‘IN THE TWILIGHT OF THE AZANIAN REVOLUTION’

The Exile History of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa): (1960-1990)

By

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“One of the historian’s most abiding senses of frustration in relation to his or her material is its absolute incompleteness, its inevitable existence in the present only as time’s traces”. Michael Pickering: History, Experience and Cultural Studies, Macmillan Press, London, 1997, p. 7
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ABSTRACT

Very little has been written on this subject, especially during the exile period, which is covered by the research. As a result, a lacuna exists in our understanding of 20th century history of the liberation struggle in South Africa. This study is an attempt to reconstruct aspects of the missing link. It locates the exile history of the Pan Africanist Congress within a broader framework of political developments in Southern Africa. By so doing a wide canvas of factors essential to the colouring of this period are brought to the fore. The study therefore focuses on the internal conflicts in the PAC and how they impacted on the functioning of the organisation during the exile period.

The thesis traces the events which led to the banning of the PAC and demonstrates how the organisation re-established itself in exile. Most importantly, it focuses on a critical period which existing scholarly works and even popular literature has overlooked, i.e. the period between 1960 to 1962. The thesis traces the re-formation of the PAC’s official infrastructure in Lesotho. It proceeds to examine the organisational developments and internal conflicts at the headquarters of the PAC in Tanzania from 1964 to 1990. It examines sources of conflict during various periods of leadership, i.e. from P.K. Leballo (1962 - 1979), Vusumzi Make period (1979-1981), Nyathi John Pokela (1981-1985) to Johnson Mlambo (1985-1990). In the last two chapters the thesis examines conditions inside PAC camps and the evolution of the PAC’s military strategy as sources of conflict.

In all the chapters, the permeating theme is that the PAC lacked solid organisational foundations, which manifested in the lack of clear organisational policies respected by everyone, including the leadership of the organisation. The thesis concludes that the history of the PAC in exile is an example of how poor organisational structures can immobilize the progress of a liberation movement.
Chapter I

1.1 Statement of the problem.

Introduction.

This section of chapter one outlines the research questions and concerns which have informed the content of the thesis. Secondly, the section outlines the trend of thought followed in the study. It does this by providing an outline of the sequence of chapters and indicating what each chapter examines.

The epistemological axiom which forms the starting point of the thesis is informed by the insights derived from Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley’s book *Reconstructing Archaeology*, in which they argued that “the past is complete and gone, a problem presenting a challenge to the present”.\(^1\) They postulated the “otherness” and the “absent” presence of the past as the condition of the challenge. Even though the past they referred to as archeologists, is obviously remote when compared to the fairly recent past of the contemporary historian, their point remains fascinating, especially if one is to examine as a historical phenomenon, the strained relations within the PAC during the period 1960 – 1990. The point highlights the inherent limitations of the research on this subject. This emanates from and is imposed by the absence of the totality of social factors or wholeness of conditions under which internal PAC relations developed. In fact all academic work on this subject will invariably reflect weaknesses which in the final analysis link directly or indirectly to this point. Studies cannot bring to the surface every constituent element of the exile history of the PAC. This remains impossible given that the past cannot be reconstructed as it actually was. By carefully analysing the many discrete bits and pieces of evidence available, this research elucidates what constituted the key elements of internal relations within the PAC during this period. This is done

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without any pretension towards an all inclusive account of what actually happened, for the permutations of the research topic are broad.

**Research Questions.**

The research uses documentary and oral evidence to provide an understanding of the exile experience of the PAC. The overarching research question the thesis seeks to examine is about the nature of internal relations in the PAC and the factors which influenced these relations during the exile period. To address this major question, the research seeks to find answers to the following questions: How did the PAC re-establish itself as an organisation in exile? During the formative years in exile, what was the nature of intra-PAC relations? What was the nature of internal relations at the initial PAC head office in Maseru, Lesotho? Which forces or factors determined or conditioned these relationships? What was the nature of intra-PAC relations during the various leadership phases up to 1990 when the organisation was unbanned? What factors determined and conditioned internal relationships during the whole period under review? Were there any external forces impacting on these relationships? Could the intra-PAC relations be compared to any of the other liberation movements in Southern Africa? What was the nature of living conditions in the PAC camps? Did the PAC have a military strategy? How did the strategy evolve? What was the nature of the relationship between the army and the political leadership in the PAC? What comparisons can be drawn between the PAC’s military strategy and the strategies of other liberation movements in Southern Africa? What was the nature of the exile environment? Can one generalise about the exile experience in Southern Africa and how it impacted on the functioning of liberation movements, especially during the period 1960-1990?

By examining the documentary and oral evidence relating to the PAC and to other liberation movements in Southern Africa, an attempt is made to answer the above questions. This will make a contribution not only to a better understanding of the PAC, but also to the development of a framework or theory about how the exile status impacted on the functioning of liberation movements.
A brief description of the chapters will clarify the major issues involved. Chapter 1 states the research problem and also outlines the procedures or methods used to identify sources of information. It also explains how sources have been used and the internal and external weaknesses the sources display. The chapter moves from the premise that historical objectivity is not constituted in reconstructing the past as it actually was but is a product of methods used in the collection and analysis of data. The two main types of sources analysed are the primary documentary sources (of which PAC internal documents make up a major component) and oral sources. The section exposes the varied and uneven spread of detail in the primary documentary sources. It concludes that primary documentary sources afford researchers a picture of a broken and fragmented dialogue within the organisation; they create an ambiguity which leaves the researcher at a loss. To overcome this problem oral sources were used to complement primary documentary sources. The weaknesses of existing oral sources are also examined.

Finally, chapter 1 provides an overview of the literature, both academic and popular, on the exile political history of the PAC. Of particular interest is the literature on the formation of the PAC in exile and internal relations within the organisation during the exile period. This is the period beginning from 1960 when the PAC was banned and extends up to 1990 when it was unbanned. The section highlights the way in which the exile history of the PAC is portrayed in the literature. In other words the approach adopted in this section is historiographical and not thematic, given the fact that scholarship on the history of the PAC in exile is still limited. Themes have hardly begun to emerge in the study of the PAC given the fact that the organisation’s exile history is still at the margins of academic research and discourse. The thematic approach is therefore not viable. The historiographical approach followed in this section identifies ‘schools’ of thought or typologies in the literature about the PAC which are based on the approaches or lines of argument in the literature. All the same, it is difficult to group the literature on the PAC during the exile period into distinct historical epochs. The historiography of the PAC during the identified period is still in its infancy. Reference to
schools of thought or tendencies in analysis, is an attempt to uncover the underlying grid which allowed thinking about the PAC (as expressed in literature) to organise itself.

Chapter 2 deals with the question of ‘exile experience’ and its impact on the functioning of liberation movements. The section does not provide detail, but extrapolates, instead, from the vast detail, generalisations which constitute a paradigm against which the experiences of the PAC will be viewed in the following chapters. It seeks to answer the question of how the exile experience impacted on the functioning of liberation movements. The aim is to develop a synthesizing theory of exile liberation movements and also to locate the exile history of the PAC within that framework. The section demonstrates that the exile experience possessed a comprehensible structure. It does this by defining the connecting threads which weave together both discrete and seamless elements of the exile experience into an intelligible whole. First, it examines the nature of the exile environment, but focuses only on Southern Africa. Secondly, the conceptualisation of experience as an analytical category (in the context of exile), the common experiences of liberation movements and their responses and adaptation to the exile environment are analysed. Lastly, an overview of the impact of the exile experience on the functioning of these movements provides a framework for the analysis of how the PAC dealt with the experiences of exile during this period.

Chapter 2, also deals with the formation of the PAC, its banishment and the road to exile. It examines three important aspects of the history of the PAC. These include the factors which led to the birth of an ‘Africanist’ tendency within the African National Congress, hence the formation of the PAC in 1959. It considers the circumstances which led to the banning of the organisation by the National Party government of South Africa and how it eventually landed in exile. An analysis of international African politics and how this affected developments within the ANC of South Africa, is covered as a starting point. Moving from the broad to the specific, the chapter traces and uncovers all factors both international and local, as well as internal conflicts within the ANC, which led to the formation of the PAC. It also provides some highlights of the inauguration of the PAC from the 4th to the 6th of April 1959, to show how the organisation defined itself and
crafted its mission from the very beginning. This section also exposes simmering divisions and initial cracks which enhanced internal divisions during the exile period. The chapter concludes with an examination of the positive action campaign in March 1960, which led to the banning of both the ANC and the PAC.

The following chapter, i.e. chapter 3, examines the reconstitution of the PAC as a liberation movement in diaspora. The chapter focuses on the initial period, 1960-1962, which is not covered in existing literature and research. It examines the process of reconstruction and the various forms of conflict that emerged at various levels within the PAC. It outlines the structures which were put in place, and the initial sources of funding. The nucleus from which the official PAC organ was reconstituted, was Maseru, Lesotho. Maseru remained the energy-centre of the PAC until the end of 1963, when its headquarters moved to Dar-es-Salaam, in Tanzania. Even though this chapter examines the formation of the PAC as a liberation movement in Lesotho, it is mindful of PAC developments in other parts of the world. Besides the actual process of re-constituting the PAC, the chapter also examines strategic documents which the PAC leadership developed to guide the organisation in order to accomplish its goals. Other initiatives examined include the self-reliance programmes developed by PAC members in Lesotho as an attempt to eke out a living in a foreign country. Initiatives of a political nature are also examined and among these is the formation of the South African United Front (SAUF) with the ANC in June 1960. Even though it preceded the launch of an official PAC organ in 1962, the Lesotho based PAC group played an important role in the formation of this organ. Hence, it cannot be discounted in the list of their initiatives.

