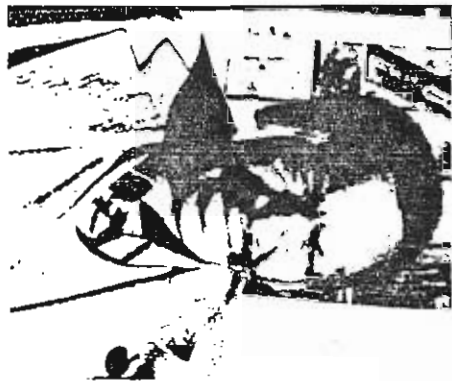


The Africanists

The men who shaped the political thinking of Azania



The late Mangaliso Sobukwe



The late Cde John Pokela



President Zeph Mothopeng



Cde Johnson Mlambo



AZANIA COMBAT

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

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The Azanian people
now know their army



EDITORIAL

Armed Azanians now return fire

LESS than a year has elapsed since the Commander-in-Chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), Cde Johnson Mlambo, made it public that the PAC, through its army, was giving arms to the ordinary Azanian masses and training them internally.

This was in line with previous PAC statements that the organisation will not engage in any activity, especially inside Azania, if that activity does not serve to increase the fighting capacity of the masses.

We have remained absolutely consistent in and faithful to this approach because the present relentless and increasing brutality of the regime has proven to all that arming the African people remains the most urgent task of the Azanian liberation movement.

How far APLA forces have gone in carrying out this crucial task, does not at all need to be stated by us, nor by the regime, which is well known or notorious for withholding information on activities involving Azanian freedom fighters.

The prevailing situation in Azania is Number One authority on this question. To put it in one short and modest sentence: Azania is returning fire on white South Africa.

To you, the struggling Azanian masses, we say hats off! We say so because it is you, and you alone, who have changed the situation. No one but you deserve the credit. You have stood up.

You have made the task given to APLA by the PAC leadership much easier. And the fact that not many of the gallant APLA combatants operating in the country have been arrested, killed or wounded explains the correctness of the PAC strategy and tactics.

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

We cannot take comfort at having setbacks simply because without them it will be said, as usual, that "the PAC is doing nothing". We do not want publicity through setbacks because that, to us, is bad publicity. We want recognition for achievements or victories.

We do things our own way and at our own pace. The time is fast approaching when no one will doubt our strength on the ground, let alone our presence inside Azania.

Fellow Azanians, the racist South African Defence Force may still be strong but, in the words of the late Cdn John Nyathi Pokela, "it is in defence of the indefensible".

The enemy has gone mad and is killing more and more indiscriminately. It has murdered the gallant Cde Samora Machel, and several other leaders of the Frontline States are on Pretoria's hit-list.

And the only way we can help spare the lives not only of those leaders on the hit-list, but also of our own people who are dying daily, is to hit hardest at the enemy soldiers and police, as the Commander-in-Chief Cde Mlambo has ordered.

We must keep the enemy more busier at home to deprive it of the manpower and time to go to the Frontline States. As an organisation, we have never subjected the neighbouring states to attacks by the regime, but Pretoria has always found some excuse, if any is needed, to engage in acts of aggression against these peaceful states.

Let us continue to fight from within Azania because there is no alternative. We are our own liberators and will only liberate Azania through the barrel of the gun, with bullets fired from within the country itself.

One Settler One Bullet

Izwe Lethul

MLAMBO'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

1987 is Year of Arming the People

Combat Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania will this year intensify its military programme of arming and training the masses to strike harder at the Pretoria regime, the PAC chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has said in a New Year message.

This was in recognition of the teaching by the PAC president, Cde Zeph Mothopang, that "a nation without arms is no nation", said Cde Mlambo in his message to Azanians.

"We therefore, declare 1987 as the Year of Arming the People, arming them both mentally and physically to increase their fighting capacity."

Summarising PAC activities inside South Africa last year, Cde Mlambo said 1986 had been a year of "momentous events", with the PAC army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, having scored great success in expanding its ranks, arming and training the masses.

It was now widely recognised that the PAC was very active inside South Africa, with the regime admitting that hundreds of trained PAC men had been in the country as far as back 1976.

"During 1986, racist chieftain P.W. Botha and two of his ministers then, Louis le Grange and Louis Nel, had to accuse us falsely of sending what they call hit squads," said the PAC leader.

"In the meantime thousands of our unarmed patriots were cut down by enemy fire, but many more rushed forward like a tiger that no force could hold back.

"This growing resistance of the oppressed Azanians in a foretaste of what our angry masses will do in the approaching stage of the armed struggle. It is a strong reminder to the racists that we are indeed in the 1980s — the decade of the Azanian revolution."



Cde Johnson Mlambo

"We have been accused by Pretoria of sending hit-squads"

On the labour front, he said after hailing the birth of the 500 000-strong Cosatu, the PAC had welcomed the formation of the 420 000-member Cusa-Azactu Federation following the merger of two of the country's largest black consciousness labour groups.

He urged the labour unions to take up the great task of unionising the majority of the workers who were at present outside the labour bodies and to create conditions to promote overall trade union unity.

• To page 4

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

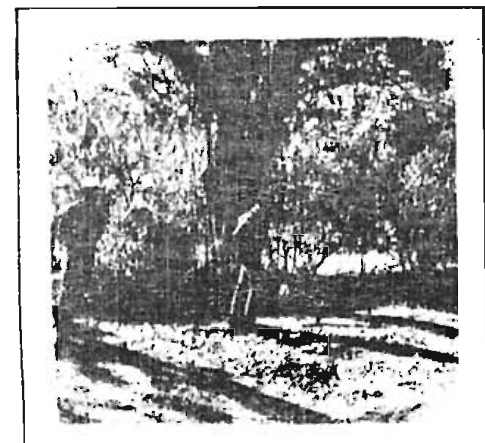
On the question of whites, Cde Mlambo said: "We wish to emphasise that the freedom of the Africans will mean the freedom of all in Azania, the whites included, because only African majority rule can guarantee the establishment of a genuine democracy in our country."

"We continue standing for equal rights for all individuals. But the whites first have to accept allegiance to Africa. Once a truly non-racial democracy exists in Azania, all individuals, whatever their colour or origin, will be accepted as Africans."

Cde Mlambo said the oppressed people in South Africa were demanding "one person one vote in one undivided non-racial Azania. All our patriotic organisations should restate this as our immediate demand."

The PAC leader noted that international support for the cause of the oppressed in South Africa had during the past year "taken a great leap forward", boosting the morale of the struggling masses inside the country.

"For our part, we extend our solidarity to all others fighting for liberation in all parts of the world. We especially extend our support for and solidarity with the Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO headed by chairman Yasser Arafat."



OUR enemy is not just in the cities but throughout the country. And APLA forces are everywhere, including the bushes. Pretoria can no longer deny that we are there, not only that, but there in full force.

EDITOR'S NOTE

THIS issue of Azania Combat does not include three of the magazine's most important and popular regular columns, namely, Revolutionary Poetry, the People's Forum and the Children's Corner.

As we regard all our regular columns as very important, we just had to randomly select any three which had to be left out to make way for the publishing of more pictures than we normally do.

We are doing this on the basis of encouraging feedback and a special popular request by our readers in Azania who constitute the magazine's target audience. The three columns however, have just been shelved temporarily. We therefore appeal to readers outside Azania to kindly bear with us in this slight change of our columning.

Ex-mighty SA now has cracks

Combat Correspondent

THE once mighty South Africa, which then boasted that it could contain any internal strife and still hit any target South Africa of the Equator, now has cracks as Pretoria's ability to resist domestic political and military pressure appears to be falling.

The regime had established some military structures to take over a "civilian" administration officially called National Security Management System (NSMS). The aim was to try and contain the offensive by the Azanian people, who are being armed by the PAC through APLA.

These military structures, called Joint Management Centres (JMC), were designed to, in Pretoria's own words, "find solutions to legitimate grievances so that revolutionary forces are pre-empted".

However, a high-ranking racist State Security Council official has tacitly admitted that things have not come to any better, saying that the JMC, in fact, had been designed to assist in re-establishing the "civilian" structure.

As the saying goes, "It is not the stare of a crocodile that will prevent your boat from crossing the river".

PAC WITH THE MASSESS

Fear grips whites as Africans fight back

Combat Correspondents in Johannesburg and London

THERE is growing fear in South Africa and abroad that the conflict in the racist-ruled country is taking a new dimension threatening to silence the voice of moderation, with the conflict assuming a black versus white character.

And the situation, it is feared, was now clearly drifting in favour of the "radical black nationalist organisations led by the banned Pan Africanist Congress, who are advocating an all-out black war on the white government of South Africa and its supporters."

The International Institute of Strategic Studies, in a recently published report, said: "Polarisation and violence have been increasing and seem certain to continue threatening to still the voice of moderation and making it more difficult to bring about a compromise."

