture since appearing on South Africa's "wanted list" from 1962;
SEPTEMBER 1986:	Six people, with strong PAC links, are sentenced to death for the killing of a township puppet official and the PAC becomes the first organisation to bring the plight of what comes to be known as "The Sharpsville Six" to the attention of the world;
LATE 1986:	Then law and order minister Louis le Grange admits in parliament that there appeared to be a dramatic increase in PAC armed activities. Pretoria, he says, had detected a strong element of what he calls "Maoism" in PAC's rural "subversion campaign" and its inclusion of "ordinary masses" in "terrorist attacks against forces of law and order";
DECEMBER 1986:	New type of guerilla attacks, involving the use of Scorpion machine pistols and directed at South African security forces, emerges in South Africa and independent sources suspect that the PAC is responsible;
JANUARY 1987:	More of such attacks, carried out mainly in Alexandra township area, are beginning to be linked by Pretoria itself with the PAC and evidence soon emerges to confirm this;
FEBRUARY 1987:	PAC breaks its silence and publishes a yet to be disputed account of the Scorpion attacks based on an in-depth interview of one of the fighters involved by the APLA military bulletin <b>Azania Commando</b> ;
FEBRUARY 1987:	South African police say five more APLA men had been taken to custody after allegedly crossing the border from Botswana;
MARCH 1987:	APLA guerillas hit and injure 64 municipal police and kill one in a grenade attack at a Soweto municipal police training college. This to date is the largest number of security force casualties to be sustained in a single incident of insurgency in South Africa. PAC declares through one of the fighters involved that the attack is part of its intensification of the armed struggle;
AUGUST 1987:	Three APLA men are killed in a grenade and gun battle with the South African security forces in Bramley, Johannesburg, and Pretoria denies that any of its forces had been killed or wounded in the battle;
APRIL 1988:	It is revealed that about 18 PAC members, among them suspected APLA men, are facing charges under South Africa's Internal Security Act and other Acts;
MAY 1988:	Trials of PAC members, including five APLA men and two Qibla leaders, take place in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Springs and Transkei;
OCTOBER 1988:	The Five APLA men and two Qibla members are convicted and given long jail terms for "terrorism".

**NOTE:** The above mentioned PAC military activities are entirely based on Gary van Staden's article and do not include numerous other attacks known to have been carried out by APLA guerillas, those with a suspected APLA link and those that had been attributed to what Pretoria simply described as "gunmen", "black militants" or "unknown persons".

But most conspicuous by its omission is the widely-publicised grenade and gun battle, the bloodiest in South Africa in 1988, at a roadblock at Lichtenberg in Western Transvaal in July that year when 12 South African security forces and three APLA guerillas were killed.

And the comments made by South African officials on the PAC are by no means a complete measure of the PAC's military strength and level of activity inside South Africa.

Van Staden continues in his article: "The events described above (table) and those which follow indicate that the PAC is indeed in the process of its most significant revival since the early 1960s ...

**"The significance of the revival in PAC insurgency activity over the last three years was matched, if not exceeded, by developments on the diplomatic front."**

## Diplomacy

Van Staden notes: "While the PAC remained committed to armed struggle as its principal strategy for the liberation in South Africa, its leadership under Mlambo had apparently recognised the value of diplomatic pressure ..."



**CDE Mlambo addressing an  
OAU Liberation Committee meeting  
in Harare in May last year**

With Cde Mlambo together with Cde Gora Ebrahim in foreign affairs and Cde Lesoana Makhandia (then) at the United Nations all "working furiously behind the scenes", the PAC established official diplomatic contact with the United States, Britain and several official Western governments and Caribbean states which had previously recognised only the ANC.

The establishment of such contact with so many governments, notes Van Staden, had occurred in a startling less than 14 months.

"At about the same time, the PAC was

instrumental in securing additional Australian government support for the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC)."

## Transformation

By the first few months of 1988, says Van Staden, the PAC diplomatic standing had undergone "a remarkable transformation", with the organisation now maintaining official diplomatic contact on a regular basis with the following countries:

"The United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, China, Australia, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Tanzania, Mozambique, Nigeria, Egypt, Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Pakistan, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, Algeria, Lebanon, Burkina Fasso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea (Conakry), Guinea Bissau, DPRK and the Caribbean states."

"The list is not comprehensive and includes only those countries with which the PAC seems to have had regular contact during the past 30 months," admits Van Staden, whose list left out a number of other countries worldwide with which the PAC keeps regular contact."

"The list however, now includes all five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (as opposed to only one - China prior to 1980) and the PAC international contacts have taken on a global appearance."

The UN Security Council's permanent members are the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China.

Van Staden concludes: "The significance of the PAC effort as detailed above is two-fold.

"First it is a reflection of the quality of leadership currently present in the organisation and, secondly, it may herald the first real attempt by the PAC to integrate at least some diplomatic action into its programme which, until now, has relied exclusively on the armed struggle."

Like official comments made by Pretoria on the PAC Van Staden's article does not reflect a complete measure of the actual strength of the PAC and the level of its military, political and diplomatic activity.



# MORE AND MORE ADMISSIONS

## PAC military record re-visited

Although it is now common knowledge that the PAC was the first liberation movement in South Africa to respond to State violence with revolutionary violence, there has been a fresh admission of this fact by one more of South Africa's political scientists.

Analysing the level of the PAC's popularity just over one-and-a-half year after its formation on April 6 1959, a Witwatersrand University post-graduate political studies student, Gary van Staden, goes back to a survey conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations some eight months after the March 21 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

"The survey findings indicated that ... a positive correlation existed between support for the PAC and a willingness (of the Africans) to accept violent strategies," says Van Staden.

In admitting this fact, Van Staden joins Witwatersrand University's best known political scientist, Professor Tom Lodge, who stated: "Contrary to popular belief, it was the PAC which first formed an armed wing, which was (then) called POQO, subsequent to the banning of the PAC and the ANC."



*The late Cde Robert Sobukwe*

*By Sol Dumezweni  
Features Editor*

In an in-depth article entitled "Is the Spirit of Robert Sobukwe Rising?" and published in the **Weekly Mail** last year, Professor Lodge noted that after a spate of attacks directed primarily at the South African police and other supporters of Pretoria, about 15 000 members of POQO had been arrested, tried and sentenced, many of whom, to death.

The numbers were an indication that the PAC was the only national liberation movement in South Africa "to have had so many active and militant members during the 1960s", concluded Professor Lodge.

Van Staden, in his own study entitled "Return of the Prodigal Son: Prospects for a revival of the Pan Africanist Congress", says the 1960 SAIRR survey showed "significantly more support for the PAC" than for any other South African Liberation movement.

According to the survey, which included university students in its sample, 57 percent of the respondents favoured the PAC while 39 percent registered support for the ANC.

Although the survey sample was relatively small, says Van Staden, "the findings themselves however remain significant".

On the PAC's longstanding stance in favour of armed struggle as the principal form of fighting, he says PAC leaders had always regarded negotiations, bargaining and persuasion as "useless".

"The Africanists argued that there was no historical evidence to suggest that despots, dictators or oligarchies who held political and economic power could be persuaded to bargain it away. This could only be achieved by force," notes Van Staden.

FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S DESK

# APLA is now working towards Azania's own Cuito Cuanavale

AZANIAN People's Liberation Army combatants are currently engaged in a programme to consolidate their military gains and to build them up to Azania's own Cuito Cuanavale, the APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has said.

*By Peter Domingos*

APLA had exposed the myth of the invincibility of the Pretoria regime and put it into test by delivering direct blows on its so-called powerful security forces, he told a Press conference in Harare attended by local and foreign newsmen.

"We, therefore, have a programme to consolidate these as yet small but significant gains and to build them up to our own Cuito Cuanavale.

It is only with a massive build-up of the military as well as the political forces of the African masses, directing them to deliver their heaviest blows on the enemy soldiers and police, that the regime will eventually be brought to its knees," said Cde Mlambo.