Chapter 4 comprises four sections dealing with developments within the PAC during the various phases of leadership. The chapter identifies four periods, i.e. the PK Leballo era (1962-1979); the era of Vusumzi Make, (1979 – 1981); the era of John Nyathi Pokela (1981-1985) and the era of Johnson Mlambo (1985-1990). The examination of developments during these periods is thematic, based on information from internal PAC documentary sources currently housed at the University of Fort Hare PAC archives. The themes identified are (i) the management of funds and use of organisational resources;
(ii) the internal enemy syndrome and (iii) the composition and role of leadership as represented by the PAC Central Committee. The three themes critically assess the strained intra-PAC relations. Each section examines the generation of strained intra-PAC relations within the scope of these thematic areas. The analysis is preceded by a brief outline of the background and profile of each leader who chaired the PAC Central Committee during each period. What is demonstrated in each section is that the PAC lacked clear policies and procedures for the management of its affairs, especially in the areas of finance, the utilisation of resources, the functioning of departments, and the management of its general membership. The organisation had no coherent systems, lacked integration and was rocked by internal suspicion and blackmail.

The chapter identifies the issues of inept leadership, poor management and administration of funds as key to the internal conflict. This is traced as far back as 1964 when Mr Nana Mahomo and Peter Molotsi (PAC Executive Committee officials who were sent by the PAC President Mr Robert Sobukwe to fund-raise in America for the establishment of the international wing of the PAC, just before the organisation was banned) were required, for the first time, to account to the organisation for the donor funds which were allegedly kept in their personal bank accounts. The chapter traces a number of similar incidents and outlines the manner in which they were dealt with by the leadership of the organisation. It concludes that the mismanagement of donor funds given to the PAC in support of the liberation struggle, resulted in negative perceptions about the PAC from the international community and also generated mistrust within and among the members of the organisation, especially between the leadership and the rank-and-file members.

The first section of chapter 4, which discusses the PK Leballo era, dwells on the following issues:

The initial phase of Leballo’s leadership of the PAC ran from 1962 to 1967. During this period there was serious in-fighting within the PAC which led to the summoning of a ‘unity’ conference in Moshi in September 1967, at the insistence of the OAU’s African

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Liberation Committee. Some of the issues fundamental to the conflict included Leballo’s unilateral decision to move the PAC headquarters to Maseru, and also his attempt to control an independent African trade union called FOFATUSA, as well as the mismanagement of funds. The section also examines the period 1968 to 1979. It examines how Leballo tried to take absolute control of the PAC and its military wing and the second unity conference which was called at Arusha, Tanzania in June 1978. It was at this conference that the Ntantala group was expelled and this led to the formation of the Azanian People’s Revolutionary Party (APRP) in 1979. T.M. Ntantala was in charge of the PAC High Command and deputy Chairman of the PAC. He posed a threat to Leballo’s agenda and his commitment to the theory of Marxist-Leninism of the South African revolution also created grounds for his expulsion from the PAC. This section also covers the overthrow of Leballo with the connivance of the Tanzanian government in May 1979. It also examines the murder of David Sibeko, a member of the triumvirate which led the PAC after Leballo was deposed as well as the chaos which dominated the ranks of the PAC military following the departure of Leballo.

The second section of chapter 4 which covers the period 1979 to 1981 (the Vusumzi Make era) delves into the aftermath of the Leballo era. The section describes the nature of problems which characterised the Vusumzi Make era. These included indecision, corruption and factionalism. The extent to which many of these tendencies were transferred from the recent Leballo era is easy to assume but difficult to prove, given the scantiness of documentary evidence covering this particular period. At the same time, from the existing evidence it is clear that many of the organisational rehabilitation efforts which J.N. Pokela introduced when he took over as chairperson in January 1981, were initiated under the leadership of Vusi Make. One of the first challenges Make’s leadership had to deal with was the situation within the army. The few attempts which he made did not earn him respect and popularity among the cadres but laid the foundation for the improvements made during the era of John Nyathi Pokela who succeeded Make in January 1981. Even during this period problems were caused by a lack of clear policies and procedures with regard to the management of funds, organisational resources and
how to run the entire organisation. With the assistance of the Tanzanian government, the extent of the chaos in the PAC camps was brought under control.

The third section of chapter 4 covers the era of John Nyathi Pokela. This is regarded in both PAC internal documents and the secondary literature as the period when the PAC began to stabilise. Among the interesting innovations of this period were the enlargement of the Central Committee to include not only heads of departments but also heads of PAC missions in the various countries of Africa, Europe, America, Asia and the Pacific. Pokela also attempted to bring all heads of departments back to Tanzania and to centralise the control of all funds generated by and donated to the PAC. He also focused on the army and revived the High Command of APLA. He reinstated the Ntantala group in the PAC, an initiative which earned him the respect of members of the OAU and Frontline States. Numerous policy documents were generated during this period. These included policies on how PAC departments should be structured and run, as well as the co-ordinating role of the PAC Chairman. Other initiatives involved the improvement of living conditions in PAC camps and especially at the PAC’s settlement project at the Ruvu camp. Pokela also focused attention on the army and laid the foundations of what was called APLA’s home-going programme. This programme was taken forward and implemented by his successor Johnson Mlambo. Despite the glories of the Pokela period had, it was also beset with problems of its own kind. These included the firm opposition to the re-organisation of the party by some members of the Central Committee, the most vocal of whom were Henry Isaacs and Mike Muendane. The former eventually resigned from the PAC Central Committee. The bone of contention was the centralisation of the control of funds by the PAC headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam and the fact that heads of departments were urged to relocate to the headquarters. Besides these and numerous other problems outlined in this section, the Pokela era is still regarded as the most successful period of the PAC in exile. The era was short and it was ended by the untimely death of Pokela.

The last section of chapter 4 covers the era of Johnson Mlambo from 1985 to 1990. This was the most complicated era in the existence of the PAC in exile. It was complicated in
the sense that, the developments inside South Africa which included the prospects for a negotiated settlement and the rising militancy of the youth, meant that the PAC had to balance its fortunes internally and externally. Hence a month after his appointment, Mlambo headed a PAC delegation to China between the 22 September and the 4th October 1985. ³ Thereafter he attended the UN conference in Paris before going to Belgrade to attend the Party Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. Immediately after his return he led high-powered delegations to Uganda, Nigeria, Yugoslavia, Libya, Zimbabwe and Iran. ⁴ He also undertook trips to West Germany and Sweden in response to invitations by support groups in these countries. The focus during this period was less on internal party squabbles than on raising funds for the organisation, establishing a recognizable PAC presence in South Africa in order to win the support of the masses, in competition with the rival ANC, intensifying the military struggle and reviving diplomatic ties with members of the Frontline States. This happened at the expense of internal organisational systems which still required refining and strengthening. Hence, the PAC remained a divided organisation by the time it was unbanned. A new faction had emerged within its ranks, called the Sobukwe Forum. The PAC was divided on the question of a negotiated settlement hence, it half-heartedly participated in the April 1994 election and won only 2% of the votes. The section also outlines the few achievements of the Mlambo era. These included increased APLA military activity as well as the establishment of a fully-fledged women’s department within the PAC.

Chapter 5 focuses on the PAC camps or settlements in Tanzania. The leading argument the chapter advances is that an analysis of conditions inside PAC camps functions as a magnifying glass through which the exile experience of ordinary members of the organisation can be viewed. The chapter traces the development of PAC settlements starting from Maseru, Leopoldville in the Congo, Dukwe camp in Botswana, and later focuses almost exclusively on the settlements in Tanzania. The following PAC camps are identified, i.e. the Itumbi camp in Mbeya and Mgagao camp in Iringa, all in Tanzania, in

³ PAC Archives, Fort Hare: PAC/Tan/1/85/1: Letter from Johnson Mlambo, Chairman of the PAC to Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Worker’s Party of Ethiopia, July 1987.
⁴ PAC Archives, Fort Hare: PAC/Tan/1/85/8: Itinerary of Johnson Mlambo, the PAC Chairman, 1985.
the early 1970s, and the Chunya bush camp, which was a much older PAC settlement. Besides identifying the camps, it examines the conditions of living inside the camps as well as their internal organisation. Most importantly it highlights how limited resources in the camps generated conflicts which affected the political unity and direction of the PAC. The chapter dwells on Ruvu camp in more depth because it was the most modern and well developed of all PAC camps in exile. It is in reference to the internal situation in this camp that this chapter manages to examine issues of culture as well as the problem of tribalism among camp residents. The chapter engages the concept of tribalism in the PAC and the various forms in which it was expressed. The focus is on how tribalism, based on the areas of origin of PAC members in South Africa, created splits and promoted conflict within the PAC.

In some instances the chapter draws comparisons with the situation in ANC camps in Angola and Tanzania, where similar problems occurred, and shows how the leadership of the ANC dealt with such problems and still managed to preserve a semblance of unity within the organisation. The issues of corporal punishment in the PAC camps is also examined. The chapter highlights how the arbitrary administration of corporal punishment amounted to a disregard of the human rights of PAC members. The chapter focuses on the development of a common identity among camp residents, based on sporting and other recreational activities such as music and poetry. To a limited extent these activities made life in the camps liveable despite the precariousness of general conditions.

Chapter 6 examines the evolution of PAC military strategy. It considers the development from Poqo to APLA. It maps out the development of APLA in 1968 from the vestiges of Poqo which was the military wing of the PAC during the period 1961 to 1967. Drawing from secondary literature and primary sources, as well as a few oral interviews, the chapter goes beyond tracking the evolution of strategy and interprets the PAC’s understanding of the nature of war, specifically the liberation struggle in South Africa, as this had significant implications for the running of the organisation, its structures and organisational ethic of ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. The issues examined in this chapter cut across
the various periods outlined in the sections of chapter 4. Some of the questions that are examined are about how the PAC defined the ‘enemy’ and whether the definition of the ‘enemy’ translated into distinctive military strategy.