The report in a paper entitled "South Africa and Its Neighbours: The Dynamics of Regional Conflict" by Robert Jaater, adds: "For the West, there would be political as well as economic repercussions as the world reacts to scenes of racial violence on all sides (white and black)."

The head of APLA's research, information and propaganda section, Cde Jonny Majozl, told Azania Combat recently: "From fears now being expressed both in South Africa and overseas, an impression is being given that fighting back by the Africans is giving the conflict what is called a new dimension."

Since 1852, he said, when Europeans invaded South Africa, Africans had been brutally dying in the hands of whites. This of course had been criticised, but not with the vigour with which the fighting back by Africans was now being criticised.

"Now that whites are beginning to be on the receiving end, Azanians and the progressive world are being told that the conflict is getting out of hand."

It was unfortunate that some elements within one liberation movement "agree with those whose kith and kin are in grave peril as Azania returns fire on white South Africa", said Cde Majozl in an apparent reference to an interview during the Non-Aligned summit in Harare in which a commander of that organisation was quoted as saying that his army was working very hard to prevent the war from degenerating into a black-white conflict."

The commander said: "We have a very good reason for working very hard to prevent this struggle from becoming a black versus white struggle because we need these whites; we need all the people of South Africa to develop that country (supposedly after independence)."

Asked Cde Majozl: "How do you get to independence without first hitting hardest on those who place and maintain the Pretoria regime in power?"

He referred to a statement by Prime Minister Cde Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe in Harare on June 15 this year in which he told Azanians at a solidarity rally that "boers are afraid to die; they fear death. The more of them you kill the nearer you will get to your goal."

Cde Majozl said with the intensification of the PAC's "ARM THE PEOPLE" campaign inside South Africa, the Azanian masses were now hitting back and were in complete agreement with the views expressed by the Zimbabwean leader.

"What then do you call it? Do you call it a racial war? No we don't and never shall we. To us it is RETURN FIRE," he said.

The PAC army, as a matter of principle, was following orders from the PAC leadership to strike the main blow at enemy soldiers and police because the organisation was not advocating an indiscriminate killing of whites.

"That is why we are not impressed with the placing of bombs in such places as snackbars and public toilets as this would obviously result in the killing or injuring not only of white civilians, but also of black passers-by," said Cde Maljozi.

"But we are not going to be expected to tell Africans in the townships not to kill whites because some people, usually whites themselves and some Africans in white skins, will say we are waging a racial war."

"Let those who have set themselves the task of overwriting the struggle from degenerating into black versus white conflict do so. We for our part, do not have the time and energy to solve a problem which is not of our creation. Nor do we have the will to do

Malan, Vlok tour war-torn Soweto

Combat Correspondent

SOWETO — Things here are not what they used to be in the early 1970s when a few half-trained and poorly equipped black police constables would go there to quell isolated incidents of disturbance.

Nowadays, to speak of mere disturbances in the townships would be a gross understatement. There is far more than that; there is a low-key war. Otherwise what else could have forced the heads of racial South Africa's security departments to visit the townships.

It was not surprising when racist Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and his deputy then, Adrian Vlok (now law and order minister), visited Soweto at the beginning of October 1986. It is just a mere coincidence that a few weeks later Vlok replaced Louis le Grange?

Soweto town clerk Nico Malan said the ministers, who were accompanied by senior defence and police officers, were in Soweto on a "courtesy visit" to determine the situation.

Some areas in the Eastern Cape, one of APLA's largest operational areas, were also visited by the racist ministerial entourage a week before the Soweto "courtesy" tour.

FRESH SCANDAL Undercover US arms shipments to SA exposed

Combat Correspondent

LONDON — A large scale undercover operation has been launched to send arms to apartheid South Africa from the United States and Europe in defiance of international law, a British newspaper reported here recently.

In a front-page story, the newspaper, *Independent*, said: "The arms, weighing nearly 80 tonnes, are almost certainly part of the United States government's covert military aid to the UNITA bandits in Angola."

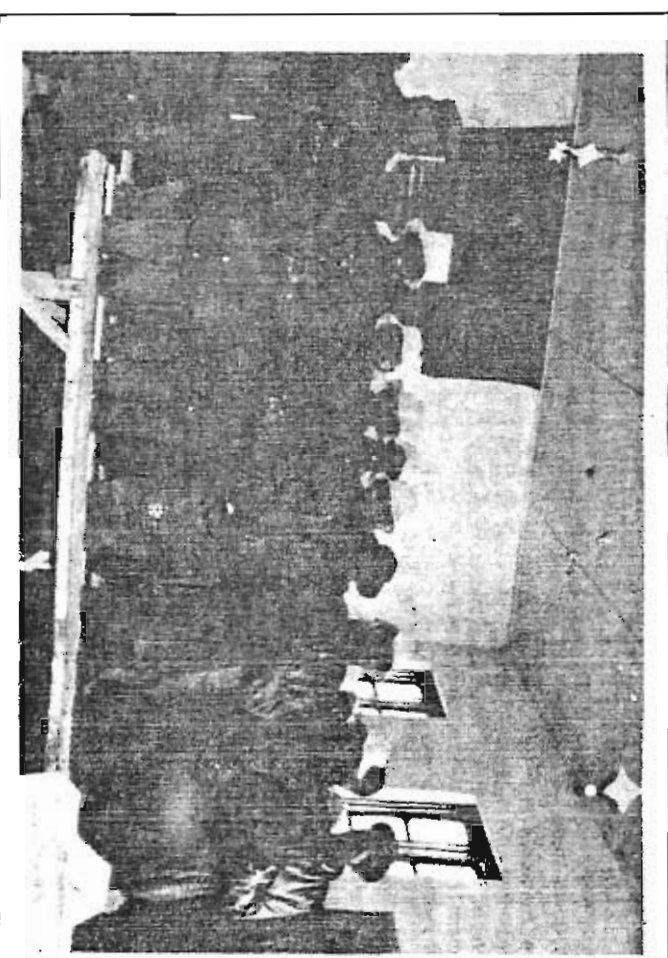
Coming hard on the heels of the American sale of arms to Iran, "these new disclosures," the paper said, "will deeply embarrass the Reagan administration since the shipments break even United States own law and have all the marks of a bungled operation".

It is illegal to send arms to apartheid South Africa under the United Nations arms embargo and under the Anti-Apartheid Act passed in October by the American Congress.

There have been at least three known shipments and a plan to send about 40 tonnes of machine-guns from Honduras, airlift nearly 20 tonnes of rocket launching equipment from Switzerland and of arms from Belgium all to Johannesburg, said the British paper.



United States President Ronald Reagan in scandal after scandal.



APLA forces are not militarists but armed militants. Here at one of the PAC military camps, an APLA unit gets down to some serious singing before receiving military and political lessons to be followed by discussion. They are clear that war is just the continuation of politics by other means.

Panic—stricken whites now recognise PAC line

By Combat Political Editor Romero Daniels

THE political line championed by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is beginning to be recognised by some liberal South African whites, although this may not mean that they necessarily accept and agree with it.

And this Africanist line or the Azanian tendency has of late gained more strength in South Africa, admits renowned liberal writer Michael Attwell in an analytical political piece in the London Times (September 15, 1986).

Attwell, author of "SOUTH AFRICA: Background to the Crisis", forecasts that South African whites "will finally yield to an indigenous African government in South Africa."

He warns his folks that now is "the beginning of a showdown between white and black nationalists" and laments that whites "will have to choose between yielding now to reformist demands by reasonable and accommodative groupings or face radical black rule in future."

Attwell goes a step further to say that there had been a strong tradition of Africanism in black South

African politics which, he says, represents the idea that only those who identify fully with Africa are true citizens in a country on the continent, and in this case, South Africa.

He confesses that this position, which is championed by the PAC in South Africa, is "avowedly non-racist" but adds that "the practical effect of its approach is that many whites fall outside the range of its sympathy in whatever it says".

Africanism, Attwell continues, has become fused in its modern forms with radical opposition to capitalism which it associates with whites in South Africa. He does not necessarily disagree with this attitude.

Attwell observes that the reformists or moderates, however hard they try, will not be able to immediately transform the lives of most blacks and warns that many will be disgruntled and hold the view that they had been compromised to whites. Many others will demand more radical action.

It is in this respect where the Africanist tradition, or simply the PAC, will stage "coup de grace" — a situation Attwell would least want to see.

Things do not auger well for this liberal writer who, like many of his folks, is frustrated at Africanism's long endurance, the strength of its appeal and organisation as well as the fact that it is coherent and "well entrenched", to use his own words. This power of Africanism, he admits, is indestructible in the South African politics.

Attwell surely knows his stuff, but not all of it. Nor does he interpret things in their full context and place them in correct perspective. His inabilities, or deliberate omissions, are understandable. The man

is a white liberal through and through. It is as simple as that.

He is, for instance unaware or ignores that what he refers to as "black" nationalism is "African" nationalism to the Africanists. He also misses the point on what Africanism expects from whites who want to be regarded as Africans.