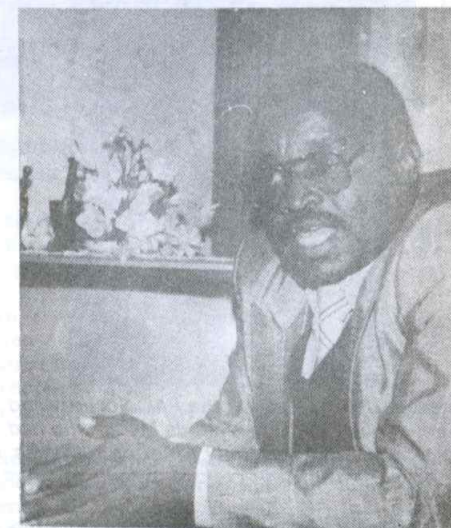
The APLA commander-in-chief is on record as having publicly stated that APLA combatants are under orders to strike their main blows on security force targets.

Reaffirming the longstanding PAC policy of not claiming responsibility for attacks launched in South Africa, Cde Mlambo said the PAC left it to the fighters who carried out a particular attack to announce that they had done so.

One clear example of the implementation of this policy was the manner in which information about the now famous APLA attack on the Tladi municipal police training college had been handled, with one of the fighters involved not only stating that APLA had been responsible, but in fact breaking the news that there had been such an attack in the first place.

"I would not want to go out and tabulate that there had been this or that action by APLA. And, generally, we don't claim this or that action ... we leave it to the fighters involved for them to say they have done it," said Cde Mlambo.

On foreign bases, the APLA commander-in-chief



## The Commander-in-Chief CDE JOHNSON MLAMBO

said the PAC did not have any.

"Although such facilities (foreign rear bases) are important, the PAC believes the internal factor is more important and decisive in the final analysis."

"It is also possible to have bases in the hearts and minds of the African people in Azania," said Cde Mlambo, adding that there were people who had fought and won their struggles wholly from within their territories.

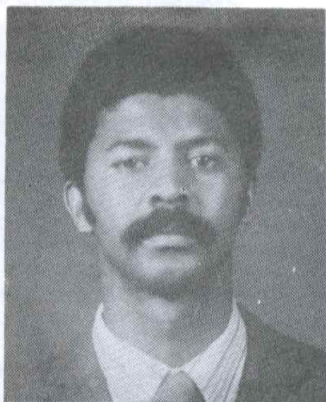


# Death robs PAC and APLA of two outstanding fighters

## 'DODLINGS' and 'DI-BO'

By Sol Dumezwoni

**WHAT** a terrible loss! How else can one describe the death, within a space of several weeks, of two of the Azanian People's Liberation Army's most outstanding fighters?

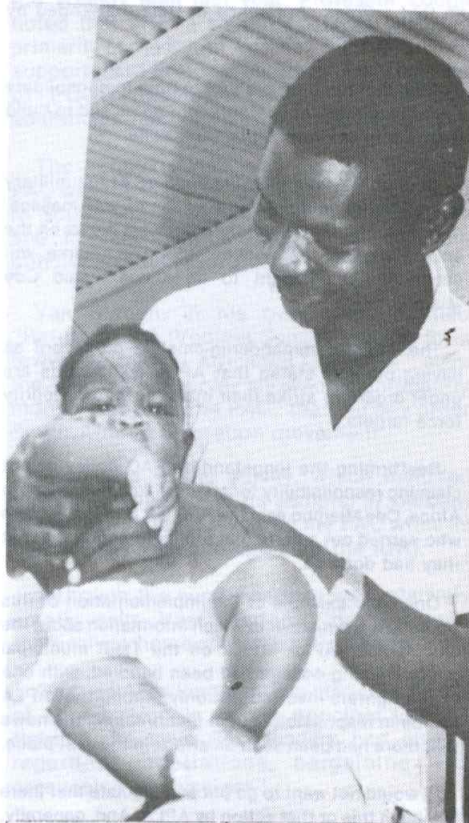


*The late Deputy Head of the PAC Security and Intelligence Unit, Cde Madoda Myoli, who had also been APLA's Deputy Chief of Logistics.*

Cde Madoda Myoli and Cde Bonke Mabutho died in different sets of circumstances. One died after a long illness and the other in a car accident.

The two men, however, had a lot in common. They were both loyal and committed members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and of its guerilla army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Both men served with courage and determination in an eight-member team which administered a key PAC military camp in Tanzania from July 1981 to November 1982, a crucial period when the PAC, led by the late former APLA Commander-in-Chief Cde John Pokela, embarked on a massive military and



**The late PAC Intelligence service member, seasoned APLA fighter, experienced medical assistant, efficient protocol officer and accomplished cook, Cde Bonke Mabutho, with the son of a fellow fighter.**

political programme to re-organise APLA, a programme which involved military re-training of most of the APLA members.

Where nothing less than a high-calibre cadre was needed to spearhead such a massive programme, Madoda served as Deputy Camp Commander and Bonke as the camp's Chief Medical Officer. Both men carried out their work with efficiency, dedication and devotion, thus setting a fine example to others who were to run a camp at a later stage.

Madoda, affectionately called "Dodlings", and Bonke, better known as "Di-bo", also had something else in common. They were both veteran members of the PAC Intelligence and Security Unit.

Herein came some difference. Dodlings was, as Deputy Head of the Unit, Di-bo's commander in addition to being, as member of the APLA High Command, his (Di-bo's) senior within the PAC guerilla army.

An uncompromising defender of the PAC, a great articulator of its political and ideological line and an advocate of its firm discipline, Madoda served the PAC and APLA at different levels of leadership, at one stage serving as a senior Accountant in the PAC Department of Finance.

He became Deputy Head of the PAC Intelligence and Security around the same period that he was appointed to the APLA High Command as Deputy Chief of Logistics. He still held the two posts at the time of his death at a hospital in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

Bonke died in a road accident in Botswana a few weeks before Madoda's death when the car he was driving was reduced to a wreck, giving the daring, intrepid and courageous APLA fighter no chance of survival.

A man who could most fittingly be described as a "jack of all trades", Di-bo could do anything the PAC or APLA asked him to do, doing it with such efficiency as to leave one with the impression that that was his area of specialisation.

Very few medical officers, very few protocol officers, very few intelligence and security officers and, on a bit lighter note, very few

cooks could work in each of these diverse areas with as much efficiency as Bonke did.

Having acquired all these skills as a result of training provided by the PAC, he gave a practical meaning to the saying: "The revolution is a big university."

APLA fighters have pledged to continue with the work left by Madoda and Bonke, assuring the two fallen combatants that they will fight on for the realisation of the noble goals, for which the two died.

## Peace threatened as SA test fires a booster rocket

**SOUTH AFRICA** has said it had successfully fired a booster rocket on a test range in Cape Province.

Armcor, which made the announcement, did not give any details about the missile's performance or the purpose of its firing.

In a very brief statement, the South African secretive State-owned arms-producing company claimed the firing was "a major milestone" in the development of the test range at Overberg, which lies east of the port city of Cape Town.

Recently, American newspaper **Washington Post** disclosed that South Africa was ready to test an intermediate-range ballistic missile developed with the aid of Israel, one of the World's worst violators of the 1977 United Nations Security Council's arms embargo against South Africa.

The newspaper, quoting unidentified American intelligence sources, said the missile was a modified version of Israel's **Jericho IRBM** and had been detected at the Overberg testing ground.

The missile would allow South Africa to launch a nuclear warhead at a target at least about 1 440 km away. The missile could also be used to send up photo-reconnaissance satellites.

South Africa, considered the greatest threat to peace in Southern Africa, is known to have the capability to develop nuclear weapons, but would not say whether it has manufactured such weapons.



# Pretoria plays a cunning arms running game against embargo

WHEN the United Nations imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977, it did so with the aim of stopping countries and arms producing organisations from **SELLING** weapons to South Africa.

Today, however, the world body is forced to call on its member nations not to **BUY** arms from South Africa.

Before the embargo was imposed, South Africa produced only one-tenth of the military hardware it required. Just over 11 years later, Pretoria claims it is 90 percent self-sufficient, with weapons having become its third largest export product.

With a combination of secret Western military backing, clever adaptation, sheer cunning and plain theft, Pretoria has acquired the means to produce almost all the weapons it needs, with the notable exception of a new generation jet fighter and battlefield anti-aircraft missiles system.

## Malan's visit exposes Chile

New military collaboration between South Africa and Chile has been exposed following General Magnus Malan's recent visit to that country.