The origins of the PAC’s military strategy are traced from the anti-pass demonstrations which culminated in the 21st March 1960 ‘positive action’ campaign. Then continuity and discontinuity in the strategies of APLA between the periods 1968 to 1979 and 1980 to 1990 are analysed. A few comparisons are considered with the development of military strategic thinking in the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), initially led by Herbert Chitepo and later Robert Mugabe. The chapter concludes that the military strategy of the PAC was formalised in 1967, revised in 1976, but never converted into organisational policy. The understanding of strategy among certain PAC members continued to reflect the conservatism of the Poqo era when the enemy was largely defined in terms of race rather than in terms of a functional relationship with the Apartheid state. In other words, the formal expressions of strategy codified in PAC military documents did not make their way into concrete policies which informed the method of waging war. A distinction in the understanding of the ‘war’ strategy between the political elites and the general cadreship in the army appeared to exist. This view is confirmed by divisions between the leaders and the led. This position is identified in the previous chapters as a fundamental cause of strained intra-PAC relations during the exile period.

In the conclusion, the outcomes of the research are discussed. The conclusion also defines thematic issues emerging from the study. These themes make intelligible the vast detailed information captured and analysed in the thesis. The first theme relates to a lack of managerial and leadership capacity in the PAC throughout the various phases of its existence in exile. Even Nyathi Pokela, whose leadership abilities were highly regarded in the PAC, could hardly build a credible team or establish continuity of respected leadership. The problem of leadership meant that the PAC could not formulate a vision for a new South Africa without Apartheid, comparable to its counterpart the ANC. The second theme is about the significance of ‘praxis’ as a tradition within a liberation movement. Praxis is about transition from theory to reality in a way that leaves intact
their intimate unity. The attitude towards praxis entails a consciousness of practical fact. This is one of the areas where the PAC experienced problems. The organisation struggled to discern the dynamics of the liberation struggle in South Africa beyond the ideological spectacles framed by the particular social and historical conditions of the early 1960s. Hence this thesis concludes that one of the problems of the PAC was a problem of praxis. The PAC lacked a consciousness of praxis during the exile period.

1.2. Research Methodology: Analysis of Primary Sources.

Introduction.

This section outlines the procedures/methods (as well as assumptions) which have informed the use and identification of sources of information in this research. The analysis of internal and external weaknesses found in the sources provides the key to the following discussions. The reason why the question of methodology is singled out for in-depth discussion is because of the underlying assumption that historical objectivity is not constituted in reconstructing the past as it actually happened but is a product of methods used in the collection and analysis of data. The objectivity of historical research lies in the methods of inquiry that yield knowledge that is reliable in the sense that people of similar training can recognise its worth and use it in their own studies. What this means, in other words, is that research should follow a methodology which maximises the attainment of valid findings. Hence this section outlines the various methodologies used in the research and then proceeds to an analysis of sources of information that have been used in the course of the research. It also covers the research ethics observed when conducting the research and the manner in which these imposed limitations on the scope and depth of the research itself.

An assumption, part epistemological and part methodological in character, which informs this research, and the approach used when dealing with primary documentary sources is that “the first selection that takes place, and therefore the first subjectivity in the creation of the historical record, is by the person recording the past in written form”. Hence EP Thompson emphasised the need for “vigilant historical procedures” and “disciplined historical discourse of the proof”. This, he argues, consists in “a dialogue between

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concepts and evidence.\textsuperscript{10} Thompson differentiates between “the evidence by itself” and “the evidence interrogated thus” and argues that the latter is the object of historical practice.\textsuperscript{11} Despite the strong merits of his epistemological presuppositions, the fact that the historian cannot create “previously non-existent documentary sources”, no matter how he/she interrogates the available sources does not change.\textsuperscript{12} The potential use of available sources can only be extended through a thorough interrogation of existing sources.\textsuperscript{13}

The nature of primary sources used in this research is varied, but is narrow in scope. Apart from the complex matrix of perspectives the documentary sources disclose after thorough interrogation, the greatest problem lies with the unequal spread of documentary sources over the various periods identified by this research. Even though the quality and spread of source material varies, one is still able to discern emerging trends and develop a coherent understanding of the internal conflict which affected the PAC during the exile period.

\textbf{Research Methodology.}

This research uses various methods or a combination to realise the end-product envisaged. The combination of approaches employed straddles the divide between empirical and non-empirical research methods. In ‘traditional’ research terms, the former includes qualitative, quantitative and participatory action research. Non-empirical research involves philosophical analysis, conceptual analysis, theory building, and literature reviews. Empirical research typically utilises primary data, e.g. surveys, case studies, evaluation research, and ethnographic studies, or existing data, whereas non-empirical methods would rely on discourse analysis, content analysis, textual criticism, historical studies and secondary data analysis. One needs to emphasise that because of the nature of the particular issues studied, a combination of methods, some associated with

\begin{footnotes}
\item[13] \textit{Ibid}.
\end{footnotes}
empirical studies and some with non-empirical studies was used. This research, for instance, uses primary data, unstructured and structured interviews, literature reviews, as well as conceptual analysis. The aim is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the PAC’s exile history and also contribute towards the development of a theory of exile experience of liberation movements in Southern Africa, based on the comparatively limited analysis of the experiences of the PAC. What has not been done is to quantify the sample population because of difficulties in establishing the total numbers of PAC members who were in exile during this period.

One method used in this research to enhance the validity of data sources (such as PAC official documents) is “data triangulation”, which means that different types of data (both oral and written) are used in the study to improve data validity.\(^\text{14}\) This section refers to this as cross-corroboration. The cross-method triangulation is used to balance the strengths and weaknesses of sources used in this research. This approach has been made desirable by the fact that the experience of the PAC in exile, as a field of study, has different aspects and dimensions which are sufficiently wide-ranging to require an equally wide-ranging selection of methods of data collection and analysis.

On the whole, the methodology used in this research is predominantly qualitative as it focuses on narrative descriptions, analysis and interpretation of events from which is derived a coherent and synthetic elaboration of the experience of the PAC in exile.

Ethics of the Research.

In the process of engaging this research, especially interviews, a few ethical questions arose. These included instances where some of the interviewees requested not to be named and their residences not be revealed in either the interview or transcript of the interview. In other instances, the interviewees insisted that the interview should not be tape-recorded and that the researcher only takes notes. The worst scenario was when some interviewees refused the researcher permission to take notes during the interview. These were ethical problems which had to be dealt with during this research. They are ethical in the sense that the interviewee’s constitutional rights had to be respected during the course of conducting the research. Besides that, the interviewee’s opinion and objections cannot be ignored. This is also complicated by the fact that the researcher relied on the goodwill of the interviewees and that being the case, the researcher could only use persuasion, diplomacy and networks established with other interviewees to deal with some of these problems. The researcher had to display respect and sensitivity to the concerns of informants given that the theme of the research is of current relevance and may affect the fortunes and personal security of interviewees, especially those currently involved in party politics inside South Africa. What the researcher practically did to deal with some of these problems, especially when anonymity had been requested, was to devise codes to precede each narrative item. In other words, where anonymity was requested, references to person or places have been deleted. Instead, the researcher referred to “APLA Notes” and cited the dates of the interviews.

The Problem of Sources.

There are three main sources of historical knowledge in the study of the PAC during the exile period: written documents, oral information and electronic or visual sources. The shadows or obscurities which emerge from these sources, especially from the written sources, presented a formidable challenge to the researcher. Patched-up records, missing dates, sequences which seemed absurd, because preceeding information had been
destroyed, documents that were sketched in a vague and impressionistic manner, all contributed to a staccato and incomplete picture of what happened during the exile period.

The material used in this thesis was collected from the PAC Archives at the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Center at the University of Fort Hare, Alice in the Eastern Cape. The collection of documents for the research began in 1997 until 2002. During this period the archive itself was in the process of development. The classification of documents according to correct box numbers only came to conclusion late in 2004.\textsuperscript{15} Hence the difficulty in relating specific documents to specific box numbers.

The different categories into which the documents used in this research fall include documentary sources, oral sources in the form of taped or recorded interviews and summaries of interviews and informal conversations. Electronic or visual information has been consulted but was of limited value to the key issues the research sought to cover. The discussion will therefore focus on the two categories of sources and will highlight their strengths and weaknesses and also what the research did to overcome the weaknesses. In this chapter the sources are not placed in any rigid or pre-ordained order of importance.

**Primary Documentary Sources.**

Primary sources on the PAC in exile, are both scarce and unevenly spread over historical periods. The earlier periods of exile, i.e. 1960-1962, 1963 to 1967, lack the clarity and elaborate illumination that comes from written sources of the later periods. Even when the evidence exists, it is either one-sided or fraught with ambiguities which make interpretation difficult. This can be attributed to both internal and external factors. The PAC itself had not developed an elaborate system of recording and preserving records for organisational purposes during these periods. Its systems and processes were in their

\textsuperscript{15} This is according to the interview with Brian Maaba, a researcher in the Govan Mbeki Research Institute at the University of Fort Hare, 16 February 2004.
infancy and moreover the organisation operated clandestinely, under extremely precarious circumstances. Decisions were made on an adhoc basis until internal record keeping systems were established in Tanzania from 1968 onwards. The 1963 police raid on PAC offices in Maseru also contributed to the loss of foundational PAC material in exile. The period from 1975 to 1990 is marked by the increasing abundance of PAC internal documents. A more structured system of record keeping seems to have been developed by the organisation during this period and especially during the periods 1981 to 1985, the era of Nyathi Pokela’s leadership, and 1986 to 1990, the period of Johnson Mlambo’s leadership of the PAC.

The largest portion of primary documentary materials used in this thesis was collected from the PAC archives called the National Arts and Heritage Cultural Center (NAHECS) archive. It was formerly called the Center for Cultural Studies at the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape. The archive houses all the documents accumulated during the exile period by two former liberation movements: the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). The entire African National Congress (ANC) archive is kept separately at the ANC archives in the Howard Pim Library at Fort Hare. Even before these archives were officially opened, “the University had begun to receive scholars who combed the documents in an effort to reconstruct the history of exiled liberation movements”. This attests to the value of the documents housed in these archives, for they shed light on a history which has hitherto been concealed and unknown.