Africanists are not asking the whites in South Africa merely to "identify" with Africa. They are asking for more than that. They are asking them to recognise that Azania is an African country (not a European one); that Azania was ruled by the black people when Europeans invaded it in 1652; and that Africans are today fighting for the restoration of that land of Azania to its rightful owners, who are the Azanians.

Then the Africanists say: "Africa (in this particular case Azania) belongs to the Africans, with all those who pay their only allegiance and loyalty to Africa and accept the democratic rule of an African indigenous majority being regarded as Africans."

Those whites who are in the opposite side of things are in trouble with the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the military wing of the Africanists or, in a word, of the PAC. Attwell is quite right when he speaks of a "showdown between white and black nationalisms" in South Africa.

Limited through it still is, the war against white supremacy, or what Attwell calls "white nationalism", continues and APLA will stop at nowhere falling short of the realisation of the goals of the Africanists. Liberal analysts are grudgingly, if ever they have any choice, beginning to accept the judgement of history in Azania — African rule in South Africa.

FROM THE COMMANDER—IN—CHIEF'S DESK

Policemen face people's wrath — PAC Chairman

Combat Reporter

AS the Azanian People's Liberation Army continues with its programme of arming and training the people internally, APLA commander-in-chief Cde Johnson Mlambo, has warned that black policemen who refused to resign are being dealt with by the masses.

And reports say it is believed in official racist circles that black consciousness young men, armed and trained by PAC combatants internally, could have been behind a number of attacks or counter-attacks on police in Soweto and other black townships.

A fierce gunbattle broke out in Soweto recently when the black youths opened fire on municipal police, the racist Bureau of Information said. It claimed that there were no casualties.

The battle followed a similar attack earlier this year when black militants staged a spectacular attack on municipal police undergoing training on a parade ground in Soweto, killing seven and injuring several others.

The PAC, adhering to its well-known policy of silence on activities linked to its men, has not commented on any of the two and other unreported attacks.

Commander-in-Chief Cde Mlambo, who is also the PAC chairman, told a recent meeting in Paris: "Many of the black policemen now live in tents outside police stations, unable to stay in their homes in the townships."

The puppet policemen were now asking for a separate residential area where they and their families could live.

"It is now common knowledge that the regime's



CDE JOHNSON MLAMBO

agents, collaborators, policemen and others have been and still are victims of the people's wrath inside South Africa," said Cde Mlambo, who has ordered APLA combatants to strike the main blow at enemy soldiers and police.

"To ensure that those accused of working for the regime are not punished without a fair trial, people's courts have been set up in many of the townships and these are already functioning."



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

**Azania
News**

REGISTERED AT THE GPO AS A NEWSPAPER

War of words on the walls is continuing

Combat Correspondent in Soweto

LIKE the "Viva APLA" message on the walls of Sobukwe High (formerly Seleleka Secondary School) here, political slogans continue sprouting in South Africa's black townships as the liberation struggle against Pretoria heats up.

These warnings that the days of settler white minority rule may still be many but countable are unfolding from newspapers on to the walls with unprecedented fervour.

This war of words is being fought on every surface where spray paint sticks, be it walls, school buildings, bill-boards or even on rocks.

Although some of the messages are out of line, many of the graffiti mean real business.

It certainly is not a one-sided affair. The regime as well is using its own spraycan artists, some of whom have written such reactionary messages as "Viva SADF" right in Soweto.

But such messages, which are clearly transgressing the traditional bounds of candour, usually do not last because the battle lines have now been well drawn. One cannot possibly beat the masses in their own game and let alone one which is being played at their own terrain — the black townships.



THE walls know Libyan leader Cde Muammar Gaddafi too well because his country has reportedly given various types of military training to hundreds of APLA combatants who are now scattered all over apartheid South Africa, carrying out the PAC liberation programme.

One message says it all: "Viva Libya". Funny, yes it may appear, but what the message actually means is "Viva APLA" because the name Libya as used by Pretoria refers to PAC guerrillas, hundreds of whom, it is believed, have been trained in that country, armed and infiltrated into South Africa where they have organised themselves into "hit-squads" and were running a "terror show".

No need for response because the masses now know that "hit-squad" is another name for "guerrilla unit" and "terror show" refers to "guerrilla attacks" against Pretoria. Nothing will save the regime from its inevitable doom and the "speaking walls" have said it.



Defiantly the Soweto signpost bears a new name, almost as a prophecy of the future . . .



The message is clearly spelt

Azania shall be freed by the gun says PAC official

Combat Correspondent

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania remains firm in its position that Azania



THE answer to the suffering of the Azanian people under apartheid will be communicated to Pretoria through the barrel of the gun.

will be liberated through the barrel of the gun, the PAC Chief Representative in Zimbabwe, Cde Waters Tobotti, said here recently.

"The gun is our sword into Canaan, a genuinely free and independent Azania," he told a Zimbabwean journalist, Lemmy Mugabe, in an exclusive interview published in that country's biggest daily newspaper, *The Herald*.

Cde Tobotti, who was interviewed while attending a YMCA meeting in the Zimbabwean capital, said the PAC was training personnel in many countries worldwide for the eventual takeover of State power in Azania.

South African whites, he said, had no reason to fear a PAC takeover because the organisation held no grudges against white individuals. It was spearheading the fight against the racist State machinery and its supporters.

"What we are fighting for is to seize State power and repossess the land of Azania and no one should fear the repercussion. We are fighting for peace and what is happening in Zimbabwe is what we intend to do in South Africa."

Cde Tobotti added, however, that South African whites should not expect the PAC and the Azanian people to accept them as Europeans in Africa; they had to be Africans and could only be so if they paid their allegiance and loyalty only to Africa and accept the democratic rule of an African majority in Azania.

On the war, he said fighting had to be expanded to cover a larger geographical area of the country and that once tactics had been improvised, the racist South African military machine would be like "a giant with feet of clay".

POOO REMEMBERED

Truth about the early PAC army

SO much has been written mainly by white liberal journalists about POOO and, in all intents and purposes, the aim has been to present Azania's first liberation army as a monster without any political objectives whatsoever or something that was thirsty for white man's blood. Rituals and orgies were some of the labels piled over the name POOO. An Azania Combat special correspondent, LIZWI DUMEZWENI, has analysed all these deliberately twisted reports and gives the true account of the rise and dynamics of this military force, POOO (now called the Azanian People's Liberation Army).



APLA Political Commissariat

IMPLY put, POOO is a Xhosa word for pure or something that is not diluted or, politically speaking, someone who speaks out and is not afraid or apologetic for standing firmly in the interest of the people.

POOO first came into the Azanian politics with the emergence of the Africanist movement which operated as a pressure group within the African National Congress Youth League and later within the ANC itself, especially after the Defiance Campaign 1952. This campaign was a sequel to the adoption of what came to be known as the *Programme of Action* of 1948.

The main pillars of the programme included an all-embracing line of action aimed at waging the struggle for national independence and self-determination, underlining the need for non-collaboration with the apartheid system, total overthrow of the regime and setting up of an African government.

The Africanists, and they alone, were the authors and custodians of this *Programme of Action* because they were the only ones who had a vital interest in its success.

The Africanists already by then were popularly known as "*ama-Afrika Pogo*", as different to those people the late PAC founding president, Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, had said were "no longer with the ranks of the liberalisation movement" because they had compromised the interests of the African people for convenience.

It is against this political background in general and the aftermath of the 1960 decisive positive action

campaign against the hated pass laws in particular that POOO was formed. And it is this which immediately throws out of the window liberal suggestions that POOO had no political objectives. POOO had been formed after it had become crystal clear not only to the Africanists, but to the entire African people that State violence, as demonstrated at Sharpeville, had to be met with revolutionary violence.

POOO was the culmination of the transformation of an *Africanist Task Force* which had come about after it was realised that the movement had to meet new conditions resulting from the banning of the PAC and the declaration of a state of emergency. "*Ama-Afrika Pogo*" now had to work underground—

Such work had been done so efficiently and quietly that it took the regime some time to link POOO to the PAC. In fact, the regime had only been able to connect the two after the tabling of an interim report by what was known as the Snyman Commission in March 1963.

After the 1960 shootings at Sharpeville and other African townships, an intensive period of re-organisation and restructuring of the PAC took place. In fact, no sooner was the state of emergency declared on March 30, 1960 than PAC underground work began.

This had been possible because the PAC leadership, always far-sighted, had foreseen this necessity. It had set up layer committees as part a series of contingency measures, some of which were already being implemented before the 1960 anti-pass campaign.

The formation of POOO came about on the basis of these contingency plans, which constituted the foundation for the launching of the armed struggle now sweeping apartheid South Africa.

It is absolutely true that as the strength of the movement grew, reactionary elements, like in any political organisation, were being unearthed and dealt with accordingly. However, the main attacks, as a matter of strategy, were directed against the regime and its supporters.

Several enemy targets were identified and these included police and puppet chiefs who had become notorious for their ruthless suppression of the African people in the townships and rural villages, especially in the Transkei.