General Malan visited the Cardoen armaments factory in northern Chile to witness the testing of the first Chilean assembled G5 155mm gun, a South African artillery weapon.

South Africa has entered a secret deal with the factory management in which the factory will assemble South African arms under licence and export them to countries which prefer not to deal directly with South Africa, according to intelligence sources.

In the deal, Chile is to provide South Africa with royalties on every arm sold, and Armscor is likely to provide the ammunition.

The building of a naval shipyard at Punta Arenas (in southern Chile) by Armscor provides further evidence of Chile's military collaboration with South Africa. There are reports that the shipyard will be used for co-producing submarines.

### By Combat Editor WILLIE MAZAMBANE

It was with the aim of securing such a system that Pretoria set up a rendezvous with three Ulster loyalists in Paris a few months ago.

The three have since been charged with trying to sell the secrets of the British-made **Blowpipe** missile system to Daniel Storm, a buyer working for South Africa's main arms producer and now exporter, Armscor.

Armscor (the Armaments Corporation of South Africa) was hastily established in its present form in May 1977, a short while before the United Nations imposed the mandatory arms embargo.

Its brief was, and remains, to procure and manufacture systems to "defend" South Africa's borders, although no country in Southern Africa or elsewhere on the continent has ever invaded threatened to invade South Africa.

Now one of the most cunning, and outinely clandestine, armaments industries in the world, Armscor is deep into exports and earning a lot of foreign exchange for Pretoria.

It is so secretive in its export operations that its customers included both sides in the Gulf War, where the long-range and deadly accurate G6 artillery howitzers have been seen in action.

The basic technology for the G6 was provided by an American company in a very secret and illegal deal.

Armscor's **Buffel** armoured troop carrier has been used in several countries, most notably by the Sri Lankan army against the Tamil guerillas, while other equipment is sold routinely to right-wing Latin American states, including Chile.

Armscor sells arms to at least 23 countries, with last year's exports believed to have topped £500

million. Some 90 000 South Africans work full time in producing these weapons.

Little of Armscor's manufacturing is innovative, but like the Israelis, with whom they co-operate closely, the boers have shown themselves adept at developing bought or stolen basic designs.

The embargo has driven the industry into secrecy, with most details of Armscor's operations hidden from public scrutiny by a wide-range of secrecy laws.

The unveiling of each new Armscor system is presented as "**one in the eye**" to the outside world. What is never stressed is the enormous cost of developing these weapons and the diversion of desperately needed resources from other sectors of the troubled South African economy.

Daniel Storm, the South African "diplomat" caught while trying to buy parts of a Blowpipe missile, was attached to South Africa's Paris embassy as an "administrative and technical officer, although he is known to have been working directly for Armscor.

Armscor has at least one official attached to each South African diplomatic mission mainly in arms-producing countries. And only recently, the French government blocked an export contract for the sale of 50 **Matra Mistral** ground-to-air missiles.

Although it was said that these missiles were ostensibly bound for Congo, there was sufficient evidence, and the French defence ministry suspected so, that they were on their way to South Africa.

In the military sphere, as in so many aspects of settler-colonial South African life, boycotts and isolation have hardened attitudes and lowered the standards of accepted political and diplomatic behaviour.

Hence Pretoria will stop at nowhere in its search for weapons or markets for those it produces. Whatever it does though will continue being checked and exposed until this murky game is up.

**ONE SETTLER!  
ONE BULLET!**

# Bonn forced to cancel its arms licence with SA

*Combat World Affairs Bureau  
Chief Priscilla Sherren*

**BONN** — The West German government has informed the *World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa* that it has cancelled the 1985 licence for the export of **Multi-Sensor Platforms**, which are part of the **Electro-Optical Tracking System** jointly made by West Germany's **Messerschmitt Boelkow Blohm (MBB)** and **British Aerospace**.

In a story published in the last issue of *Azania Combat*, the campaign's director, Mr Abdul Minty, had expressed deep concern with West Germany's continued military dealings with South Africa under the licence.

Bonn's decision to cancel it means that of the original order of three, the remaining two **Multi-Sensor Platforms** cannot now be exported to South Africa.

The system can automatically acquire and track two targets simultaneously, including missiles, grenades and tank and other ammunition, while preparing appropriate responses.

It is used by the British Ministry of Defence for target trials at Royal Aircraft Establishment ranges and by other NATO countries for similar purposes.

On June 7 last year, the *World Campaign* cabled the British and West German governments and supplied details of the export deal asking them to intervene and prevent export of the system since this was going to contravene the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

Mr Minty, who provided senior West German officials with details of the military use of the system after learning that the South Africans had claimed they had wanted it for use in tracking weather satellites, sought and received assurance that the remaining two units of the system would not be exported, with one having already gone to South Africa.

Mr Minty's campaign is now urging that all those concerned should seek the immediate return of the unit already supplied to Pretoria.



## ARMS BRIEFS

By Peter Domingos

SA develops  
its weaponry

Two South African companies in the Armscor group have completed development of a multi-role passive automatic tracker designed to detect and track low-flying aircraft and helicopters before they are in position to release their ordinance, says *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

The publication says the AT-1, developed by Kentron and Eloptra, can distinguish between closely-spaced targets and, according to Kentro, there is no glint or multi-path degradation as with radar trackers.

The system follows the trend of making all battlefield sensors passive so they do not reveal their positions, an important feature in the case of mobile air defence systems deployed in the forward battlefield area.

Italy in serious  
arms ban breach

Italy has been found responsible for the biggest breach to date of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

According to information from the Italian Radical Party, Italian companies have in the past few years sold to South Africa military training aircraft, surface to air missiles, various types of guns, landmines and equipment for its naval patrol boats, three *Spartacus* and one *Observer* boat for naval patrolling.

In addition, Italy has equipped the Bophuthatswana air force.

These shipments are reported to involve hundreds of tons of military hardware.

Zimbabwe is not  
scared by Malan

From Priscilla Sherren

**HARARE** — Zimbabwe will never stop supporting the South African liberation movements despite the recent threats by the Pretoria regime, President Mugabe has said.

"We will never be intimidated. We will never stop giving assistance to the South African masses fighting for freedom and democracy," he told thousands of people at Rimuka Stadium in the town of Kadoma southwest of Harare.

South African defence minister General Magnus Malan recently threatened to launch raids into the Frontline and neighbouring states, saying Pretoria would not allow "the export of revolutionary activities from neighbouring countries".

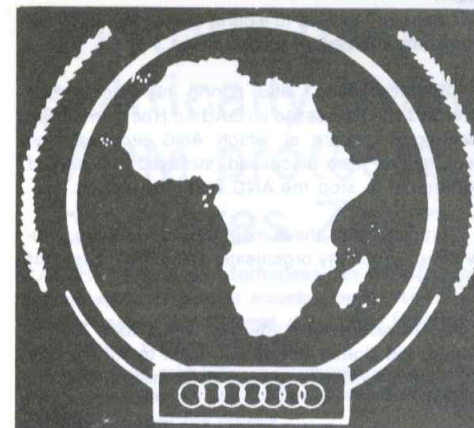
Cde Mugabe, who referred to Gen Malan as "the Goliath of South Africa", told the enthusiastic crowd that it would be improper for Zimbabwe, which received a lot of support from other countries before independence, to abandon the South African struggle before the oppressed black majority got their freedom and independence.

Cde Mugabe is also leader of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu-PF), an organisation which boasts a longstanding relationship with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

The two organisations, which share similar political and ideological lines, started working together during the days of the Zimbabwean liberation war when they had to face repeated attempts to isolate them.

"What kind of people would we be if we are easily intimidated by South Africa to stop supporting such a just struggle as that being waged in that country?" asked Cde Mugabe.

"We will remain strong, courageous, vigilant and we will ensure that we are not infiltrated," he declared.

Tanzania is  
praised on Africa  
Day as PAC  
envoy speaks for  
guerilla groups

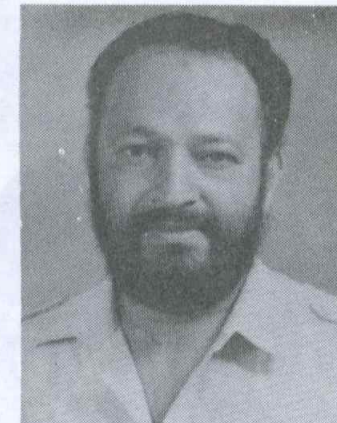
The PAC Chief Representative to Egypt, Cde Hanief Sayed, has on the occasion of the OAU's 26th birthday paid tribute to Tanzania, saying Tanzania's sacrifice, commitment and support for the armed struggle being waged by Southern African liberation movements could never be quantified.