The Monica Wilson Manuscript Collection at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the Neil Gerhardt Collection at the University of the Witwatersrand were consulted. The latter tended to duplicate the PAC material archived in the former institution hence the bibliography of this thesis only outlines material from the Monica Wilson Manuscript Collection at UCT. The material from the two centers focuses more elaborately on the events of the 1960 “pass” uprisings and the Sharpeville massacre and also the sporadic

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events associated with the incidence of Poqo. These sources are about issues covered exhaustively in the research Tom Lodge has done on the “Poqo Insurrection”.17 The data collected from the NAHEC is particularly relevant to the subject of this research. It therefore dominates in quantity the material collected from other centers. The other sources of information on the PAC which inform this research include the Karis and Carter Collection at UCT library, the PAC Collection at the Robben Island-UWC Mayibuye archives at the University of the Western Cape. In some instances, the records in these institutions are duplicated (especially the material on the 1960 anti-pass campaigns and Poqo uprisings) in the sense that they are also available at the PAC archives in Fort Hare. The information in these centers, though peripheral to the specific areas of focus addressed in this thesis, is informative and enriches the discussion. Manuscripts from international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees was collected from the TRC Research Department and is used in this research. However, sources derived from organisations such as the World Council of Churches were very useful since they provided an outsider’s perspective about the PAC. The research remained open to additional sources which could still be identified in the course of the research process – new collections are sometimes acquired or freed for research purposes, hence the importance of flexibility in the way this research is planned. No new sources were identified until the research came to completion.

In summary, the archives of the NAHECS at the University of Fort Hare have been prioritised and used for purposes of this research because all PAC documents from the various offices of the organisation in countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and United Kingdom are kept there. The material captures the internal dynamics of the organisation. Whereas the material from the ANC and BCM archives, as well as the manuscripts from international organisations serve to provide an outsider perspective on the PAC.

The documentary material at the PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare can be classified into the following categories:

- Memoirs, diaries, official and private letters, biographies
- Press statements, speeches, reports, minutes of meetings
- Financial statements and records
- Party publications (i.e. newsletters, journals, poetry) draft procedure documents and training manuals.

Each category of these documents has its strengths and weaknesses but when considered together, and compared and corroborated with oral evidence, one is able to get a picture of what happened in a way which approximates a true reflection of the state of affairs in the PAC during this period. The serious obstacle with documentary sources relating to the conflict in the PAC is the question whether the officials who recorded the events were in a position to reflect unadulterated truth about issues which affected them. In other words were the “chroniclers in a position to give a faithful account”? Which clues about the assumptions, prejudices and convictions, are indirectly disclosed by the documents? These problems permeate all the PAC documentary sources this research has come across. Hence the approach used in this research constantly involves corroboration of facts, and most of all a mastery of the historical context in which the documents were constructed and an understanding of the roles or contributions of the various historical actors.

PAC archival materials also assume three other forms which cut across the categories indicated above. First, there are those documents the PAC officially intended for publicity and were deliberately made available to the public or the PAC constituency, inside and outside South Africa, as well as to governments of various countries, statutory bodies and organs of civil society, through the PAC’s Publicity and Information Department. Secondly, there were those documents which were strictly for internal use. However, some of these documents leaked to the public and to governments of other

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countries. Lastly, there are those documents written about the PAC, sometimes published by former PAC members (dissident groups/organisations), rival organizations, by the press or by international organisations. Of course, there is a miscellaneous category of documents which are difficult to classify.

On the positive side, the first category of documents, i.e. PAC documents intended for publicity, tend to be carefully formulated and clearly convey organisational approaches, and goals. On the negative side, contradictions that clearly existed between formal procedures and organisational practices are not addressed. It is obvious that they are organisational support documents and are couched in esoteric ideological terms indicating a sense of heroism. The documents consciously sell the ‘revolutionary’ agenda of the PAC to supporters, would-be supporters and to the international community at large. A good example of this is illustrated by the following publications:

- **Azania Combat** and **Azania Commando**– These journals highlighted mostly the military adventures and thinking of the PAC army, i.e. the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA). The **Azania Combat**, upon the examination of its content, goes as far back as 1970, whereas the **Azania Commando** seems to be the latest publication, but is, however, undated.

- **Azania News** – This is a PAC newsletter which focused more broadly on the state of the nation i.e. South Africa, and outlined the role of the PAC, as a ‘leading’ force of change among other role players. It also captured positive events in Tanzania in which the PAC participated, e.g. cultural events hosted by the Tanzanian government as well as the developments within the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). This publication dates as far back as 1966 and is one of the oldest publications the PAC produced in exile. Another newsletter which developed along similar lines as **Azania News** was called **Izwe Lethu** (meaning Our Land). It was first published in 1965. It was used to cover retrospective analysis of achievements during the previous years and outlined activity plans for the following year. It also gave a profile of the PAC branches inside South Africa and provided a sense of PAC activity inside the country.
• **The Africanist** – This journal provided a forum of ideological debates within the PAC but was often used to rehash, in a parrot-like fashion, the speeches and writings of Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, the founding President of the PAC. It is the oldest publication of the PAC. It started in 1958 and has continued until the organisation was unbanned in 1992.

Alongside these publications were a number of other newsletters and journals, some targeted the women, e.g. *Azania Women* a journal which was first published in 1985. Other newsletters likewise were mouth pieces for the PAC youth and students, e.g. *Azania Youth*, *The Young Africanist*, *The Voice of the African Student* (aimed at the youth) and *The Good Shepherd*, (aimed at the students and focused more on issues of education). *The PAC News and Views* was produced by the Maseru (in Lesotho) based PAC Information Bureau and even though undated, seems to have been produced in the late 1970 or early 1980, given the issues addressed in the newsletter. Some of these documents have not been published but were only for circulation amongst members and supporters inside and outside South Africa.

The above listed three categories of publications were the main publications produced at the PAC headquarters, in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Other publications were produced by PAC offices in other countries, e.g. *The PAC News* was produced largely by the PAC offices in Australasia and the Pacific; *Lehadima*, a newsletter which was first circulated in 1989 was produced by the PAC offices in North America; *Azania To-Day* was produced by the PAC Observer Mission to the United Nations in New York, United States and was first published in 1980. PAC poetry is contained in a publication entitled ‘Azania Red with Anger’ and it covers a series of poems which PAC loyalists wrote and published in an attempt to mobilise support for the organisation.

There are, however, common themes which run through all of these publications. They include a continuous reference to the speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe and the PAC’s interpretation thereof, to shed light on the political climate of various periods; listing of PAC heroes and heroines, conditions and new developments inside South Africa;
ideological positions of the PAC on issues such as the role of labour, women, the question of socialism and the land issue.

From the reading of these publications, the impression is created that all was well in the exiled PAC. The documents also give the impression that the ascendancy of Black Consciousness inside South Africa, was another PAC strategic initiative, although interviews with members of this movement indicate that it was not the case.¹⁹

Besides the documents intended for publicity, are those meant for internal use by members of the organisation. A thorough analysis of these documents adjusts the picture or the image developed by the publications of the PAC. Included in this category are the following documents:

- The minutes of meetings of the Central Committee of the PAC. These proved to be an important source for this research. The minutes outline all debates and discussions which took place within the leadership of the PAC. The problems of indiscipline in the camps, the performance of various departments, the reshuffles which were made in the Central Committee during the various leadership periods and the management of funds are all outlined in the Minutes of the Central Committee meetings.

- Memorandums from the various heads of departments are also a very important source. Among these are Memorandums from the office of the Chairman of the organisation as well as letters to donor organisations, fraternal bodies, the United Nations, OAU and Frontline States. This correspondence covers a wide range of issues including requests for funds, introduction of PAC representatives, the PAC position on debatable political issues such as the Iraq-Iran war, sanctions against South Africa as well as PAC attempts to revive diplomatic ties and announcements of PAC programs to the various heads of states in Southern Africa. There is also correspondence with allies such as ZANU and Communist China. Of the most controversial,

¹⁹ Interview with Comrade S. Tokoane, former member of the BCMA Central Committee in exile, Pretoria 3 February, 2002.
lengthy but yet revealing memoranda from a member of the PAC Central Committee is one from Mr Henry Isaacs, PAC’s Director of Foreign Affairs and Head of the PAC Observer Mission to the United Nation (UN). Strangely, it is found in the ANC archives at the Howard Pim Library of the University of Fort Hare. It was titled “Memo: Re-guidelines for the Department of Foreign Affairs”. Another article circulated internally was “South Africa’s Pan Africanist Congress in the 1980s: Chronic Instability and Revolutionary ineffectiveness”. These documents were both written in 1982 just prior to the resignation of their author in March of the same year. The Memorandum (Re-guidelines for the Department of Foreign Affairs), spells out a number of internal problems in the PAC including “factionalism and cliquism”, “the position of the PAC in Zimbabwe”, “disunity and the failure of the central committee to address critical issues of the struggle”, “gossip and rumour-mongering” and concludes with a series of proposals to the PAC Central Committee.20 Whereas, the article “South Africa’s Pan Africanist Congress”, examines three major areas, i.e. the PAC’s debilitating internal problems; the organisation’s “revolutionary ineffectiveness” and the organisation’s “diplomatic isolation”.21 The criticisms made by Isaacs against the PAC were integrated and elaborated in one document. This was the manuscript of a book which was intended for publication entitled “Struggle within a Struggle: an inside view of the PAC of South Africa”.

- The Press Statement dated 25 August, 1982, released by the PAC office in Tripoli, Libya elaborated on the issues of “Conspirators within our Party”.22 It highlights the tensions inside the party and offers less amicable solutions.