Puppet chief, Kaiser Matanzima, had taken it upon

AZANIA IS NOT
A PROSTITUTE ...
IT IS THE LAND
OF THE AZANIANS

himself to try and crush POOO and therefore made himself a target and Transkei one of the main operational grounds for POOO militants. Four major operations were carried out in that bastion, including attacks in Ntsonze Hill, Queenstown rail station, St Marks district and Bashee Bridge, to count but a few.

In the Western Cape, Langa, Nyanga and Paarl, several attacks were launched against police and collaborators. At the same time, organisational work continued to a point where townships were virtually controlled by POOO at night and declared "no-go areas" for the enemy.

Turning to POOO membership, to join one had to take an oath, like in any organisation, but unfortunately in the case of POOO the oath has been one of the biggest subjects of distortion by the police and white newsmen, some of whom have suggested existence of a separate POOO oath.

The truth is that there has always been one oath for both the PAC and its army and this is the OATH OF ALLEGIANCE clearly written down in the PAC *Basic Documents*.

Taken in honour and fortune of the individual who wants to join, the oath requires an individual to pledge his commitment to serve the African people through the PAC and to state that he accepts the leadership of the organisation.

Obviously, a member who does the opposite of what he voluntarily pledged under oath faces the consequences of his action.

Rituals and orgies which have been suggested were just calculated imitations of the white newsmen bent on discrediting POOO.

"Witnesses" who claimed in courts or interviews with these newsmen that they had seen the alleged rituals and orgies being performed were in fact wearing police mounds after undergoing grilling in

torturing sessions to present POQO as the monster imagined by Pretoria.

More and more monster stories about POQO were written between the 1960s and the 1970s until one prominent liberal, Tom Lodge, put an end to it on February 6, 1984 in an article on the *Rand Daily Mail*.

He observed: "The largest and most sustained insurrection by a black movement in South Africa in modern times was mounted by POQO, the underground wing of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress."

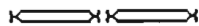
In the same article, Lodge concluded: "The persistence of the movement over a relatively long time-span and over a large geographical area qualify POQO to lay claim to the most sustained insurrection by blacks in South Africa's modern history."

In his research, Lodge heard of no rituals or orgies and thus stories of that bad taste were unceremoniously thrown in the dustbin where they in fact belong. But more importantly, Lodge's account sealed the fate of attempts to promote some other armed wing over POQO in the armed attacks of the 1960s and early 1970s.

At the same time, this account confirmed the fact that the emergence of the PAC and POQO in the South African political and military scene radically transformed the nature and tempo of the Azanian struggle for total independence and self-determination.

Today POQO has been transformed into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) which remains committed to the continuation and intensification of the armed struggle under the political leadership of the PAC.

In the next issue, *Azania Combat* will look at the rise and dynamics of APLA, the modern military wing of the PAC, against the background of the foundation laid by POQO and the situation now prevailing in South Africa.



ONE SETTLER ONE BULLET!



NEWS BRIEFS

Koeberg nuclear is 'economic disaster'

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's Koeberg nuclear power station has been an embarrassing saga of "economic disaster" and Pretoria has been advised not to build any new nuclear plants, reports *Azania Combat* chief correspondent here.

An anti-nuclear lobby, Koeberg Alert, said the regime should instead spend money on researching alternative energy sources to meet the needs of the rural areas where South Africa's real energy crisis is to be found.

The lobby, quoting figures released in the racist parliament, said Koeberg was a most expensive option for electricity supplies to Cape Town, costing three times the electricity from coal power stations in the Transvaal.

It also warned that any Koeberg nuclear accident would be "catastrophic".

Venda troops stage mutiny

Combat Correspondent

VENDA puppet troops were involved in a mutiny recently, according to intelligence sources in this South African bantustan.

No details were known about the mutiny as the puppet authorities were tight-lipped about its occurrence. However, *Azania Combat* is informed that the troops took the action just before boarding a military plane shortly after being told where they were being flown to.

Meanwhile, at a funeral of a puppet Venda soldier killed in Namibia, a churchman who conducted the service described apartheid as a "greatest terrorist".

Reverend B.P. Ramothwala of the Evangelist Lutheran Church told mourners that if he could raise the man from the dead and ask him what he was fighting for in Namibia, he might now have realised that he had been there to "stop his brothers from returning to their home".



THE coffin draped in the Mozambican flag and placed on a gun carriage pulled by an armoured vehicle contains the remains of the fallen gallant son of Africa, Cde Samora Machel, and is on its way to the Heroes Square in Maputo for burial. (Picture by Azania Combat photographer)

TRIBUTE TO MACHEL

APLA forces pledge to turn tears into military offensive

By Combat Editor
Willie Mazambane

AT the funeral of Amílcar Cabral in 1973, Cde Samora Machel stood up and said: "It is not death a mere biological fatality, which brings us together here.

"We have come because Cabral's life, his thoughts, his actions, his will and his energy have taken on material form from the PAIGC, embodying the humiliation, the hatred and the will for freedom...."

Went on Cde Machel: "Revolutionaries must be able to quickly and decisively transform temporary setbacks into springboards for new offensives, tear into military offensives against the enemy. This will be the surest sign that Amílcar Cabral lives on."

Went on Cde Machel: "Revolutionaries must be

Little did this gallant fighter know that Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane before him were precursors and models of the fate that was to befall him, and that the sentiments he expressed on the late heroes were to be echoed some years later by others at his own funeral, and under almost identical tragic circumstances.

The great fighter, the selfless revolutionary, the incomparable and inimitable Samora Machel is no more because something, if not someone, most definitely in apartheid South Africa, on that fateful night of October 19, decided to cut short that dynamic life, the life of probably the only man who can fittingly be associated with the famous saying: "Aluta Continua".

A tireless fighter, Cde Samora Machel is not dead, but has fallen in the struggle against apartheid, opening an immense void around all in Southern Africa. His passing away fell upon all suddenly, wrapping Mozambique and the region in a mantle of sorrow and anguish.

The question now is not who is responsible, but rather how the obvious death-dealer did it.

Many theories have been put forward, but the most realistic remains that advanced by aviation experts, who have concluded that pilots of the Tupolev 134A presidential plane were lured from their destination by a powerful portable beacon placed on the South African side of the border.

An analysis of the flight from Mbala, overhead Lusaka, into Zimbabwe where it flew for 52 minutes and then south-bound to the Limpopo reporting point and over the Mozambican town of Llonde, has shown that the plane had a perfect flight.

From there the plane had a mere 52 nautical miles to fly, no more than 10 minutes, into Maputo. Passengers had even been told to fasten their seat belts ready for landing in a few minutes time, and this was perfectly normal as the plane was approaching Maputo.

But that 10 minute flight was never completed. Instead of the plane making a 40 degree right turn towards the Mozambican capital, it made an almost 80 degree turn towards Komatipoort in South Africa.

Everything that the pilot appears to have done, from the little information available, was perfectly normal for a flight into Maputo, had it not been for the killer fake beacon placed the other side of the border.

A research into the crash, in which Cde Machel and others were killed, has revealed an anonymous call to a news agency in Johannesburg from a person believed to be a South African airforce officer who spoke of a decoy beacon having been placed near the border on that fateful Sunday to lure the presidential jet which the boers knew was coming from Zambia



"LET us turn tears into springboards for new military offensives," said the late Cde Samora Machel (above) at the funeral of distinguished Guinea Bissau revolutionary and writer Cde Amilcar Cabral.

that day on its way to Maputo.

The PAC and its army members trained as pilots and aviation engineers have no doubt about South African involvement in the death of Cde Machel and the probability of a decoy beacon having been used to do the dirty job.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army has pledged to turn this setback in the death of Cde Machel and the other Mozambican comrades into a springboard for intensified attacks against Pretoria, "the murderer of the Mozambican leader".

"His death will not be in vain," said APLA in a statement. "He was killed on our soil and it is on that soil that his killers will die."

Cde Machel was buried on October 28 with full military honours at the National Heroes Square in Maputo, where he joined 20 other Mozambican heroes, including first Frelimo leader Cde Eduardo Mondlane.

Among the heads of state and government from across the world, other dignitaries and tens of thousands of Mozambicans and other peoples who attended the funeral were the PAC Chairman and APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, several PAC central committee members and other officials of the organisation.

A week after the funeral, Foreign Minister and Frelimo politburo member, Cde Joaquim Chissano, was elected President and Frelimo leader to succeed the late Cde Machel.

Congratulating Cde Chissano, Cde Mlambo expressed confidence in his leadership in strengthening the unity of the Mozambicans and contributing to that of the Frontline States in the fight against Pretoria.

Old PAC man speaks as Azania reacts to the death of Machel

*Combat Correspondent
in Johannesburg*

THE first reaction in Azania to news of the death of President Samora Machel of Mozambique came in less than 24 hours after the crash from organisations and individuals espousing the Azanian tendency line, among them an old internal-based member of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Cde Joalas Madzunya, that PAC founding member who echoed Cde Zeph Mothopeng's call to arms before anyone else had thought about it, said: "Samora Machel's political and military skills changed rugged African persons into a formidable military force that toppled the Portuguese settlers in his country."