Chronicling the history of Tanzania's support for the liberation movements, Cde Sayed said that on the occasion of Africa Day it was only proper to acknowledge the sustained, encouraging and self-sacrificing role played by Tanzania in this respect.

"The choice of Dar Es Salaam as headquarters of the OAU Liberation Committee was indeed a wise one as Tanzania soon became a major rear base for freedom fighters from all over Africa, but particularly from Southern Africa," he said.

"One shudders to think what would have been the consequences for the liberation struggle without the full and sustained support provided by the dedicated and committed Tanzanian leaders."

Cde Sayed paid tribute to former Tanzanian



'The founding fathers of the OAU created the mechanism for the realisation of the noble objectives of the total liberation of the whole African continent,'  
Cde Hanief Sayed, PAC Chief Representative to Egypt.

president, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and his successor, Cde Ali Hassan Mwinyi, for their roles in the provision of such support.

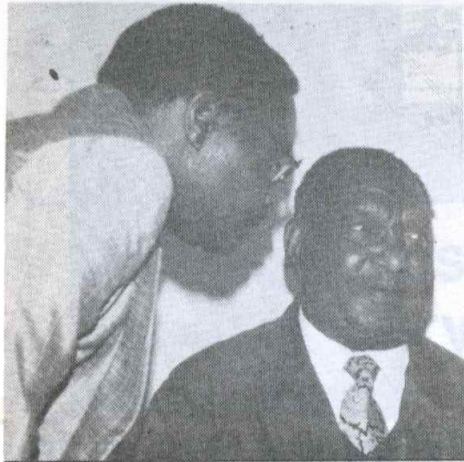
The PAC chief representative, who was speaking on behalf of the Southern African liberation movements at an OAU anniversary ceremony in Cairo, urged the continental body to come up with strategies to ensure that armed struggle was intensified and succeeding in South Africa.

"We of the national liberation movements are committed to intensifying the armed struggle," he assured guests at the ceremony who included Egyptian leaders, members of the diplomatic corps and other dignitaries.

Paying tribute to the OAU for its support, Cde Sayed said: "The founding fathers of the OAU created the mechanism for the realisation of the noble objective of the total liberation of the whole African continent."

It had, since its inception, also been championing the achievement of peace and stability on the continent.





President Zeph Mothopeng "is the PAC supremo" from whom "we all get tasks" once noted a South African journalist. "I get your point . . ." Uncle Zeph seems to be saying by gesture to Cde Johnson Mlambo during one of their consultations. (Pic by Combat photographer)

## Azania in war mood as Zeph hits at talks

"ONE SETTLER, ONE BULLET" roared the jovial crowd as "Uncle Zeph" entered the Conference hall in down-town Johannesburg following his return from a five-month trip abroad.

"I'm very glad to be back home," said the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania before declaring at the Press conference that the time for negotiations had not yet come.

With the balance of power as it stands in South Africa today, negotiations between Pretoria and the black leaders would approximate a master and slave relationship, he said, adding that nothing had been done to warrant negotiations at this stage.

"We need to negotiate on equal grounds," Cde Mothopeng maintained, saying that after all there was nothing new about negotiations in South Africa.

"The tricameral parliament and the bantustans are the result of negotiations . . . so go and negotiate if

you want to," he said to a burst of laughter from the Press and the rest of the audience.

Cde Mothopeng, who during his trip abroad attended and addressed an OAU Ad Hoc Committee meeting in Harare at which ANC proposals on negotiations were discussed, stressed that he had not argued to stop the ANC from negotiating.

"But generally these negotiations include arm-twisting, which my organisation (the PAC) does not tolerate."

On his return from the trip which took him to Britain, the United States and back to Africa, Cde Mothopeng received a rousing welcome at Jan Smuts Airport.

Among the scores of people who had gathered to meet him, chanting and singing PAC freedom songs, was the president of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), Cde James Mndaweni.

"Uncle Zeph", as Cde Mothopeng is affectionately referred to by PAC members, supporters and sympathisers, would not speak to the media at the time, but Presidential Aide Cde Benny Alexander told the South African Press Association (Sapa), that the uncle had held fruitful talks with a host of leading African leaders, most notably President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.



**President Robert Mugabe**

## Pretoria gains politically from MDM protests, declares Zeph

PAC President Zeph Mothopeng has criticised the current spate of protest marches by the so-called Mass Democratic Movement, saying they benefitted the Pretoria regime politically.

Uncle Zeph said what undermined some of the marches was the fact that the participants had sought permission from the regime.

"My mind is liberated. If I call a meeting it must be under the understanding that I am not going to ask for permission," said Cde Mothopeng, who is on record as having always questioned the legitimacy of the white-minority rulers, including their courts of law.

"I am not blaming the masses. It only shows they are ready for action . . . but our struggle is just beginning."

The PAC president said the defiance campaigners had let settler-colonial State President F.W. de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok "off the hook", allowing De Klerk to appear as "a great statesman".

Cde Mothopeng stressed that he had no problem with marching as a form of protest, as such, but was concerned with the manner in which such a march was organised and with its purpose or objective.

*"Let off the hook"*



**F.W. de Klerk**

## AZANYU blasts protest marches

*FROM Muriel Dimpho*

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's largest black youth organisation, the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU), has strongly spoken against the current protest marches against racially segregated facilities, saying the marches relegated the Azanian liberation struggle to that of civil demands.

This observation by AZANYU, which believes in African nationalism, scientific socialism and continental unity, comes in the wake of several marches by the so-called Mass Democratic Movement on segregated hospitals, beaches and other institutions.

"These marches cover up the crimes of the real oppressors and exploiters of our people by diverting our attention from the fundamental problem and focusing it on the symptoms of the problem," said AZANYU in a statement here.

Participants in these marches, said the statement, include collaborators, black and white councillors and MPs within the apartheid system.

They seek to shelve the African people's opposition to settler-colonialism and leave untouched the main pillars of the system such as the Land Act of 1913.

The Act gave 87 percent of the South African land to whites, who make up only 13 percent of the country's population, and gave only 13 percent of the land to the Africans, who constitute 87 percent of the total population, noted AZANYU in its statement.

The organisation, which has frequently been linked to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, said the primary task was to mobilise the masses and lead them in the struggle to topple the Pretoria regime.

"But," it added, "the cornerstone of that struggle for liberation is the repossession of the usurped land and the establishment of a democratic and socialist society, recognising the primacy of the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of an individual."



# HONESTLY SPEAKING

## Zeph packs London hall despite pro-apartheid move by British 'Anti-Apartheid' Movement AAM

ONE would have thought that a rally in London being addressed by a person with an unparalleled history of struggle against Pretoria would have brought together every opponent of apartheid, at least in London, to salute this person who has given most of his life to that struggle.

**MASS  
RALLY**  
ADDRESSED BY  
**ZEPHANIAH  
MOTHOPENG**

PRESIDENT OF THE PAN  
AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF  
AZANIA

**Thursday  
6 July 1989**

**CONWAY HALL,  
RED LION SQUARE LONDON  
WC1 7PM**

**WHERE HE WILL SPEAK ON THE  
CURRENT STATE OF THE STRUGGLE  
FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, THE  
UNIFICATION OF THE AFRICAN  
MASSES AND THE WAY FORWARD FOR  
PAN AFRICANISM**

Well advertised!

Among a galaxy of leading freedom fighters thrown up by the struggle against the racist South

This story, which has already been published in Britain, was written by CAROL BRICKLEY of the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group.

African regime, President Zeph Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has an unparalleled history.

A leading Africanist, he was there and in fact chaired the meeting at Orlando in Soweto on April 6 1959 when the PAC was formed, with the late Cde. Mangaliso Sobukwe as its first president.

He was there during the PAC's Decisive Positive Action Campaign against the Pass Laws on March 21 1960, a campaign which shook the very foundations of apartheid.