- Two other ‘confidential’ letters from Mr Henry Isaacs, to the PAC Central Committee refer to “The Internal Situation in Azania and the Need for a Positive Response from the PAC”, and this is dated August, 6, 1980. The

20 ANC Archives, Fort Hare (Howard Pim Library) (Box 2, File no. 22): H. Isaacs- Memorandum to all representatives, offices and branches of the PAC – Re: Guidelines for the Department of Foreign Affairs, pp. 1-39.
21 ANC Archives, Fort Hare (Box 4, File no. 75): H. Isaacs - ‘South Africa’s Pan Africanist Congress in the 80’s: Chronic Instability and Revolutionary ineffectiveness, no date, p. 3.
other is dated January, 25, 1982 and makes reference to the issues of protocol which were not being followed within the party and also the problems of “misinformation” about the performance of some PAC officials, including the author.\textsuperscript{23}

- The one document is a mimeograph of T.M. Ntantala. It is entitled “T.M. Ntantala is gone; but his ideals will conquer”. In spite of the fact that it eulogises the life and contribution of Ntantala in the liberation struggle, it also focuses on issues which are very critical to this research. These include the 1979 split in the PAC, which followed the Arusha (in Tanzania) Consultative conference. The split resulted in the formation of a new organisation, chaired by Ntantala and it was called the Azanian People’s Revolutionary Party (APRP). Most importantly, the document outlines the positive role played by international organisations such the United Nation’s High Commission for Refugees, in assisting the expelled group and also the role of the Tanzanian government, Zimbabwean government, the ZANU (PF), Uganda government and the OAU Liberation Committee in healing the split.

- The Reports of the two consultative congresses, at Moshi 19\textsuperscript{th} to 22\textsuperscript{nd} September, 1967 and Arusha 27 June to 2 July 1978, in Tanzania, convey the seriousness of tensions, cliquism, tribalism and feuds which were largely a result of financial mismanagement, leadership ineptitude and ideological differences.

- The Memorandum from the PAC Mission to the United Kingdom and Continental Europe, dated 9 February 1982 is a harsh response to what was alleged to be the “misleading, erroneous and pornographic circular dated 16\textsuperscript{th} January 1982”.\textsuperscript{24} It reveals the kind of factionalism and power struggles which affected the exiled PAC.

- T.M. Ntantala’s faction in the PAC, just before the 1979 split issued a document entitled ‘Crisis in the PAC’. In the document he outlined all the


areas of difference he had with Leballo, who was the acting President of the PAC in exile. These included such issues as “Collective decisions and coordinated action”, “handling internal relations” “party building” “army building and waging the armed struggle” and also “the handling of external relations”.  

As indicated earlier, there are also documents written about the PAC by other organisations, splinter groups from the PAC, as well as political competitors such as the ANC. There are numerous examples of such documents and these are useful in so far as they bring a new perspective about the PAC during this period.

An example is the statement by the “African National Congress of South Africa on the question of unity with the PAC, 31st meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, Dar-es-Salaam, June 1978”.  

This is one of the most comprehensive documents the ANC ever produced on its position with respect to the existence of the PAC, unity with the PAC, the position of the PAC in exile and the role of the PAC in the liberation struggle. It analyses the “breakaway background” from the ANC, the “formation of the PAC” the “CIA creation”, the “myth of PAC militancy”, the “Pass campaign of 1960”, the PAC-ANC “United front abroad” and the “P.K. Leballo and Hans Lombard” connection.  

Hans Lombard was a South African spy who was alleged to have tricked the PAC chairman P.K. Leballo into a fraternal relationship which enabled Lombard to accumulate a mass of information on the PAC.

In general the documents on the PAC collected from the archives of the ANC, tend to be extremely critical and obviously need to be subjected to a vigorous process of verification. The two organisations competed for funds and sole status as legitimate representatives of the people of South Africa in the eyes of the international community. Another example of a document about the PAC produced by the ANC is “The Pan

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27 Ibid., pp. 1-26.
28 Ibid.
Africanist Congress of South Africa; Whom does it serve?’. In this document the PAC is described as a spy organisation which had absolutely no commitment to the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa.

As indicated by Maaba, one of the largest collections in the PAC archives is from Tanzania. It contains documents which include correspondence between PAC headquarters and other PAC offices all over the world as well as with donor organisations like the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation. Speeches and addresses delivered in different places are available in this collection. However, some of the speeches and addresses are undated and in some instances it is not clear as to who the speaker nor the addressee was. This might have resulted from the mistakes of those who were typing the speeches, or from a desire for secrecy.

Other documents of interest for the purposes of this research, are on the PAC settlement in Morogoro (Mosogoro), near Bagamoyo and are also from the Tanzania mission collection at the National Arts and Heritage Cultural Center (NAHECS), the PAC archives. Included in the Morogoro files are pictures of PAC cadres in different workshops of the complex. Such pictorial sources shed light on the lifestyle and whereabouts of the individuals and events covered. They provide insight into the social life of PAC members and provide an indication of how limited material resources contributed to the generation of conflicts within the PAC.

Of the PAC missions outside Africa, the London and United Nations (UN) missions have generated a substantial volume of records. The documentation from the London mission (referred to in the correspondence as the UK and Continental Europe mission) focuses largely on various issues of engagement between the PAC and organisations such as the Commonwealth of Nations, Catholic Institute for International Relations and the World

29 ANC Archives, Fort Hare: The Pan Africanist Congress: Whom does it serve?, Lusaka, n.d.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid. pp. 5-6.
Council of Churches. Of significance to this research is the correspondence between the PAC and the BCMA between 1979 and 1983 when the latter was still new in the exile environment. The documentation from this mission also includes some office diaries which are not very helpful, due to the numerous gaps that they display. The newspaper clippings and newspapers in the collection from this mission are also not entirely useful for this research as they cover mostly “anti-Apartheid activities in London as well as topical issues in South Africa”.\(^{33}\)

The collection from the United Nations Mission includes largely the correspondence between the PAC and the UN on matters such as finance, the needs of PAC cadres in the camps and issues around the education of PAC members. Included in this collection are also biographies of PAC leaders, photographs of PAC members in UN sessions, addresses by PAC members to the UN, newspaper articles covering PAC issues.

**Oral Sources.**

The use of oral sources as a primary source of research is a contested terrain. This arises from the tensions which existed between the Rankean paradigm which brought forth “the cult of facts and documents” in the study of history on the one hand, and the rise of African history on the other hand, which brought forth the “fetishism of oral history” and traditions.\(^{34}\) The tension characterises the dialectic of orality and texuality in the production of historical knowledge. These are issues of a theoretical nature which continue to haunt academic historians in the present.

Despite these philosophical questions, this research reconstructs some aspects of the exile experience of the PAC through the use of oral interviews. This is premised on the understanding that oral sources “have a part to play in the reconstruction of the past. The importance of this part varies according to place and time. It is a part similar to that played by written sources because both are messages from the past to the present, and


messages are key elements to historical reconstruction”.  

Raphael Samuel argues that oral evidence should make the historian hungry for documents, “not less and when he finds them he can use them in a more ample and varied fashion than his sedentary colleagues”.  

This means that oral testimony ought not to supplant but coexist and engage with other more traditional sources.  

In the light of these views, this research cautiously uses oral information, knowing full well that in the absence of other independent sources to corroborate, oral sources may well represent a lower order of reliability.  

Oral information consulted in the process of this research includes a collection of oral documentation in the form of 413 reel to reel tapes, on different issues pertaining to the PAC, from the archives of the NAHECS at Fort Hare. These have not been useful given the clearly defined area of focus of this research. Hence they have not been listed in the bibliography. In some cases the tapes do not have dates and this makes it difficult to ascertain when the information on the tape was recorded. These interviews collected in the archives at Fort Hare are in the form of speeches delivered by PAC leaders, interviews with the leaders of the PAC about their life histories and their roles in the PAC. They focus more on general issues pertaining to the organisation. One tape which is particularly relevant to this study is a record of the PAC consultative conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in June-July 1978. On this particular cassette, the tension within the PAC dominates the discussion. Issues raised include the lack of discipline in the PAC camps, PAC funds and problems of tribalism in the organisation.

Besides these sources, there is also oral information collected by the author during the period of this research in the form of recorded interviews and transcripts. The thesis has relied more heavily on this information because it covers directly the intended research questions. It includes interviews with non-PAC members from other South African Liberation movements, as well as PAC members who lived in exile, in Lesotho and

38 J. Vansina: Oral Tradition as History, p. 199.
Tanzania in particular, members of the PAC army and also leaders of dissident groups which broke away from the PAC, e.g. interviews with T.M. Ntantala (now deceased), and Mfansekhaya Gqobose. Depending on the side on which the informant was during the conflict and how he/she was affected by the conflict, responses tended to be conflicting, sometimes expressed in defensive tones or just completely evasive. Whereas the informants from other political organisations, tended to paint a picture of an organisation which was persistently in conflict with itself, hence the view is held that “in exile there were many PAC’s of South Africa not one”. 39

About twenty former PAC exiles were interviewed. Every one approached agreed to be interviewed, although three informants withdrew prior to the interview as they doubted the intended use of the information. The interview techniques consisted of in-depth interviews, sometimes directly using a structured questionnaire. In certain instances the questionnaire was not strictly adhered to as the issues to be discussed with the informant were clearly known to the researcher. The interview with one informant would continue over two to three days. Some interviews were tape-recorded, but this depended on the consent of the informant. In some instances, only notes were compiled during the process of the interview. Interviewees were, in all cases, willing to give information but the level of detail varied from one informant to the other. Most interviews were conducted in both English and isiXhosa. In most cases interviewees were tactfully encouraged to speak in their mother tongue so that they could divulge information in a more comfortable and relaxed way. The choice of informants was selective hence the researcher started with those informants who were known to him. From those informants, the researcher would obtain pointers to new informants.