He added: "It was the victory of Frelimo under Machel which changed the course of the Zimbabwean struggle leading to Smith's downfall and it was that Mozambican victory which inspired the on-going black resistance in this country (Azania) which has shaken the regime since 1976."

Cde Madzunya's reaction came shortly after the news that the Mozambican leader and a number of his colleagues had been killed in a plane crash in Mbuzini near Komatipoort.

The death of Cde Machel, he said, was a tremendous blow to the whole of Africa, especially the struggling peoples in the southern region of the continent.

The PAC Chairman and APLA Commander-in-Chief, Cde Johnson Mlambo, said: "Cde Samora Machel took up arms to liberate his country from 500 years of Portuguese colonialism and succeeded."

Cde Mlambo, who made the statement from the PAC external headquarters in Dar Es Salaam a few hours after the news of Cde Machel's death, said the late gallant fighter had believed that unless the whole of Southern Africa was truly free, "Mozambican Independence face constant threat" from South Africa.

"His principled support for those still struggling for genuine liberation and self-determination was the cornerstone of the Mozambican foreign policy. It was this principled stand which made Mozambique a target of South Africa," said the PAC leader.

The other Azanian tendency who made early comments on the tragic death of the Mozambican leader included the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which said: "We in Azania respect the personal contributions made by Cde Machel in the Mozambican struggle against Portuguese colonialism in particular and imperialism in general."

It had been in recognition of his "sterling leadership" that in 1974 Azanians had celebrated the victory of the Frelimo forces against the Portuguese colonialist troops.

The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) described his death as a great loss to Africa while the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said Cde Machel had "died in action" after dedicating his life to the cause of justice not only in Mozambique but the rest of Africa.

From the labour front of the Azanian tendency, the newly formed 420 000-strong Cusa-Azania Federation, which brought together the Congress of Unions of South Africa and the Azanian Confederation of the Trade Unions, organised a memorial service for the late Mozambican leader in defiance of a banning order under the state of emergency, which was an inspiring expression of the militancy of the African people.

Maputo snubs bantustanian

BANTUSTAN leader Enos Mabuza, who became "famous" after creating contacts with the ANC in Lusaka in March 1986, was turned away in Maputo from the funeral of Cde Machel, a spokesman for the Kangwane leader has confirmed.

An original report had cited his fellow bantustanians, Chief Gatsha Buthelez, as the man snubbed, but this had later been corrected by the news agency which filed the story. It is not known why Mabuza was turned away despite his Lusaka contacts.

Azansians are bitterly opposed to Pretoria's policy of bantustans and naturally welcome such moves as that by Mozambique which deny recognition to the division of Azania into fragments ruled by puppet chiefs.

Plane survivor was a hardened soldier, says APPLA Commander

By Combat Editor

CDE Fernando Manuel Joao, one of the Mozambican presidential plane crash survivors, is a true and hardened soldier. Forces of the Azanian People's Liberation Army have been called upon by the APPLA High Command to learn from his example.

At the site of the crash, described by a Mozambican journalist, Carlos Cardoso, as a scene of a desolating panorama extremely difficult to look at, an injured Cde Joao was able to recollect himself and walk a distance in darkness to report the crash.

That perhaps may pass as a sheer and ordinary performance which can come about from any courageous person, soldier or civilian.

But such a view would have to be reconciled with the fact that Cde Joao had to stand up and start walking among bodies of his comrades, who were alive and well only a short while before the crash, but who now lay motionless and scattered over a 30 metre radius around the fuselage and tailpiece of the wreckage.

Imagine, among those bodies were the mortal remains of his country's president, who now lay still and silent not only in a foreign country, but an extremely hostile one. It was in that death-dealing country that an injured foreign soldier had to do his painful walking.

Cde Joao, one of the late Mozambican president's bodyguards, was spotted at the desolating scene by his country's Security Minister, Colonel Sergio Vieira, who immediately walked towards him. That was after Cde Joao had gone to report the crash and come back to that scene of sorrow and pain.

It was when Colonel Vieira approached the wounded soldier that he demonstrated his true military qualities by standing up to attention, despite his pain. The two men then saluted each other. Tears trickled down Cde Joao's face as Colonel Vieira placed his hand gently on his neck and drew his face to his own shoulder. The two remained in that position for several seconds.

Again as a soldier, Cde Joao recomposed himself and resumed a military posture before reporting to Colonel Vieira what had happened to the presidential plane.

The APPLA commander, Cde Muntu Mzolo, has called upon Azanian combatants to learn from Cde Joao who, he said, had demonstrated that "a soldier is always a soldier even in the most difficult of times. A soldier of Cde Joao's calibre is one Azania needs if it is to be liberated".

Said Cde Mzolo "In fact, it is the thickest of times which puts a soldier's power of endurance into test. Like him, we should be able to quickly and decisively recollect our senses and recompose ourselves physically in the face of difficult situations. Learning from Cde Joao may as well be the first lesson in this regard."



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

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the organisation of the African People.

IZWE LETHU !

Pretoria's charges about Malawi are pretext for fresh raids — PAC official

HARARE — Allegations by South Africa against Mozambique and Zimbabwe on Malawi military launching pad against the Frontline States, a senior PAC official has said here.

"We have been aware that South Africa already has another military base in Malawi," the PAC Secretary for Publicity and Information, Cde Edwin Makoni, said in a statement.

"A listening post into the activities of the Azanian National Liberation Movement was set up there as part of an agreement under which Pretoria financed the construction of Lilongwe," said Cde Makoni.

Malawi, which maintains diplomatic ties with South Africa, was the only country in the region with whom the Azanian liberation movement have no bilateral relations.

Racist South Africa's allegations that Mozambique and Zimbabwe planned to overthrow the puppet Malawian government of Kamuzu Banda were also an attempt not only to draw attention away from Pretoria's involvement in the death of the late Mozambican President Cde Samora Machel, but to justify fresh raids into the Frontline States.



MALAWI became the first independent African state to open diplomatic relations with racist South Africa. Here former racist Prime Minister John Vorster receives Life-President Hastings Banda of Malawi during his state visit to South Africa in 1971. Ties between the two countries have reportedly become more than just diplomatic of late, with Malawi being used by MNR bands as a springboard for terrorist attacks on Mozambique.

SA militarises private bodies

SOUTH AFRICA has of late been intensifying its programme to militarise private company companies, a PAC military intelligence official has said.

The official told Azania Combat that one of the most recent evidence of this programme was the clearing by Pretoria of the Casspir armoured personnel carrier for sale to private companies.

More than ten of such military vehicles have been sold to a prominent mining company. These had been fitted with specialist military equipment in addition to the standards equipment.

APLA KNEW MARSHAL YE

China loses great son

By Combat Editor

ON October 22 1986, one of the heroes of the world's longest march ever taken by man and one of China's most outstanding revolutionary leaders, Marshal Ye Jinying, died at the age of 90, marking perhaps the beginning of an end to the distinguished generation whose members are not easy to introduce.

Indeed, the late Marshal Ye needed no introduction to the Chinese people; nor to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), many of whose members had the opportunity to visit the Chinese town of Slan where Cde Ye was liaison officer of the Eighth Route Army in the early stages of the Chinese revolution.

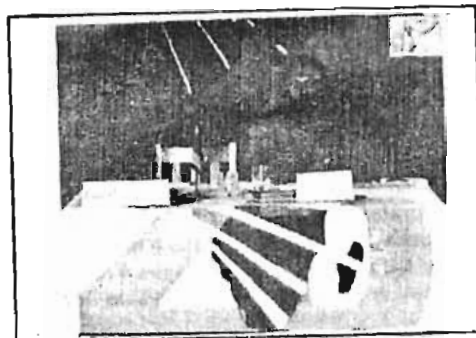
Among those APLA members who visited that historic town in the 1970s was the now PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Victor Phama (who was then a junior officer), as well as several members of the APLA High Command and army rank-and-file.

Cde Phama told *Azania Combat* in a recent interview that the late Marshal Ye "know no other life than that as a revolutionary. He dedicated his whole life not only to the liberation and socialist construction of China, but also the cause of the oppressed world people, including struggling Azaricans."

The PAC defence secretary said Marshal Ye's death was a big blow not only to the great Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China, but also the Azanian people, the world oppressed peoples and the world socialist movement.

The late Marshal Ye was a great proletarian revolutionary leader, a distinguished statesman, an outstanding military strategist and, in his own right, a battle-tested and hardened soldier, said Cde Phama.