Arrested and imprisoned after the campaign, he was released 10 years later, in time to become an underground political organiser in Soweto, resulting in him being charged with "predicting and organising" the June 1976 national uprisings which started in Soweto.

Somehow, President Mothopeng has managed to come directly from jail to the forefront of the struggle at decisive times to lead the African Masses to push history forward.

There are not many in the South African liberation movements who have such a history. The

rally at Conway Hall in London on July 6 was a rare opportunity for anti-apartheid Londoners to salute that history, that courage, that determination.

Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed to be surprising that the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and its supporters did not turn out in force to salute this undisputed hero of the struggle in South Africa.

Had they done so they would have destroyed at least three of their own myths about the struggle in South Africa: (i) that the PAC is a racist organisation, (ii) that it is anti-communist and (iii) that the Soweto Uprisings were a spontaneous outburst of anger which was politically unled.

Myths about the PAC are allowed currency in the British Anti-Apartheid Movement with the result that AAM members remain ignorant, ignorance that is transformed into arrogance and some kind of racism, which treats with contempt a significant and powerful section of the South African liberation movement.

And so AAM members did not come to President Mothopeng's rally. Do not, however, get the impression that Conway Hall was empty. It was packed to capacity, with the hall, the foyer, the corridors buzzing with excitement. And almost half the audience was white.

It was an audience of those who have enough respect for all sections of the South African liberation movement, those who have investigated deeper than the level of a pop concert (at Wembley) and came for a serious political gathering.

The platform alone would have dispelled AAM myths. Alongside President Mothopeng and representatives of black organisations sat whites such as Mr David Reed of the RCG and myself (Carol Brickley) from the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. And at least two of us are avowed communists.

The PAC has never been racist or anti-communist. From its inception, it has made it clear that it is involved in a national liberation struggle with self-determination for the dispossessed African majority at the centre of its goals.

Its definition of Africa is not determined by skin colour, but by commitment to Africa and the liberation of Azania to become an African majority-ruled country. Had the AAM members been there at Conway Hall, they would have heard these positions, which President Mothopeng articulately and eloquently outlined in his speech.

President Mothopeng, now aged 75, was released from prison in November last year with a very serious illness. Nevertheless he had no intention of dodging "another major speech". He would have been excused for making it short, but he spoke for more than an hour with a brilliance and energy which belied his age and illness.

He spoke not only of the basic tenets of the PAC and its history, but also of the current situation in South Africa and the level and tempo of the liberation struggle.

Described as "corrupter of the youth" when he was jailed for 30 years in 1978 for his role in the 1976 Soweto uprisings, President Mothopeng spoke at length about the determination of the youth, who gave him a big and warm welcome on his release.

His perception is as sharp now as it was in 1976.



*"IZWE LETHU" from Zeph Mothopeng, one of the PAC founding fathers, who originated the now famous and popular PAC salute.*



# TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN

## The SA-Israeli military marriage

DESPITE its decision and undertaking in 1987 to impose limited sanctions on South Africa and to distance itself from Pretoria, Zionist Israel remains one of racist South Africa's closest allies and is probably the biggest violator of the 1977 United Nations Security Council arms embargo against Pretoria.

Its collaboration with South Africa goes many years back but most notably to 1975 when, shaken by unprecedented international isolation, a suspension of United States aid and an intensified Palestinian struggle, the Zionist regime turned to South Africa and established a wide-ranging relationship extending to collusion on nuclear weapons.

Although beset by budget problems, South Africa is a wealthy country and it is largely due to this that while it could not replace the US\$ billion Israel received annually from Washington at the time, Pretoria began increasing its investment in Israel in many areas, including military research and development as well as the manufacturing, tourist, land and sports sectors of the Israeli economy.

In addition, while South Africa could not deflect international pressure from Israel as the United States had done before, such as at the United Nations where Washington would simply use its veto power to save Israel, Pretoria could at least send troops and equipment to Israel in an emergency. And, being even more lonesome in the world than Israel, and as a friend in need, South African assistance would be found reliable by Tel Aviv.

Collaboration, the heart of the Israeli-South African relationship, developed and matured in the mid-1970s, has continued despite Israel's pledge in March 1987 that it would sign no new military contracts with the apartheid regime and that it would let its old contracts expire.

### Accords

Only two years and five months later or, in other words, just over three months ago, South Africa tested a **Launch Rocket** derived from

*Military collaboration, the heart of the relationship between Israel and South Africa, has come a long way and continues in full force despite Israel's March 1987 "pledge" not to sign any new military contracts with South Africa and to let the old ones expire. In this special article, the Editor of Azania Combat Willie Mazambane, who has over the past years written a number of articles on legal, political, military and international affairs for many a newspaper and magazine, looks at this collusion, which is underpinned by a number of other bilateral accords between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. The article, specially written for the World Mathaba International Seminar held in Ghana from September 17 to 19 1989, is based on his research and notes as well as on information from various sources and materials.*

Israel's **Jericho-2** model. This development is a logical outcome of the military and political relationship between Pretoria and Tel Aviv, a relationship which is underpinned by a number of bilateral accords, under one of which Israel is allowed unlimited access to South African uranium in exchange for scientific and technological assistance.

As a result of this continuing relationship, South Africa is in a position to import missile technology from Israel, which has gone a significantly long way in developing medium and shorter range missiles. Experts estimate that Israel can now build missiles capable of hitting targets in any Arab state and even in some Warsaw Pact countries.

And the Americans and Middle East sources believe that Israel has already developed and possibly deployed the **Shavit** missile, which is classed intercontinental with a range of 3 300 to 4 500 miles. This conclusion is based on a study of materials related to the launch of an Israel rocket which put a small satellite into orbit on September 19 last year.

Should Pretoria come into possession of the **Shavit**, as was the case with **Jericho-2**, then virtually any country in Tropical Africa, let alone the Frontline States, would find itself at the point of the weapon. Furthermore, Tel Aviv and Pretoria are working to develop a cruise missile, too.

### Nuclear

International experts put Israel's nuclear stocks at between 100 and 200 warheads and it is only logical that having supplied missiles to South Africa, Tel Aviv can at any time provide Pretoria with warheads as well. Significantly, South Africa has the capacity to manufacture about a dozen nuclear explosive devices a year on its own, something which, of course, gives cause for concern in Africa and, in particular, the southern part of the continent.

South Africa's and Israel's eagerness to pursue their nuclear missile programmes is worsening the danger of the ill-famed doctrines of a "preventive war", the "first strike" and "a war that can not be lost". And to bring the war to the very door steps of the Arab states and, at the end of the day, to southern and other African states, **Lockheed** of the United States and the state-run **Israel Aircraft Industries** signed a contract late last year to manufacture a short-range anti-missile named "**Arrow**" designed to hit moving ballistic missiles with a range of under 500 km.

It is almost a certainty that the "**Arrow**" could also end up in the hands of Pretoria, making it not the first time that American assistance to Zionist Israel would end up also benefitting the racist Pretoria regime.

### Lavi

For instance, evidence has solidified over the past year the Israel is helping South Africa build a state-of-the-art fighter jet based on the

**Lavi**, the United States-financed aircraft which Israel cancelled in August 1987, some six months after Tel Aviv promised to sign no new military contracts with South Africa.

Within days of the **Lavi** cancellation, South Africa began hiring **Lavi** technicians, and less than a year later it was reported that the technicians were believed to have played a significant role in the development of the **Cheetah-E**, an upgrade of a **Mirage** overhaul carried out for South Africa in 1986 by the **Israeli Aircraft Industries**.

Soon thereafter came reports that South Africa was developing its own aircraft and that Israel had received "independent financing" to continue work on the **Lavi's** avionics. This appeared to confirm the earlier report of **IL Giornale**, an Italian newspaper, that Israel and South Africa had secretly agreed to produce a South African version of the **Lavi**. It had long been believed that South Africa was a silent partner in the **Lavi**, but where Pretoria was to get an engine for the aircraft confounded analysts for years.

The **Lavi** was to have been powered by a United States-designed **Pratt and Whitney** engine. Israel, which was to have built the engine under a United States licence, would

Cont page 22

## Mossad-SA plot for UK missiles

ISRAEL's secret service, Mossad Habitachon, has been involved in South Africa's espionage efforts to obtain British missile technology, London's **Daily Telegraph** reported recently.