Interviews varied in duration, some lasting for ninety minutes and others taking two hours. During the interviews, the researcher adopted an appreciative style appropriate to a conversation. The approach resembled the informal interviewing procedure designed to encourage meaning-making by narrative recounting rather than the more categorical

39 Interview with W. Mazamisa, Gugulethu, Cape Town, 1 May 2000.
responses one sometimes obtains in standard questionnaires. On the whole the interview process produced what might be called autobiographical narratives of the informants who were approached during the research. Selections or quotations from some of the interviews are made in the thesis and one of the pitfalls this carries is that one might miss the nuances and elaborate qualifications a fuller narrative of the interview might reveal. Hence, it is important to understand the context of the thesis and the problem it seeks to address. Another problem identified during the interview process was that of generational influences which affected the informant’s understanding and interpretation of events in the PAC during the exile period. The PAC former exiles interviewed fall into three groups, i.e. the group from the 1960’s, commonly referred to as ‘Imigwenye’ in the case of the ANC and ‘Poqo’ in the case of the PAC; the group from the post-1976 Soweto uprisings and lastly the group from the uprisings of 1984-1986. The age-gaps between the informants from these groups and the preparedness to divulge the details of what took place during the exile years varied but they all had a common suspicion about the study which seeks “to undress the PAC”, as one informant commented.

Like documentary sources, there are positive and negative attributes of oral information gathered so far. On a positive note, as already pointed out, interviewees were keen to be interviewed about the exile history of their party and were honest about the fact that there were “moments of trouble inside the party. But these were only in 1967 and 1978 and were otherwise resolved by the organization without outside help”. This tendency to limit the problems to only two publicly known incidents is common in all the interviews with PAC officials who are still loyal to the organisation. There was also an openness about the power structures of the PAC and about the limited resources and hardships of life in the camps.

41 Interview with Comrade Zimbiri (NjeMdaka), Umtata, 18 November 1986.
42 Interview with Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, Port Elizabeth, 28 July 1996; interview with Comrade Tekere, Langa Township, Cape Town, 1 May 2000.
On the negative side, some of the interviewees, especially those who are still loyal and active in the Party, tended to be extremely defensive and wanted to portray a glorified image of the PAC in exile. Some saw the interview session as an opportunity to argue the case for the PAC and also lecture the interviewer on Africanism.

From the interview information gathered so far there are issues which emerge and dominate the picture and inform the kind of themes this research should examine. These include among others:

- The management of funds in the PAC
- The leadership style of the various PAC leaders
- Living conditions in the camps
- Tribalism
- Attempts by the political leadership to win the hearts and minds of the soldiers in the army.
- The ‘internal-enemy-danger’ neurosis.  
- The ‘womanising and boozing’ habits of some elements of the leadership of the organisation.

In the case of those informants who insisted and emphasised the importance of anonymity for reasons of security given that “the ugly past still lives” with them, the research makes reference to the initials of the person or to “APLA Notes” and indicates the dates and the region where the interview was conducted.

**Electronic/Visual Sources.**

This material includes video cassettes and correspondence on computer discs at the NAHECS archives in Fort Hare. A sample of this material shows that it is recent material focusing on issues affecting the PAC immediately before it was unbanned in 1990. The computer discs were mainly from the PAC - UN Observer mission in the US.

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43 APLA Notes, Western Cape, 6 September 2000.
44 Ibid.
45 APLA Notes, Gauteng, 19-21 December 2002.
The videotapes recorded among other aspects, the UN special session which paid tribute to founding President of the PAC Mr Mangaliso Sobukwe. One tape recorded the interview with the PAC president after Mr Sobukwe, i.e. Mr Zeph Motopeng in 1989. Even though this material is interesting, there is nothing from it directly related to the subject of this thesis. As a result it has not been cited in the discussions contained in this thesis.

Summary.

This research uses documentary sources and oral information as major sources of information to examine the generation of strained intra-PAC relations during the exile period. All these sources have strengths and weaknesses which the researcher is acutely aware of. While it is possible to weave together a meaningful history of the PAC in exile, using these sources, the level of in-depthness, sequence of events and details of activities are sometimes difficult to establish. Some documents are undated, anonymous, hand-written and certain issues are addressed in coded language. This made interpretation difficult. Hence, it became important to consistently subject their contents to a vigorous cross-corroboration against oral information in order to attain the highest level of verisimilitude. In some instances, informants could not directly speak to some of the questions, for reasons of security, clearly stated by informants. Deductive logic and the linking of events to the broader context became important to fill out the narrative. Reference to existing literature also served as an important resource to close the gaps created by limited primary sources and also to sharpen interpretation. Hence, the following section provides an overview of the literature available on this subject.
1.3. Historiographical Overview.

This section examines literature on the exile political history of the PAC. Of particular interest, for the purposes of this research, is the literature on the formation of the PAC in exile and internal relations within the organisation during the period of exile. This is the period commencing in 1960 when the PAC was banned, until 1990, when it was unbanned. The section highlights the way in which the exile history of the PAC is portrayed in existing literature; in that way it identifies strengths and weaknesses in the literature and indicates how these provide a point of departure as well as a justification for this research.

Research on the politics of exile liberation movements is generally underdeveloped. This is worse with the PAC. Existing secondary literature on the PAC is both scanty and sparse, especially in its coverage of the exile period. The literature focuses particularly on the PAC’s formative years inside South Africa and on its role during the anti-pass campaigns in the early 1960s. John Marcum has argued that the major reason why the entire spectrum of exile South African liberation movements remains under-researched lies in the very nature or condition of exile politics. He describes this condition as often “partisan and polemical” and the “hostile responses” evoked by critical scholarship served to discourage research. This has continued unabated to the post-1994 period. The new challenges and research questions which emerged with the new democratic period, shifted the research focus from exile politics to more pragmatic questions of nation building. As a result much still remains either completely unknown or hazily understood about what happened during the exile period. This research is therefore an attempt to contribute towards closing this lacuna.

However, existing academic work and popular literature on the subject posits certain historiographical trends worth analysing. As will be demonstrated, books published so far tend to be partial either in their sympathies or deal with only a portion of the overall picture. Some bear the obvious marks of self-justification or propaganda. For purposes of

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analysis, existing literature on the subject has been grouped according to schools of thought. Hence reference will be made to contending schools of thought, for instance, the ‘old school’, ‘opposing school’ and ‘new school’ of thought. This is intended to designate the different approaches which the literature on the PAC’s exile political history portrays.

Literature on liberation movements from other countries in Southern Africa (during this same period) will also be surveyed. The intention is to compare trends in writing about exile liberation movements. The literature from other countries covers the FRELIMO of Mozambique, ZANU of Zimbabwe, SWAPO of Namibia and to a limited extent, the FLN of Algeria.

Two competing approaches or schools of thought on the political history of the PAC in exile can be identified in existing literature. The one school of thought is much older and critical of the PAC’s performance in exile. It is more explicit about the various kinds of problems and conflicts within the exiled PAC. The other approach tends to be more defensive and portrays a heroic image of the organisation. Criticisms levelled against the PAC are perceived in ideological terms, as an unfair attack on the organization, hence the tendency to advance defensive explanations.

The source of the schism, hence the competing approaches in the literature, is explained by Temba Sono in his book *The Dilemmas of African Intellectuals in South Africa*. He points out that it has become fashionable among scholars to seek to acquire labels as intellectuals of particular ideological traditions. In general terms, this could be the source of the differences in approach to the subject. The tendency to advance and defend “particular ideological traditions” is one of the major problems in the literature about the PAC. “This tendency, dwarfs”, according to Sono, the purpose of a scholarly mission, let alone intellectual analysis. Sono’s perspective, in spite of its merits, misses the point about fundamental differences in the research methods employed to generate narratives about the PAC in exile. The point is about the story-dependency on the quality of data.

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49 *Ibid*. 
and methods employed, above pre-conceived ideological commitments. The differences in approach, in this particular instance, could well be linked to ideological persuasions but very central to the differences of approach are the methods of data collection and questions posed, as a basis to the construction of a historical narrative. This is what has been found in the analysis of existing secondary literature about the PAC.

All the same, a new school of thought (approach) which seeks to transcend the characterisation indicated by Sono, has emerged. The latter school emerged after the unbanning of liberation movements in South Africa in 1990. The new school is also associated with the renewed availability of sources which were unavailable, pre – 1990. The new school is in its infancy and is lacking in terms of publication, but is strengthened by perspectival changes which have recently characterised the writings of scholars who in the past were identified with the old school. The new approach seeks to create a balance of perspectives on the PAC’s exile political history. It elaborates not only the failures and problems of the organisation but the perceived actions of courage and success often not reported in many publications. Of course, this line of approach has weaknesses as well. It tends to straddle lines of argument that are clearly opposing, something which in many instances closely approximates sitting on the fence. The new approach’s emphasis on objectivity, not only of method, but of content based on a balanced analysis of facts, is encouraging. This influences the approach adopted in this research.

Standard academic work on the PAC’s exile political history is represented in the published works of Tom Lodge. They are standard academic works because they represent a more longstanding academic view on the PAC in exile. Hence, they are identified as the core of the old school. His contribution to the subject can be divided into two phases, i.e. the first phase of publications written during the early 1980’s and second phase written in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s. The two phases mark the changes in approach or perspectival refinements which separate Lodge’s earlier work from the latest work. Publications during the first phase can be identified with the old school of thought

but those of the latter phase with the new approach. His book *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*, is the only one of his early works which focuses on the PAC in exile. It provides an integrated conceptualisation of exile politics, life and history of both the African National Congress (ANC) and the PAC.\(^{51}\) In chapter twelve he focuses more specifically on the politics of the ANC and the PAC during the exile period, with special emphasis on the years 1960-1975. Lodge does not treat the subject with the necessary detached scholarly attitude, but nonetheless, avoids the quick casual disparagement untroubled by the effort of serious proof, hence, the exhaustive list of documentary sources cited as evidence for conclusions reached about the exiled PAC. His sources on the PAC consist largely of perspectives other organisations had about the PAC. Furthermore, Lodge tends to rely heavily on newspaper accounts and police records. Very little internal PAC material is used in his work, let alone oral evidence. Whereas, in the case of the ANC, about which a more favorable account is given, the sources consulted, as a basis for the generalisations, tend to be wider and diversified. This is because of the fact that documentation on the ANC was easier to find due to the organisation’s open propaganda and strategy. This section will focus on Lodge’s writings about the PAC.