His revolutionary career goes back to the days of Dr Sun Yat-sen, of the heroes of China's democratic movement. Marshal Ye joined Communist Party in 1927 and together with foremost leaders of the Chinese revolution, the late Chairman Mao Zedong and Cde Zhou Enlai, led uprisings which resulted in



AS a junior APLA officer in the 1970s, the PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama, had the opportunity to come close to the late Marshal Ye. Cde "Sebs", together with several other APLA combatants, visited areas of the People's Republic of China where the late marshal operated during the heroic Chinese liberation struggle.

the formation of the Chinese Red Army.

It was Marshal Ye who saw through a plot by counter-revolutionary elements within the Communist Party to split the party and exposed it to Chairman Mao in a bold act which assured the success of the Long March in the 1930s. From 1936, he was the Chief of Staff of the Eighth Route Army and member of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, a post he held right through to the War of Resistance against Japan between 1937 to 1945.

Cde Ye became Marshal in 1955 and was elected Vice-Chairman of the CPC central committee in August 1973.

On October 30 1986, thousands of soldiers from the People's Liberation Army, civilians, overseas Chinese, compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao gathered in Beijing to pay their last respects to Marshal Ye, whose remains lay at the Great Hall of the People in this city, an *Azania Combat* correspondent there has reported.

The Chairman of the CPC's Central Advisory Commission and of the Central Military Commission, Cde Deng Xiaoping, presided over the memorial service, which was attended by all of China's top party and government leaders and senior army officers.

In a speech, the CPC general secretary, Cde Hu Yaobang, said Marshal Ye had made monumental contributions to the Chinese revolution and socialist construction and that his death was a "great loss to the party, the country and the army".

Marshal Ye's remains were moved to a revolutionary cemetery for cremation after the memorial service.



ALWAYS with his soldiers. Here the APLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC Chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, reviews a mini-parade mounted by a specialised platoon shortly after the APLA unit had finished demonstrating some special techniques developed and perfected at one of the PAC army camps. Behind the commander-in-chief is the PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Sabelo Phama. (Picture by *Azania Combat* photographer).

Quotable Quotes

APLA COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF Cde Johnson Mlambo: "In the battles of 1987 we will urge our militants — the adherents of the Azanian tendency — to promote co-operation and unity with other tendencies that are indeniably involved in the national liberation struggle."

CDE Zephania "Uncle Zeph" Mothopeng: "A nation is no nation without arms."

"THE only negotiations with the racists in Pretoria should take place on the field of battle"
--- Libyan leader Cde Muammer Gaddafi.

"SOME members of the South African Muslim community have committed themselves to the PAC terror and violence"
--- Racist President Botha.

PRIME MINISTER Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe:

"South Africa's bloodhound General Magnus Malan is sniffing for more blood after spilling that of Samora Machel. The bloodsuckers of South Africa will never be satisfied."

PRIME MINISTER Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe:

"That soil (of Azania) stands in great need of redemption. Samora's blood was shed on that soil. That sacred blood must be a source of inspiration to the people of South Africa."

PAC CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE IN HARARE Cde Waters Toboti.

"The gun is our sword into our Canaan — a genuinely free and independent Azania."

LETTER BOMB BID

Mkwanazi escapes assassination bid

Combat Chief Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM — As APLA combatants continue implementing the military programme of the PAC internally, an attempt was made here recently to assassinate one of the most senior PAC officials, Cde Joe Mkwanazi, through a parcel bomb.

Cde Mkwanazi is the PAC Administrative Secretary and member of the party Central Committee's Military Commission, a body serving as a link between the PAC political leadership and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

According to a senior Tanzanian police officer, the parcel bomb could undoubtedly have killed Cde Mkwanazi and several other people near him and caused considerable damage not only to the building where it was discovered, but also surrounding buildings.

The PAC official had just received a parcel from Manzini in Swaziland at Dar Es Salaam's main post office, but he became suspicious at its appearance. He then alerted Customs officials who in turn contacted the police.

It was then established that there in fact had been a bomb which was defused.

Cde Mkwanazi, a veteran freedom fighter and committed son of Azania, speaking shortly after the incident, told Reuters news agency: "Of course, I am happy to escape death this time."

Great heroes of the African revolution such as the late Cde Herbert Chitepo of Zimbabwe and the late Cde Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique had not been given a second chance.

"Now that the Gods of Africa have given me another chance, I will continue to fight harder to liberate Azania, my fatherland."

"This is by no means the end. I know the boer murderers will try again, but I will not stop fighting until final victory."

The APLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC Chairman,

"NOW that the Gods of Africa have given me another chance, I will continue to fight harder to liberate Azania, my fatherland"

Cde Johnson Mlambo, said with the bid to kill Cde Mkwanazi having been foiled, "the enemies of our revolution have suffered another defeat".

"The attempt (on Cde Mkwanazi's life) is conclusive proof that the decks are clear and the battle must be joined because we are at war with the perpetrators of reactionary violence," he said.

The bid to blow up Cde Mkwanazi comes amid growing fears in Southern Africa that certain leaders of the Frontline States have been earmarked by the Pretoria regime for assassination.

But it also comes at a time when APLA is quietly but confidently establishing itself on the ground as an undeniable military force Pretoria is contending with.

The attempt tacitly points to panic in Pretoria and dismal failure in efforts to hide the fact the APLA, fighting under the political leadership and direction of the PAC, is putting up unprecedented military pressure on the regime.

PAC BLASTS PRETORIA

Suzman is snubbed as Azanians mourn 'People's Doctor'

Combat Correspondents in Pretoria and New York

THE killing of anti-apartheid African physician, Dr Fabian Ribelro, and his wife, Barbara, by two masked men recently was an integral part of the "state-sponsored liquidation" campaign, the PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Cde Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, has said.

Dr Ribelro, better known in Azania as "the people's doctor" for selflessly devoting his time to treating victims of Pretoria's State terrorism, and Cde Barbara, sister to the late PAC leader Cde Mangaliso Sobukwe, were gunned down near their home in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

The two State terrorist agents who murdered them got away in a car registered in the name of a commanding officer of the Pretoria Security Branch, informed sources told *Azania Combat* and this has been corroborated in newspaper reports in South Africa.

At the funeral of the Ribelros, hundreds of angry African youths shouted down white liberal politician Helen Suzman as she tried to address about 1 000 mourners.

The youths, alleged to have been members of the powerful Azanian People's Organisation, reportedly told funeral organisers that the late Dr Ribelro was a staunch supporter of the PAC and that therefore the liberal Progressive Federal Party, through Suzman, could not be given the platform.

Chanting such slogans as "Away With the PFP", the young Azanian militants said if the PFP was an anti-apartheid organisation it had to resign from the

apartheid South African parliament, mourners told reporters at the scene of the funeral.

The Mamelodi Civic Association, a leading anti-apartheid group in the township where the funeral service was held, later issued a statement expressing understanding for the youths' action and reiterated their call on the PFP to quit the apartheid parliament.

A frustrated Suzman later told newsmen that she had been "heckled" many times in her political career, but rarely by Africans.

Meanwhile, racist South African troops barred journalists from entering Mamelodi to cover the funeral and sealed off the Raphael Roman Catholic Church, where the service was held. Many newsmen were turned back while a few others made their way to the service through back roads.

The PAC, as usual, has not yet commented on the anti-Suzman incident.

However, the head of the APLA research, information and propaganda section, Cde Jonny Majosi, said nothing beyond that "we have been following the events before and during the funeral service with keen interest".

Oil embargo can halt Pretoria's aggressiveness, says Mlambo

Combat Correspondent

An internationally co-ordinated oil embargo against South Africa can deal a severe blow to Pretoria's aggressive designs in Southern Africa, AP/PLA Commander-in-Chief and PAC chairman, Cde Johnson Mlambo, has said.

He told delegates to a recent International sanctions conference that "in the context of South Africa, oil is a military weapon".

Military activities of the regime, both internally and in neighbouring states, depended heavily on diesel and gasoline, and it was known that the racist South African army consumed 17 000 barrels of fuel a day to suppress the people on Namibia alone, for instance.

"Every tank, every tractor, every buffalo, every police vehicle, every aircraft engaged in activities to perpetuate apartheid is fuelled by oil," said Cde Mlambo.

As part of its psychological war, the regime had deliberately leaked out data that it had the potential of meeting its oil needs from its three SASOL oil-from-coal plants and claimed that the three generated up to 60 percent of its total liquid fuel needs.

"This, of course, is a lie," Cde Mlambo said. "Our information is that the three plants produced only 45 000 barrels of liquid fuel a day or about 13 percent of the regime's consumption needs. This means Pretoria requires nearly 3.5 million barrels a day".

South Africa was concerned about oil purchases that it had set up an agency known as "Strategic Fuel Fund" to conduct the oil trade, and all transactions and dealings were to be kept tightly secret.

"Oil is not a commodity that one can easily smuggle across borders in a suitcase," he said. "Nor do we believe that monitoring compliance with oil embargo is an impossible task. What is required here

is a political will."

An immediate and total oil embargo would render the trigger-happy racist forces of the regime immobile and thereby vastly reduce the daily massacres of unarmed and defenceless men, women and children of Azania.