The weekly paper, quoting unidentified security sources in the British capital, linked Mossad and South Africa's arms manufacturer, Armscor, to the operation which led to the arrest of five men in Paris, France, recently in a foiled missile-for-arms deal recently.

The paper said Israel was as keen as South Africa in obtaining the latest British missile technology because the Zionists are "critically short of modern air defence for the ground forces".



# Western powers worst violators of SA arms ban

MOST Western countries have breached the 1977 United Nations embargo on the sales or arms to South Africa, according to a book recently published in Sweden.

The culprits are named as the United States, Britain, Israel, West Germany, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, Canada and Japan.

Mr Signe Landgren, of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, states in his book, **Embargo Disimplemented — South Africa's Military Industry**, that the history of the implementation of the embargo was at the same time the history of its disimplementation.

From page 12

have been bound by a Washington ban on re-export of the engine to South Africa. Herein came the international dimension to the **Lavi** project.

With the problems that have just been described, a solution seemed to be a French-designed **SNECMA Atar 9K-50** engine, which was reportedly being produced under an "Israeli-South African military pact".

In 1967, with the help of a collaborator, Israeli secret service, Mossad Habitachon, South Africa obtained blueprints for the engine from the Swiss firm licenced to build **Mirage** aircraft, an engine already powering some of the **Mirages** South Africa had obtained from France before the 1977 United Nations arms embargo.

## Advisors

Another indication of continuing collaboration between Israel and South Africa came in September last year when a number of high-ranking South African military officers were sighted near Ramallah in Israel. Since 1976, Israel has been advising South Africa's military and police in battle and anti-guerilla technique and Israeli advisers have aided South African proxy forces, Renamo in

Mozambique and UNITA in Angola.

At the beginning of last year, Israeli advisers were reportedly helping the South African Air Force in implementing techniques that Israel successfully used against Syrian anti-aircraft installations in 1982. South Africa was at the time (a year after Israel's pledge of no new military contracts) launching a full-scale war of aggression against Angola in support of UNITA.

However, South Africa's subsequent defeat in the hands of Angolan and Cuban forces using Soviet technology against South Africa's Cheetah, its Israeli-designed drone aircraft and its Boeing 707s converted by Israel to serve as flight refuellers and electronic warfare control centres, suggests that **Israeli technology is not invincible** and the arms industry Israel helped South Africa develop is **not the perfect answer to the international arms embargo**. But where could South Africa have obtained anything better?

Economic collaboration has also been proceeding quickly, even though a second set of Israeli "sanctions", propounded in September 1987, was supposed to limit this aspect of the relationship, which is known to have been geared to deceptively exporting South African products under Israeli labels and to enable Pretoria to obtain embargoed goods. And a team from the Israeli Treasury was in August last year reported to have gone to South Africa to renew economic agreements first signed in 1976.

In February the same year, it was revealed that **Koor**, the crisis-gripped conglomerate owned by the Histadrut labour federation, had taken US\$80 million worth of loans from four South African banks to help stave off liquidation, and that **Koor** was offering some of its divisions for sale to South African interests.

## Blown-off

In the course of these revelations, Histadrut's frequently-heard claim that it had divested itself of its South African holding was blown off by discoveries that **Koor** still ran a wholly-owned subsidiary called **Afitra**, an import-export firm, in Johannesburg.

Following the visit in early February to Israel of a delegation from South African bantustan Bophuthatswana and the readiness of officials of such top Israeli firms as Bank Leumi and Cial, it seemed likely that Israeli investment in that



bantustan would be increased and there were unconfirmed reports that in fact it was. At any rate, there have been disclosures over the past decade that Israel provided weapons and technical assistance to several of the South African bantustans.

Nevertheless, Zionist Israel doggedly maintains that it does not recognise the bantustans created by South Africa and tries to give the impression that it is against private business dealings with these areas of abject deprivation, famine and suffering. But, as the **Jerusalem Post** stated recently, "making any sort of investment outside (Israel), whether it involves plain cash or moving equipment, requires the approval of the Bank of Israel", the Zionist country's central bank.

The flow to South Africa of Israelis with high-technology skills or money to invest has continued unabated and there may be as many as 20 000 of them in South Africa, according to figures confirmed by leaders of the South African Jewish community. Despite this, Israel continues to claim that it is "phasing out" its relations with South Africa, under its 1987 "sanctions" package.

This line was buttressed late last year by an assertion made by Wolf Blitzer, a **Jerusalem Post** correspondent, who during a trip to South Africa (to find out why only 15 percent of the Jews fleeing that troubled country were going to Israel), claimed to have been told that relations have been strained between Pretoria and Tel Aviv since Israel began training black South Africans in 1986.

## Ludicrous

This assertion was, of course, found ludicrous by those who are knowledgeable about South Africa who know that blacks that have consented to go to Israel for training - mostly courses in "leadership development" - are issued with passports or travel documents by the South African government. Such blacks

are not affiliated with the mainstream liberation movements and other anti-apartheid organisations who have condemned the Israeli training programmes.

The ignorant or uninformed might find the Israel claims or "discoveries" such as Blitzer's convincing and so might those who just do not want to know. However, audiences such as one finds in the United States, which once marvelled that a "democracy" like Israel could have such extensive dealings with the land of apartheid and accepted a delicately nuanced depiction of those relations, have been decimated by the Intifada.

As someone once observed, if names were changed, the description of what is happening in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would be a description of what is happening in Soweto and other parts of South Africa.

But what are the determinants of Israel's relations with South Africa? One is the fact that Jews make up 2.6 percent of South Africa's white population. The other is that the Jewish community's leading organisations are strenuously opposed to any Israeli measures seen to be calculated to upset the Pretoria regime. Yet another is that friendly relations make it possible for South African Jews to transfer legally substantial amounts of capital (perhaps as much as £100 million a year) for investment enterprises in Israel.

## Struggles

But, these factors referred to not withstanding, it is the determined struggles being waged by the dispossessed but fighting peoples of Palestine and Azania and increasing international isolation which have brought Israel and South Africa together, making them two of the world's most notorious states in terms of their regimes' brutality in dealing with their opponents. So close and strong are their relations and so similar and brutal are their methods that Israel and South Africa are now widely taken as "two sides of the same coin". There can be no better description.





# PAC INTELLIGENCE FILE

The contents of this manual deal primarily with the principles, techniques, and procedures of intelligence interrogation. This manual also outlines procedures for the handling of the subjects of interrogation, the exploitation and processing of documents, and the reporting of intelligence information gained through interrogation.

*An extract from the SADF interrogation manual*

## For brutal interrogation skills, ask SADF Intelligence Centre Private Bag 367 Pretoria 0001

**JOHANNESBURG** — A highly confidential 119-page interrogation manual, used by South African Defence Force interrogators to extract information from their victims, is now a matter of public knowledge following exposure by the Press.

The manual details a wide range of psychological techniques and plays which could be used by the settler-colonial army's interrogators to exploit the weaknesses of individuals and force them to talk.

Intimidation is key to all 13 techniques listed in the manual, whose details were first published by South African newspaper **New Nation** recently.

One of the techniques is called the **"we know all"** approach, in which an interrogator would begin his interrogation of an individual by asking questions based on known data.

"When the subject (normally a prisoner) hesitates, refuses to answer or provides an incomplete answer, the interrogator himself provides the detailed answer," explains the manual.

"Through careful use of the limited number of known details, the interrogator may convince the subject that all information is already known and

### FROM Muriel Dimpho

that therefore the subject's answers are of no consequence."

Another technique listed in the SADF manual is called **"rapid fire"** in which a captive is bombarded with questions by more than one interrogator.

Stressing a playing on emotions as also important, the manual says: "The interrogator can often identify the dominant emotions which motivate the individual . . . and employ verbal and emotional ruses in applying pressure to (these) emotions."

Another most favoured technique is **"Mutt and Jeff"** or **"friend and foe"**.

About this technique, the manual says: "It involves a psychological play which takes

# SA men's presence in Equatorial Guinea disturbing Minty's group

**LAGOS** — The secretary-general of the Oslo-based World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, Mr Abdul Minty, says his group will devote greater attention to the reported presence of South African military personnel in Equatorial Guinea.