His approach is characterised by the movement from the generality of background and context to the particularity of the actual events. This he does by outlining the sets of problems and difficulties South African liberation movements had to contend with in an exile environment. Even though he manages to capture some of the problems which bedevilled both the ANC and the PAC during the exile period, his generalisations tend to remain as theoretical categories that are not well-integrated with detailed historical events. It is not clear how the real historical experience of the PAC was determined by the “need to maintain sanctuaries in foreign states and sources of external assistance”, the need to re-establish internal activity and support and also hold the exile movement together.\(^{52}\) Even though this research adopts a similar approach, it is however sensitive to the way in which the vivid record of the individual happenings moves outwards through


the radiating circles of influence and explanation. However, generalisations will be limited to the framework design at the beginning of each chapter.

Tom Lodge’s more recent publications appeared at a time when internal PAC documentation was available and are therefore less sketchy and more detailed than his earlier works. Among them are, “Guerrilla Warfare and Exile Diplomacy: the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress”, “Soldiers of the storm: a profile of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army”, and “The Long March; outline of the PAC, 1960-1990”. They cover a significantly broad historical period and require careful examination in order to outline the shifts which occurred in his examination of the PAC.

Two major preoccupations seemed to have informed Lodge’s analysis and his style of presentation in the three latest publications mentioned above; i.e. maintaining scholarly objectivity and articulating it through a language less judgmental than in earlier publications. Added to the fact that after the unbanning of the PAC on February 2, 1990, the author had much easier access to PAC records and activists, the political mood of the late 1980’s and early 1990’s must have had an influence on the political perspectives of the author. This period was dominated by overwhelming sympathies for liberation movements. In some circles, the PAC, which advocated radical solutions in favour of the Black majority, had significant support and its ideological stance was gaining understanding. To elaborate these points this section examines Lodge’s latest publications individually. It begins with “Guerrilla Warfare and exile diplomacy”.


The largest portion of the article is dominated by a discussion of the strategies of the ANC during the exile period. Limited space is devoted to the PAC. A change of perspective in the way Lodge portrays the PAC in exile is remarkable. Issues which might have laid the foundations for some of the internal problems in the organisation (e.g. the short legal existence of the PAC inside South Africa) are enumerated and elaborated. He also acknowledges the military activities of the PAC army, enumerates them and provides corroborating evidence to show that they were truly APLA attacks, instead of actions of the ANC’s Umkhonto weSizwe. He also surveys very briefly the turbulent periods the organisation went through but shows, on the other hand, that some kind of stability was achieved eventually.

“The Long March; outline of the PAC, 1960-1990”, is a compressed PAC history as it begins with the formation of the PAC in 1959 and ends with its unbanning in 1990. It focuses more on the circumstances which forced the PAC into exile, i.e. the anti-pass campaign. Lodge details the events which led to the Poqo insurrection ⁵⁷. The exile period is not covered adequately as particular attention is given to the PAC activities before it was banned and also to the Poqo insurrection of the early 1960’s. The most in-depth and detailed article is, “Soldiers of the storm: a profile of the Azanian people’s liberation army” ⁵⁸. It is interesting not only because it covers the most unknown aspect of the PAC’s history, i.e. its military struggle, but also because Lodge debates the ideological ramifications of the PAC’s Pan Africanist ideology. He questions whether the ideological definition of the enemy was matched by action in the case of APLA attacks. Lodge traces the history of APLA operations and outlines the structure of its military command during the various phases of its development i.e. from Poqo fighters to a modern guerrilla army called APLA. What he also fails to identify and examine is the transition from Poqo to APLA and the implications it had for the organisation. He does not examine the relationship between the army and the political leadership to show how it

⁵⁷ Poqo is a Xhosa word meaning ‘pure’ and was used by the PAC as a slogan during the uprisings which occurred during the period 1963-1968 inside South Africa. It is elaborated by Tom Lodge: “The Poqo insurrection, 1961-1965”, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1984.

affected the programmes of the army during the exile period. These are the issues which this research examines in chapter six.

There are obviously numerous other contributions of varying quality on this subject. They vary in scope, insight and originality. Howard Barrell’s article, “The outlawed South African liberation movements”, is one example of a publication which exemplifies the ‘old school’. Barrell’s examination of the PAC in exile, even though sufficiently intriguing, remains superficial. It elaborates the ideological sources of the organisation’s failures and problems to explain its inability to cope with the exile environment. He also outlines the fact that the PAC’s ideological inclination towards revolution, in a fashion which can be described as iron-clad, meant that its international funding base remained limited. Like Tom Lodge, Barrell lists all the categories of problem the PAC experienced in exile but in a less detailed fashion than that of Lodge. He concludes that the PAC was therefore doomed to be “a tragic figure of modern exile politics”. His article typifies good journalism, with its limitations of occasionally falling short on rigorous historical perspective. He also published his book at a time when critical internal PAC documentation was not available. His line of analysis falls within the category of the ‘old school’ because of its overt judgmental assumptions not based on a comprehensive and detailed examination of facts.

In contrast to the academic approach represented by Tom Lodge (in his early work) and Howard Barrell, are the writings of PAC adherents and sympathisers. They are characterised by varying qualities, ranging from mediocre and ephemeral to exceptional originality but does not escape from the obvious ideological slant. The M.Sc. dissertation “The rise of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa” submitted by Nana Mahomo to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the US; Philip Kgosana’s book ‘Lest we forget’; Benjamin Leeman’s works such as “Africanist Political Movements in Lesotho and Azania (South Africa): the origin and history of the of the Basutoland Congress Party of Lesotho and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania” are representative of the pro-

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PAC work and could be called support literature. Mahlangu’s research paper, ‘From South Africa to Azania: A critical analysis of the Pan Africanist Congress in exile (1962-1990)’, describes these works as “terribly inconsistent, and an annoyingly defensive history” of the PAC. Of course they should be understood for what they were, i.e. representing a party perspective of the organisation’s history.

Philip Ata Kgosana’s book, is more of a mimeograph, an autobiography which sought to explain the 1960 anti-pass campaign and focuses more on the role played by the author in that campaign. What motivated Kgosana to write the book was “the need to put together an accurate account of the PAC campaign of 1960 in the Western Cape”. He found that “too many write-ups have been done with all sorts of distortions, biases and half-truths” compelling him to “set the record straight”. He therefore writes with passion characteristic of a loyal supporter of the PAC and is clearly not concerned with academic analysis. His book proceeds beyond the initially stated purpose and covers his life experiences in parts of Africa where there was PAC presence i.e. in Tanzania, Ghana, Ethiopia, Zaire and Uganda. His role as a PAC member in these countries is not clear in his account. He elaborates on his personal and family hardships and is silent on his political life. Besides that, he does not elaborate on the domestic problems of the organisation and gives the impression that all was well inside the organisation, except for a few misunderstandings with Nana Mahomo who he joined in London in 1961 and Molotsi who seemed to have been influenced by Mahomo against Kgosana. What comes out clearly in Kgosana’s account is that conflicts in the PAC predated the Leballo period (1962) contrary to what Lodge conveys in his early publication. Unfortunately, Kgosana mentions these issues briefly but these issues will be examined in detail in this research.

63 Ibid.
Moving along similar lines as Philip Kgosana is Nana Mahomo’s thesis entitled “The rise of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa”. Unlike Kgosana, Mahomo`s study is more theoretical. It provides defensive explanations of the organisation’s political origins and ideological position. In essence, Mahomo addresses theoretical questions related to the organisation’s ideological standing. In particular, it provides clarity on issues such as the organisation’s perceived ideological emphasis on racial identity as well as background history of the formation and rise of the Pan Africanist Congress from the time of its formation to the exile years. The idea of providing a plausible explanation for the organisation’s ideology is among the issues covered in background chapters of this thesis.

A thesis written by Bernard Leeman, also a member of the PAC in exile, exhibits similar tendencies described above. It begins by locating the development of the PAC and ANC in exile, in Lesotho in particular, within the dynamic landscape of Basutoland politics. He relates the development of the PAC with that of the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and outlines the role of PK Leballo, a Basutoland national and PAC acting President, in the formation of the BCP. He also examines the history of both the ANC and PAC before they were banned and then focuses largely on conflicts within the PAC. In some instances he dismisses Lodge’s views on the central role played by P.K. Leballo in the conflict within the PAC in Lesotho and especially the press conference in which Leballo was blamed to have disclosed the plans of Poqo. The thesis is very long and confused in terms of focus. It is not clear exactly what it seeks to establish. The author confuses dubious history and sweeping political statements. The complex relationships between the PAC, ANC and BCP are oversimplified, as the emphasis is more on leading personalities than on the organisations. The broad chronology posited in the study to subsume organisational developments overlooks significant internal organisational developmental periods. Hence the study fails its implicitly purported task of questioning the credentials of Lodge’s analysis, fundamental findings and arguments.

PAC stalwart, Elias Ntloedibe also published a book in 1995, *Here is a Tree: political biography of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.* The book is clearly a dedication, a song of praise to Robert Sobukwe, the founding President of the PAC. However, it goes beyond that and examines aspects of the life of the PAC in exile. It describes the circumstances of the PAC in Lesotho, i.e. how a formal structure of the PAC was set up and proceeds to cover the period of Pokela’s leadership in Tanzania. It covers very briefly the events which led to the removal of Leballo from the leadership of the PAC. Lastly, the book covers the return of the PAC from exile and the leadership of Zeph Motopeng. The book is a memoir of events in the PAC based on personal experience but does not provide in-depth analysis, a paradigm framework or argument. The overall picture it depicts is of a heroic liberation struggle led by the PAC before it was banned and went into exile. The only difficult moment it portrays was during the period immediately preceding the removal of Leballo from power. Besides that incident, the impression created is that all was well with the PAC.