"We wish to emphatically state here that every barrel of oil that reaches apartheid South Africa fuels its brutal repression against the neighbouring states.

"We call on this important conference to adopt effective measures to ensure a total oil embargo against the apartheid regime, and particularly measures against owners of oil tankers and unscrupulous businessmen."

Cde Mlambo assured the conference that the PAC would do its part by striking even more harder militarily at Pretoria's armed forces and police.

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IZWE LETHU!

Chilean collusion with Pretoria

A SOUTH AFRICAN ship building and naval repair company, which is a subsidiary of Sandock-Austral, was recently awarded a R22 million contract by the Chilean Naval Department, sources have disclosed. The tender was for the construction of a ship building and repair facility at the Chilean naval dockyard of Punta Arenas not far from the strategically important Strait of Magellan.

Steelwork manufacturing for the building project was undertaken in Durban and it was then shipped to Chile. The shipyard was later inspected by the former racist Deputy Minister of Defence (now law and order minister), Adriaan Vlok, during his visit to Chile, which is ruled by a notorious dictator, Augusto Pinochet.



Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet whose unpopular and notorious regime is militarily collaborating with racist South Africa. Here the dictator decorates his bodyguards who protected him during an attempt on his life in September 1986.

School-grounds to host real battles as AP/PLA moves on

Combat's Soweto Correspondent

ANY account of the early political career of Cde Zeph Mthopeng, now president of the PAC, would be a non-account if it does not include his resolute fight against the settler-colonialist education being dished out to Africans in South Africa.

As far back as 1951, he had come to prominence as a member of the Congress Youth League's Transvaal Provincial Executive and the moving spirit in the ranks of Azanian educators. Hence his election as president of the powerful Transvaal African Teachers' Association.

In that capacity, he travelled far and wide in South Africa campaigning against the notorious Eiselen Commission Report which embodied the regime's diabolical schemes to introduce what is today known as Bantu Education.

Said the man then: "There is a great struggle in the offing — a struggle for the victory of ideas. On the one hand it is the ideas of the ruling classes as represented by the Eiselen Commission's report and on the other those of the struggling African masses."

The aim of the racist rulers' ideas is "to enslave the African child and make him feel inferior and be an easy victim of exploitation."



President Zeph Mthopeng of the PAC, the man PAC Bethel 18 Trial Judge Mr Justice Curlewis accused of "sowing the seeds of anarchy and revolution which led to the 1976 student riots".

Uncle Zeph, who in the 1930s originated the historic line that "a nation without arms is no nation", had no illusions that his fight would not be easy because the racist rulers would be more brutal in their enforcement of Bantu Education.

The fight he pioneered in the 1950s continues today as black youths resolutely resist Pretoria's attempt to back them with that education through the barrel of the gun.

A visit to the schools in the townships by an Azania Combat corresponding team has revealed that apartheid education has virtually collapsed throughout the country after years of turmoil in the African schools.

Millions of school pupils and teachers have started implementing People's Education.

But since the reimposition of state of emergency in June 1986 the notorious but civilian Department of Education and Training (DET) has given way to the racist army and police. Soldiers and cops have been brought into African schools, felling clashes between pupils and the racist authorities.

Many schools have become battlegrounds, with many being surrounded with barbed wire fencing, security gates and, in some cases, floodlighting has been installed as troops and police make a bid to establish themselves in the schools amid widespread resistance.

In fact soldiers and police have gone much further not only to invade the classrooms, but are trying to enforce teaching of the racist and inferior syllabus.

And horrifying reports of brutality against resisting pupils have reached Azania Combat correspondents in the country.

Pupils who boycott classes in protest against the army and police activities are being rounded up at their homes and forcibly taken to school where they are ordered to study the apartheid syllabus at gun-point.

At Orlando High School in Soweto, where Uncle Zeph taught before being summarily fired because of what he was teaching the students, racist soldiers broke into classrooms while lessons were in progress and told students that Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama was "the first man to be in South Africa".

In many other schools, especially in Soweto, military units with armoured vehicles were stationed in school-yards and at Muzi High School racist troops went a step further to use the school-yard as a parade ground, drilling and staging mock battles.

Commenting on all these developments, the APLA Political Commissariat has said that while efforts to promote liberation education were commendable and encouraged to continue, time should soon come when schoolyards should see scenes of armed resistance against the hated apartheid syllabus.

"The main objective of the PAC campaign to arm the people is to boost the fighting capacity of the masses and this includes enabling the youths to effectively resist the colonial education of the regime," said the army political department in a statement to Azania Combat.

"These racist troops, who are now staging mock battles in the school-yards, should be drawn into real battles and these are in the pipeline."

PAC strongly backs AZANYU campaign against 'necklace'

Combat Correspondents in Soweto and Dar Es Salaam

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has supported the stand taken by AZANYU in condemning 'necklacing' and called on all the groups fighting apartheid to also publicly do likewise.

The Azanian National Youth Unity, a nationally based youth organisation inside Azania, unequivocally denounced "necklacing" recently and described it as "counter-revolutionary barbarism which is threatening to degenerate freedom fighters into cannibals".

"Necklacing", which is the placing of a tyre around a victim's neck and setting it alight, has been used by certain elements calling themselves "gomradas" against suspected police informers and other "agents of the system". It has also been used against political opponents.

Attacking 'necklacing' at a Press conference, AZANYU said: "Much as we hate police informers and other puppets, we however see this necklace barbarism as tarnishing our integrity as revolutionaries and presenting a cannibal-like image of ourselves."

Vigilantes take Pretoria's side

By Sword Pencil

THE vigilante groups in Azania have now openly come on to the side of the lawless so-called security forces against the genuine aspirations of the people, according to reports from various parts of the country.

The reports say the vigilantes do not attack gangsters as they initially claimed, but now openly attack people who are rising against the Pretoria regime.

In Moutse, the vigilantes attacked people who did not want to be part of KwaNdebele, a racist bantustan creation. In Lesandra and Huhudi, they attacked people who did not want the community council, including those who had started their own committees.

In Umzali, Natal, the "Amabutho" wanted to burn houses of people who were opposed to the regime's racist system and those who advocated the boycott of white shops in New Crossroads, near Cape Town were harassed. In Thabong and Tumulole in the Free State, the vigilantes beat up children who were boycotting classes. In the same area they used board cars to take people away.

When asked by a community member for protection against the vigilantes, a police officer in

The PAC, in a recent statement, described the stand by AZANYU as "timely" and said: "Our hate of police informers and puppets of the regime should not drive us into adopting methods that in essence are counter-revolutionary and portray a false image of our just struggle."

The PAC called on all organisations fighting the regime inside Azania to publicly denounce 'necklacing' and actively work towards putting an end to this method of dealing with suspected informers, agents of the regime as well as political opponents.

"The PAC of Azania, for its part, will do everything within its means to contribute towards putting an end to this barbarism and will not hesitate to strongly condemn those perpetrating or condoning it," said the statement.

one police station replied: "We cannot stop them and you cannot lay any charge against them."

The reports say that hundreds of anti-government people have either been killed or disappeared following encounters with the vigilantes.

According to the reports, savage beatings and brutal killings of activists in the country have been carried out by the vigilantes after the "police and the army could not stop the unrest".

According to definition, a vigilante committee is a group which sets itself up without legal authority and is expected to act independently of the usual process of law enforcement.

Up to now there has been a single report from the racist South African Bureau of Information about the so-called security forces' action against these vigilante groups, an indication that these groups are part of the illegal settler regime's terrorist apparatus.

With the obvious collaboration between the two, APLA forces will have no alternative but to add the vigilantes in their ever-increasing list of targets.

PAC WOMEN'S FILE

'Mothers of revolution' get material support

By Combat Reporter
Thembi Tshabalala

AS Azanian women join their menfolk in the intensification of the struggle inside apartheid South Africa, the need for international support for the cause is not being ignored.

And PAC women, affectionately referred to as "mothers of the revolution", have just pulled another in a series of diplomatic coups following a pledge recently by the Australian Capital Territory Trades and Labour Council (ACT-TLC) to give them material and financial support for self-help projects in and outside South Africa.

The council unanimously agreed to an appeal by the Chief Co-ordinator of the PAC Women's Affairs, Cde Maud Jackson, for such support and urged its affiliates and sympathetic individuals to generously contribute towards the Azanian national liberation cause "as a matter of urgency".

Assistance would be channelled to the PAC refugee camps outside South Africa and to members and supporters of the organisation and others suffocating under apartheid inside the country.

Cde Jackson, accompanied by Cde Castalia Moleko of the PAC's Department of Information and Publicity and member of the PAC Youth League, spent several weeks in Australia and New Zealand explaining the PAC vision of the struggle and raising support for the "mothers of the revolution".

Addressing an ACT-TLC meeting, Cde Jackson said: "The tour has succeeded in mobilising Australians and New Zealanders to support in very concrete terms the Azanian struggle for land, liberation and self-determination."