## From Priscilla Sherren

In an interview with the **News Agency of Nigeria** recently, the South African-born Mr Minty described Pretoria's military presence on Nigeria's eastern flank as "an extremely dangerous development" which gave South Africa an enormous strategic advantage.

He dismissed Guinea's claims that the South Africans on the island were engaged in agriculture, saying the racists had not solved problems facing their own agricultural sector back home.

Mr Minty argued that if the South Africans were truly involved in agricultural activities in Equatorial Guinea, mass media personnel should not be disallowed to visit the farms where the alleged agricultural activities are taking place.

advantage of the natural uncertainty and guilt which a prisoner is feeling as a result of being detained and questioned.

"Basically, two interrogators will display opposing personalities and attitudes towards the prisoner", with the first interrogator displaying an unsympathetic attitude towards the prisoner to alienate him.

"At the height of the alienation, the second interrogator appears, admonishes the first interrogator . . . and orders him out of the room. He then apologises to the prisoner . . . and attempts to soothe him.

"The subject is normally inclined to have a feeling of gratitude towards the second interrogator, who continues to display a sympathetic attitude in an effort to enhance the rapport and control for the questioning which will follow."

However, should the prisoner's co-operativeness

## SA still runs major air base

**THE** South African Defence Force still operates Grootfontein Air Base in northern Namibia, a base from which the racist forces could directly attack most of the Frontline States, military sources have disclosed.

Grootfontein is considered as the largest camouflaged air base on the continent.

"It is the nerve centre for SADF air operations in Namibia," said the sources, adding that it was difficult to imagine Pretoria to have dismantled it before the April 1 1989 deadline for the withdrawal of its forces from Namibia to pave the way for independence on the territory.

begin to fade, the second interrogator can imply that he cannot afford to waste time on unco-operative prisoners, further implying that the first interrogator might return to continue questioning the prisoner.

The above are just few of the shocking methods used by the SADF in its interrogations of its prisoners and these techniques appear purely psychological on the surface but **most brutal** in effect.

The SADF interrogation manual also details nine "behavioural principles" which the interrogator should bear in mind when conducting interrogations. Basic lessons in psychology form an integral part of the manual.

Users of the manual are "encouraged to submit recommendations to improve its clarity and accuracy" to the **Officer Commanding, Intelligence Centre, Private Bag 367, Pretoria 0001.**



# THE SADF METHODS AT A GLANCE

## DIRECT (approach):

Interrogator does not hide the purpose of the interrogation and this is considered time saving.

## \* "FILE AND DOSSIER":

Interrogator pretends he knows everything about the prisoner, with a file arranged in such a way as to give the illusion that it contains more data than it actually does.

## \* "WE KNOW ALL":

Essentially the same method as the "File and Dossier". Here again the interrogator pretends to know more than he does, asking questions to which answers are already known so that it is thought that all the information being sought is already known.

## \* FUTILITY:

It develops from "We know all", with the interrogator convincing the prisoner that "resistance to questioning is futile".

## \* RAPID FIRE:

Interrogators confuse and intimidate the prisoner by bombarding him with questions and interrupting his answers, creating exploitable inconsistencies arising therefrom.

## \* OFFERING INCENTIVES:

Interrogators reward the prisoners for information they have given and this approach is used on prisoners "who are hostile but lack will-power".

## \* REPETITION:

Interrogator frustrates and bores the prisoner until he can no longer bear the monotony and then volunteers information.

## \* "MUTT AND JEFF":

There are two interrogators, one of them friendly and the other hostile to the prisoner.

## \* "PRIDE AND EGO":

Interrogator deceives the prisoner into revealing desired information by goading and flattering him.

## \* "SILENT":

Interrogator remains silent but stares at a nervous prisoner until he loses his composure and breaks the silence.

## \* CHANGE OF SCENE:

Interrogation occurs outside of its usual environment, with the prisoner not aware that he is being interrogated and with the interrogator talking informally to the prisoner.

## \* "ESTABLISH YOUR IDENTITY":

Interrogators pretend to the prisoner that they believe he is a notorious person wanted by higher authorities on more serious charges, forcing the prisoner to make a genuine and detailed effort to establish or substantiate his true identity.

## \* EMOTIONAL (Technique):

Interrogator employs verbal and emotional ruses in applying pressure on the prisoner's dominant emotion, suggesting to him that his refusal to talk may result in, for example, people special to him being hurt.

# INTERROGATION!

# QUOTABLE QUOTES

*Compiled by Priscilla Sherren*

## UNITY:

"My approach is simple . . . I shall speak to anyone who is an African because I do not believe, and have never believed, that we as Africans must turn against each other"

— PAC President Zeph Mothopeng

"Our main quarrel is with the Pretoria regime. We in the PAC have pledged ourselves to co-operate to the maximum in exploring possibilities of unity"

— PAC Chairman Johnson Mlambo

"The South African liberation movements (the PAC and the ANC) should endeavour to march together to independence and the OAU is ready to organise a meeting of the leaders of both movements."

— Egyptian President and current OAU chairman Hosni Mubarak in Harare

"The issue of persuading the two liberation movements to unite is a non-starter"

— ANC Spokesman Tom Sebina in Lusaka.

## NEGOTIATIONS:

"With the balance of power in South Africa as it stands today, negotiations are out for now. We need to negotiate on equal grounds"

— President Zeph Mothopeng in Johannesburg recently

"It is our candid view that the Pretoria regime is at the moment far from ready to negotiate. What they (the boers) are interested in is the liquidation of (our) armed struggle"

— Chairman Johnson Mlambo in Harare recently

## SUPPORT:

"It is our duty as the vanguard force to offer what assistance we can to those now engaged in the battle that we ourselves have fought and won. Our task is not done and our safety is not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept from Africa"

— Late former Ghanaian leader Nkwame Nkrumah

## TO WOMEN:

"The youngsters are fighting but the war in South Africa hasn't started. The war is going to start when the African woman gets tired of hearing that her little teenage boy or girl went to school and came back in a carton or coffin"

— American scholar Dr Yosef ben-Jochannan



# Possible CIA role in Aussie spying on PAC

CANBERRA — The Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation, almost certainly with the connivance of other Western espionage services such as that of the CIA, bugged the offices and private residence of the PAC Chief Representative to Australasia, Cde Max Nmadzivhanani, a court here has been told.

This followed disputed allegations that Cde Nmadzivhanani and his wife, Cde Kerry Browning, had fire-bombed United States and South African diplomatic motor vehicles in the Australian capital.

Australian anti-apartheid organisations, who have described the allegations as a frame-up aimed at discrediting the PAC and discouraging them from supporting the liberation movement, have strongly condemned the installation of listening devices in the PAC offices and residence.

"Everything points to the conclusion that the fire-bombing of the diplomatic vehicles was an act of provocation perpetrated by Pretoria's dirty tricks department with the connivance of local and foreign agencies such as the CIA," said anti-apartheid newspaper *Vanguard*.

Charges against the PAC chief rep, who has since been appointed head of the PAC United Nations mission, were dropped in March this year, but those against Cde Browning still remain.



**Cde Max Nmadzivhanani**

## Church backs armed struggle KAIROS DOCUMENT REVIEW

**THE Kairos Document is epoch-making in the history of the church and sentiments expressed by the priests in it are a true reflection of men confronted with the stark reality of settler-colonialism in South Africa and the daily brutal killing and maiming of Africans in this white minority-ruled country.**

In the document, subject of public debate within the church since its adoption a few years ago, the priests recognise that there are two churches in South Africa - that of the ruling white minority and that of the oppressed majority.

While associating with the church of the

**By Mohau wa Mohato**

African majority, the priests condemn the State theology which is at the service of oppression, saying that while such . . .

theology justifies colonialism, racism and tyranny. It blesses injustice and defends evil.

The chicanery of such theology is exposed as sugar-coated words of reformism and negotiation being preached by State theologians, deliberately confusing the violence of the State and the legitimate struggle of the oppressed.

The Kairos Document maintains that the struggle of the oppressed cannot be condemned as violence but must be regarded as self-defence and a resistance against atrocities being perpetrated against them.

A sincere question is asked: "Would it be legitimate to describe as violence both the physical force used by a rapist and the physical force used by a woman trying to resist the rapist?"