Commenting on tour sabotage attempts which were exposed by Ms Meridith Stevenson of the

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Canberra-based Women Against Racism (WAR), the PAC women's affairs co-ordinator said the PAC was not competing with any organisation of the oppressed, but was "unfolding its own liberation programme within Azania".

She was pleased that most Australians had refused to be drawn into what she described as "sectarian and divisive politics" and that they had shown maturity by promoting only those issues which sought unity of the oppressed Azanians.



At the Nigerian embassy in Canberra, the PAC women struck another success when wives of African ambassadors based in the Australian capital contributed tents, clothes and various other materials for PAC refugees and other needy Azanians.

The PAC Chief Representative in Australasia and the South Pacific, Cde Max Nemadzivhanani, has described the tour as a success and that it would go a long way towards boosting the fighting capacity of the Azania women.

The involvement of PAC women on the ground, limited though it may be, is significant and well-known and, therefore, need not be over-emphasised.

A glance, however, would reveal that they are involved in the toughest and roughest of situations, including the Vaal Triangle uprisings, after which Cde Theresa Ramashamola and five other PAC activists were sentenced to death for high treason.

Cde Ramashamola became one of just less than three Azanian women to get a death penalty in South Africa for political offences.

Another PAC woman, Cde Boniswa Ncukana, was killed together with five other PAC members in a battle area on South Africa's border with Lesotho.

And Aluta Continua as PAC women continue actively taking their place alongside their male counterparts.

Boer spy jailed in Zimbabwe

Combat Correspondent

HARARE — A suspected boer spy and member of the racist South African army intelligence, one Phillip Ovis, was recently jailed here for an effective three-and-a-half years for bringing offensive weapons into Zimbabwe.

A Harare regional magistrate, who convicted the suspected spy of contravening Zimbabwe's Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, said it was common knowledge that South Africa and Zimbabwe did not have friendly political relations.

It was reasonable, in the absence of any

explanation from him, to infer that he had brought the weapons into Zimbabwe for purposes associated with "sinister and ulterior motives touching on the security of this country (Zimbabwe) or its friendly neighbours".

Ovis, formerly with the racist Rhodesian airforce before emigrating to the land of apartheid in 1980, was arrested at a police roadblock in Zimbabwe's Masvingo Province with a Pietro Beretta 9 mm gun, 87 rounds of 9 mm ammunition and two rocket flares.

Said the magistrate: "It is necessary to impose a sentence which will not only serve to punish him, but also to deter other former residents of Zimbabwe from bringing offensive weapons into the country".

The court, he said, took serious view of such an offence, particularly when it was committed by people from "an unfriendly country like South Africa".

The suspected spy came into the country just before the Non-Aligned Summit in Harare attended by many Third World leaders and those of the liberation movements, including APLA commander-in-chief and PAC chairman Cde Johnson Mlambo.

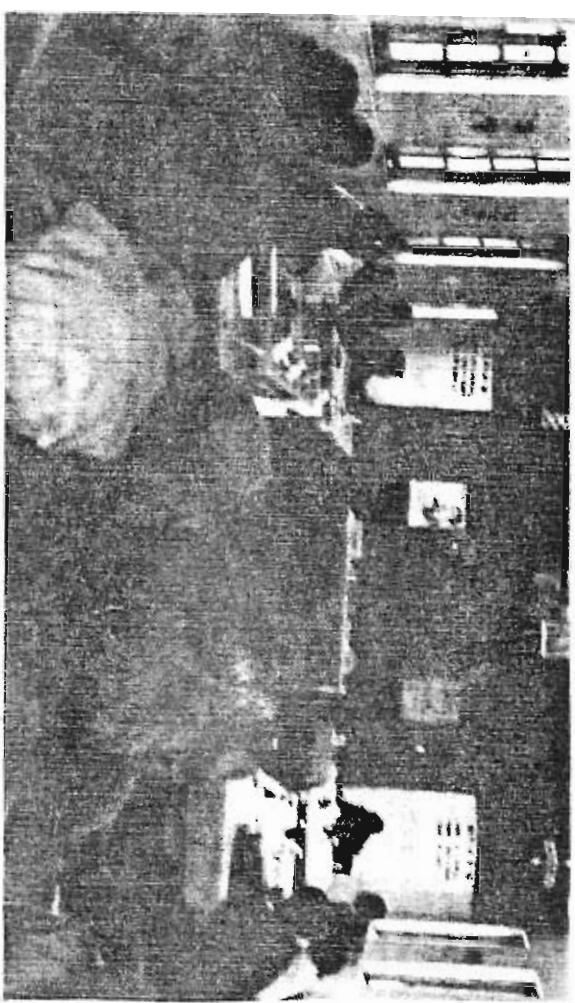
A senior PAC intelligence and security officer told Azania Combat that it was possible that Ovis was in Zimbabwe on reconnaissance mission "in preparation for something else which was to follow".

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**AZANIA IS NOT
A PROSTITUTE ...
IT IS THE LAND
OF THE AZANIANS**



WHEN the leadership of the PAC goes to a PAC military camp, soldiers there do not regard that as a "visit," because such contacts between the political leaders and APPLA combatants are just a matter of routine. Here, with Commander-in-Chief Cde Johnson Mlambo and party Administrative Secretary Cde Joe Mkwenzel (both facing the soldier), the leadership and the army get down to some real business as the APPLA offensive on the ground gains momentum.



THIS piece of highly artistic photography is the work of Azania Combat chief photographer Lerato Mokoena, who shot the picture from inside a car in one of the PAC military camps on one fine late morning.



As the signboard in front of him says it, Cde Sabelo Phama is the man, the man whose armed forces are quite a nuisance to Pretoria, doing all the "bad" things one who is a racist in Pretoria can think of, including giving guns and other weapons to the Azanian masses.



PALESTINIANS and Azanlans have always been as one as the PLO and the PAC are. Here the PLO chairman, Cde Yasser Arafat, chats to the PAC Chief Representative in Guinea, Cde Raymond Johnson, while President Lansan Contah of Guinea (on Cde Arafat's left), diplomats and other dignitaries look on at Conakry Airport during a recent visit to the anti-apartheid West African country by the PLO leader.

HISTORICAL WARS FOR AZANIA

Armed Africans rarely defeated by Europeans

APLA Political Commissariat

EUROPEAN settlers, in their plunder of Azania, wanted to have monopoly control over the coast of the dispossessed land of the Africans.

On May 5, 1799, Vanderleur sent his officers' patrol Lieutenant John Charnney to reconnoitre the areas near the sea. The group of settlers was ambushed by the Africans in a surprise attack with hand to hand close combat, defeating all save for four who ran for their lives.

In the same region, the Khoisan leader, Klaas Stuurman, demanded that the British give back the land to the African and free African children from farm enslavement. The British refused to do these.

Encouraged by the Xhosa victory, Stuurman raided the unguarded farms of the settlers and Vanderleur, sensing the danger, ordered that all armed Khoisan employees be disarmed. In a subsequent battle involving 700 Khoisan, 300 horses and 150 firearms, the Africans emerged victorious.

The Khoisan then joined the Xhosa-speaking Africans under three captains, Stuurman, Boesak and Trompeter, and dealt a heavy blow to the European settlers. In a bid to retaliate, the settlers summoned their commandos under bandit commander Tjaart van Walt and Hendrik van Rensburg.

To their disappointment, the Africans retreated to avert looting of their (African) property and livestock by the marauders. Tactically, the purpose of the retreat was to worn down the settlers and start attacking when the enemy was despirited and frustrated.

Africans crossed the Gamitoons River far to the west of Graaf Reinet, and by the end of July that year, it was reported that the whole of Graaf Reinet had been recaptured by the Africans.

The effect of the African victory were changes of leadership in the office of the settler resident commissioner and superintendent of public affairs

within the Swellendam and Graaf Reinet districts after the then incumbent official had failed to meet demands by his fellow settlers.

Still shaken by the devastating defeat, the settlers summoned courage and tried to organise two large commando units, but could manage to mobilise only 80 men under arms. These were used to storm the fortified village at Pondewal, across the Sundry River, on February 13 1802.

Again the settlers suffered ignominious defeat at the hands of armed Africans. During that significant battle, the tired-looking settler commandant Van der Walt was shot dead at Balavlar's Kloof, with his fellow settlers dispersing to their hiding.

The African people were then complete master of the land as far west as from the Fish River. The Third Resistance War ended with Africans emerging victorious and that victory served as a reminder to the European settlers that they were in a foreign land.

If the battles recounted in the previous issue of *Azania Comber* showed that "united Africans always defeated the foreign invaders", then the above mentioned ones in this issue are a lesson that armed Africans always subdued the settler-colonialists.

But they are also a reminder that no foreigner will be allowed to impose his will upon the Africans in Africa, including Azania. The forefathers fought, and over the generations, Azania is still at war, with its sons and daughters giving all that they have in order that Azania should be free in the land of their forefathers.

**ONE SETTLER
ONE BULLET!**