On reforms, the document analyses the nature of the white electorate and, confirming and vindicating views already expressed by the oppressed in South Africa, maintains that colonialism and apartheid are irreformable.

**By voting the ruling Nationalist Party repeatedly into office, the white electorate is seen as in effect giving the settler-colonial regime mandate to continue oppressing and suppressing the indigenous Africans by force of arms.**

It is thus identifying completely with the settler-colonial State as it benefits from the status quo, declare the priests, challenging the very foundation of early colonialism in South Africa.

Thus all elections in South Africa must be looked at and judged against this backdrop as anything else would be fallacy.

The priests say the introduction of reforms by whites is meant to guarantee that the colonial system continues to benefit the whites, with accumulation of wealth and leading of an astronomically high life having become their *raison de etre*.

And this megalomania, unfortunately, finds support from some people around the world because apartheid definitely kills but proves to be profitable to them.

It is in the light of this that the oppressed masses are urged by the churchmen not to accept the reforms offered by their oppressors but to fight on until total liberation.

The pacifists and apologists of the settler-colonial regime in South Africa are calling for a negotiated settlement as well as for reconciliation of the forces

at play. The churchmen, however, declare in the Kairos Document that there is no basis for such negotiation and reconciliation.

For at this critical moment, they stress, the proposed negotiation and reconciliation are merely an attempt to persuade the oppressed to become accomplices in their own oppression.

The conflict in South Africa, declare the priests, is irreconcilable because it is a clash between good and evil, reminding those who reject the devil not to sup with the devil.

Underlining the importance of armed struggle, they correctly state that just as nazism was never peacefully settled but brutally crushed, so must it be with herrenvolkism.

The priests refer to an 1837 manifesto of the then Boer leader Piet Retief and declare that apartheid is tyranny and must be condemned, for it is against the common good of people and has no moral legitimacy.

Hypocrites have nefariously and stealthily been labouring hard for decades to portray the Azanian problem as a racist one.

The priests, on the other hand, do not see the problem as simply a racial one, but one between two irreconcilable causes - the cause of settler-colonialism and the cause of freedom of the Africans.

As Piet Retief put it as far back as 1837: "We (the whites) are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty, but . . . it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve the relations between master and servant."

On justice, the priests correctly state that anything unjust must be rejected. Justice, they argue, is not a concession by the powerful but is the result of the restoration of justice and the destruction of structural injustice.

The God of the white minority in South Africa is declared in the church document as a false and sinister one and, in fact, a living devil, a "God" who historically happens to be on the side of the white settlers. It is a God of casspurs, hippos, jails and hangings.

The church leaders call upon all the people to support the liberation war. Indeed, their call represents another meaningful voice in the cry for freedom.



## HISTORICAL WARS FOR AZANIA

### The British-Boer collaboration

**COLLUSION in crime between the British and the Boers has come a very long way, going as far back as the 1820s when British colonial administrators and troops in South Africa would pave the way for Boer theft of the land, cattle and other wealth of the indigenous Africans.**

The British were fully behind the Boers, for instance, in December 1834 when, realising that they could not encroach any further into the interior of the country, the Boers began inciting wars among the Africans. Weak still against the African force but extremely avaricious for the wealth of the Africans, the Boers embarked on a campaign of theft of this African wealth.

One of the instruments used by the settlers in this theft was what was called the "**Spoor Law**", which enabled them to engage in what were called military patrols to "retrieve" livestock supposed to have been "stolen" by the Africans from the Boers.

Under the provisions of the so-called **Spoor Law**, Boer settler troops would follow "spoor" of the allegedly stolen cattle to any nearest African homestead where they would demand and simply take any available cattle.

It had been a tradition for the British colonial administrators to pave the way for such plain theft, with the British troops who operated mainly in the Eastern areas playing their part in this Boer expansion and pillage.

In the area between the Kat River and what is today Lovedale, the British troops put so much pressure on Ngqika's son, Maqoma, to allow the Boers to take African land and wealth that Maqoma had to retort: "**When shall I and my people be able to get rest?**"

And to him and his fellow Africans, enough soon became enough.

Maqoma, leading a force comprising several thousand African warriors operating in what today would be described as small guerilla units, overran one large Boer army unit after another in a fierce fight.

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

The Boers suffered great losses, with many of them killed, their local collaborators eliminated and the Boer military forts destroyed. And in the wake of this ignominious Boer defeat, Africans recovered their stolen wealth, including cattle, horses and sheep.

However, the British, boasting a more efficient colonial administration and fighting force than that of the Boers, soon came to the rescue of their next of kin, counter-attacking the Africans with a superior military firepower operated under the direct command of British administrators Sir Benjamin D'urban and Sir Harry Smith.

With the Africans having been overcome by this reinforced European colonial force, Maqoma and Tyali retreated to the more inaccessible African areas.

The British army advanced to Hintsa's old Great Palace near Gcuwa River and invited the Xhosa king to a British camp where he was to be cheated into surrender.

What followed was to be one of the most brutal murders of African leaders in the era of the colonial wars in South Africa.

While the British were "entertaining" Hintsa with "soup, biscuits and coffee with sugar", the enemy sentinel, George Southey, shot him from the back and as Hintsa struggled and staggered he had the top of his head blown off with a powerful weapon.

As if that was not enough, some of the British

soldiers cut off his ears while others tried to dig out his teeth with their bayonets.

Thus Hintsa, King of the Xhosas, died a terrible death after trusting the "honour" of a British governor - Sir Benjamin D'urban - who was to boast later:

"It was a fortunate circumstance, Hintsa's coming in, and so putting an end, most seasonably for us, to a sort of warfare to which, in our secret mind, we

had confessed our inability to have prosecuted further."

Maqoma, son of the King of the Xhosas, was sent to the now infamous Robben Island.

Following this African setback, Sir Benjamin D'urban annexed the area between the Kei and Keiskama Rivers then referred to as the Province of "**Queen Adelaide**" and today known as Ciskei, where the British settled their **next of kin** - the Boers.

### SA is beefing up SWATF in Namibia

SOUTH AFRICA has over the past few months been conscripting young Namibians into the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) in contravention of its undertaking to adhere to United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibian independence following an accord to this effect.

In terms of Resolution 435, the South African Defence Force (SADF) is required to withdraw from Namibia while SWATF, together with all its units,

is supposed to be disbanded.

Far from this, the South Africans are instead building up this colonial force. This also gives rise to doubts as to whether Pretoria intends completely pulling out of Namibia at all.

A Namibian human rights lawyer and labour activist said that he found the conscripting of young Namibians into SWATF inexplicable.

"The calling up of Namibians on the eve of the implementation of Resolution 435 (the United Nations declaration providing for the independence of Namibia) is ludicrous. There can be no justification for this step," said the lawyer.

Many other prominent Namibians have expressed similar concerns about this South African move.

### SA still propping up UNITA with supplies through Caprivi

**SOUTH AFRICA is believed to be still propping up UNITA in Angola with supplies through the western part of Caprivi Strip, according to a source in the Namibian capital, Windhoek.**

The 400 km stretch of land, since being declared game park area by South Africa, is home to Pretoria's 32 infantry battalion, which boasts a major base called Omega Base.

Other major bases in the area for the South African Defence Forces are Chetto and Fort Dorps, besides smaller ones scattered all over the Caprivi Strip area.

Sources say to travel through the area one has to go through three check-points and is allowed only four hours, with entry being by pass-system only.

They say there are signs in the so-called game park warning that people "travel at their own risk", a warning which does not appear in any other park in Namibia or even South Africa itself.



# PICTORIAL COMBAT



THREE Azanians look in disbelief at the remains of the tombstone of Pretoria's first and youngest victim during the 1976 national student uprisings, Cde Hector Petersen, after it was desecrated by political criminals, who obviously would like to see Azania prostituted. The tombstone, whose epitaph read "One Azania, One Nation, One People", was and would remain the symbol of resistance by the children of Soweto and other parts of Azania. (Pic by Gill de Vlieg of Afrapix)



The Palestinians and the Azanians are one. Here the PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, is flanked by the PAC Defence Secretary, Cde Sabelo Phama (left), and the PAC Chief Representative to Zimbabwe, Cde Tobile Gola, in Harare recently.