Another autobiographical account, which is fairly elaborate in its narrative and description of conditions of exile, is the recently published book by Letlapa Mphahlele, a former APLA commander, *Child of this Soil: My Life as a Freedom Fighter.* The book is written in novel style and it recounts in detail the exile experiences of the author. He joined the PAC post-1976 Soweto uprisings and lived in various PAC camps, firstly in Botswana and later in Tanzania. Mphahlele’s life story is informative as it covers details about living conditions in the camps and the nature of APLA operations, but the focus is more on how these affected the author and his personal contributions. The book does not provide a holistic and integrated picture of the exile experiences of the PAC. It only covers the events of the 1980’s and no attempt is made to establish a connection with preceding phases. In other words, it provides no contextual background to the narrative of events and experiences of the author.

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Between the two opposing approaches in the political historiography of the PAC, is an emerging new school whose overriding concern seems to be the balancing of perspectives about the exile history of the PAC. It needs to be noted that existing works on the exile political history of the PAC attempt to do this but close analysis reveals a stronger emphasis on the `negatives` or defensively, on the `positives` and the approaches are related to ideological positions in favour of or against the Pan Africanist Congress. Even though it cannot be concluded that the emerging new school is neutral in this regard, it claims considerable effort towards putting facts into perspective with a consciously guarded tendency to pursue failures and ignore successes deliberately.

A short research paper by Mahlangu and the latest publications by TG Karis and GM Gerhart, exemplifies this approach. DBA Mahlangu’s research, ‘From South Africa to Azania’, is a critical analysis of the Pan Africanist Congress in exile, 1962-1990.\(^\text{67}\) TG Karis and GM Gerhart’s book, From Protest to Challenge: a documentary history of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990, also attempts to balance perspectives on the PAC’s exile history.\(^\text{68}\) Key issues examined by Mahlangu include the theory of Africanism in general, how it developed and came to Africa and South Africa in particular. The study fails to effect a smooth transition from broad descriptions of Pan Africanism to the more specific South African variant of Pan Africanism. Debatable issues such as “Pan Africanism and Nationalism”, “orthodox nationalism versus its supposed counter-part”, revisionist nationalism, are raised but not critically debated.\(^\text{69}\) His study is more elaborate on debates which are peripheral to the stated main concerns of his thesis. He examines the exile environment and summarises inputs of other scholars but hardly offers new ideas. The last section of his study concentrates on the crisis periods the organisation went through in exile (i.e. in Chapter three - `the rise and decline`) and elaborates on the foundations already laid by Tom Lodge, except for a few original inputs on the names of political actors. These are derived from the oral

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\(^{69}\) D.A.B. Mahlangu: ‘From South Africa to Azania’ p. 41.
interviews the author conducted. He covers the military operations of the organisation’s armed wing (APLA), well, but some essential details on the organisation of these operations, cadres involved, command structures and explanations of why the operations failed are not provided. However, he provides an interesting coverage of Leballo’s life history and carefully relates it to the successes and failures of the PAC, something not yet covered in other research works. His emphasis on personality factors (e.g. “the Leballo factor”, “the Sobukwe factor”) as major contributing factors in the strengthening and weakening of an organization, raises a number of broad theoretical questions.

Mahlangu does not debate or problematise, for instance, the extent to which historical events, including the successes or failures of a liberation organisation, can be explained in terms of the personality and role of an individual.

T.G. Karis and G.M. Gerhart examined the rise of African political movements and focused specifically on the formation of the ANC and the split which resulted in the formation of the PAC. They examined the state of the PAC in exile and the conflicts which dominated the organisation in the late 1970’s. Their examination of conflict in the PAC is general, in the sense that it does not isolate and analyse specific causes, but is limited to the examination of roles of certain leading personalities such as PK Leballo, Vusumzi Make, David Sibeko and the heads of PAC missions in the various countries who were not accountable to PAC headquarters for their activities. However, the publication does examine a variety of internal documentation and supplements it with oral interviews to depict the context of the conflict. The activities of the PAC military wing, APLA, are examined and the move towards internal stability in the PAC is critically appreciated. The state of the organisation on the eve of political negotiations for a democratic society in South Africa is outlined as it relates to the impact the conditions of exile had on the PAC. Karis and Gerhart, however, remain uncritical in their use of police records and newspaper reports when discussing the military activities of APLA. The number of failed military operations and police success in apprehending APLA guerrillas is not corroborated against the organisational or civilian perspectives through

71 Ibid.
oral information. All the same, their account remains the most comprehensive latest publication on the political history of the PAC before and during the exile period.

Mahlangu’s study, on the other hand, remains a remarkably superficial contribution given the fact that it was conducted after the unbanning of liberation movements, when access to internal documents and historical role-players had improved. It is also methodologically inexhaustive, especially in the use of oral interviews and the review of existing secondary information. What is most interesting about his study is the orientation of his narrative which reveals a careful combination of criticism and honest appreciation of the organisation’s successes. It is for this reason that the study is associated with the birth of a “new school” in the historiography of the PAC. Besides that, Mahlangu’s study, like Lodge’s, provides very important indicators to issues which subsequent research on the PAC needs to cover. These have informed the content of chapters outlined in chapter one of this dissertation.

Stephen M. Davis’s book, Apartheid’s Rebels: inside South Africa’s hidden war, also examines, with a fair amount of detail, the position of the exiled PAC and its relationship with the 1976 uprisings.\(^{72}\) It analyses how banned liberation movements used opportunities presented by the uprising to strengthen their positions. Davis covers important issues, such as the underground activities of the PAC inside South Africa, not raised by other scholars. His study is limited in scope as it does not proceed into the late 1980’s and 1990’s. He examines the role of the PAC, underground during the Soweto uprisings and shows how the PAC was ideologically in a better position than the ANC to have taken advantage of the uprisings. He argues that “on the eve of the Soweto uprisings, however, the Congress was in a delicate position. Its ingrained policies of multiracialism, armed struggle, and accepting material assistance from non-African powers, in particular the Soviet Union and its allies, were in disfavour in the BCM dominated South Africa”.\(^{73}\) Besides that Black Consciousness was ideologically closer to Pan Africanism. The “dormancy of the PAC underground” meant that the Soweto

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\(^{73}\) Ibid, p. 28.
uprisings and even its aftermath, could not really “fuel the rehabilitation” of the organisation. Davis elaborates on the reasons for this failing and focuses mainly on factional fighting, unstable leadership and a lack of necessary infrastructure. On the other hand, Davis recognises the role played by the old PAC veteran, Zeph Motopeng, to revive the PAC underground and Davis shows how he was able to liaise successfully with the exiled leadership.

Even though Davis covers this interesting aspect of the exiled PAC politics, i.e. its internal underground network, he offers very little explanation in terms of the internal dynamics of the organisation in exile. All the same, his work also attempts to place the exiled PAC in perspective and is associated with the new approach in the writing of PAC exile history.

Other interesting studies which inform this research include Benjamin Pogrund’s biographical annotations of Mangaliso Sobukwe, the founding president of the PAC. Pogrund’s work is entitled, Sobukwe and Apartheid. The book discloses the view that the personality of Sobukwe was critical to the internal unity of the PAC and his absence from the organization during the exile years, created a gap no one in the organisation could fill. Another book by Benjamin Pogrund is entitled, How Can Man Die Better: The Life of Robert Sobukwe. It details the life-history of Sobukwe from the time of birth in Graaff-Reinet to his death on February 27, 1978 in Kimberly Hospital. The book is more about the personal life of Sobukwe and his friendship with the author than about his involvement in the PAC. Joel Bolnick’s article, “Sefela Sa Letsamayanaha – The wartime experiences of Potlako Kitchener Leballo”, is also informative because it details the life-history and experiences of PK Leballo, the only figure in the exile PAC politics who in many circles is still vilified and hated but in others greeted as a hero and great, courageous leader. J.H.E. Grobler’s article, “PK Leballo: Opportunistiese swendelaar of koersvaste knoeier?”, examines the controversies surrounding the political life and

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74 S.M. Davis: Apartheid’s Rebels: Inside South Africa’s War, p. 31.
77 J. Bolnick: Sefela Sa Letsamayanaha – The wartime experiences of Potlako Kitchener Leballo.
personality of Leballo. He demonstrates the impact Leballo’s leadership had on the PAC but is limited to the 1960s and 1970s. The article does not delve into the details of internal dynamics within the organization, an issue which is covered in this research.

A thesis written by C.J. B Le Roux titled “Die Pan Africanist Congress in Suid Afrika, 1958 – 1963 addresses the foundational reason as well as ideological stance of the PAC before it was banned.” However it does not cover the exile experiences of the organization covered in this research.

Similar historiographical trends in the political histories of exile liberation movements in other countries in Africa have been identified. A brief survey through the literature on the exile political history of Frelimo of Mozambique, SWAPO of Namibia, ZANU of Zimbabwe and the FLN of Algeria demonstrates this point.

Joseph Hanlon’s book, Mozambique: The Revolution under fire, and Allan and Barbara Isaacman’s book, ‘Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution’ are good examples of support literature produced about the history of liberation in Mozambique. They seek to demonstrate how Frelimo was able to translate the Marxist theory into the practice of revolution. From the perspective of Joseph Hanlon, Frelimo conducted guerrilla war in Mozambique along Marxist prescriptions, but his analysis does not descend into optimism as he questions some of the radical objectives of Frelimo. He did not cover the internal relations with Frelimo, but gave the impression that all was well within it.

Allan and Barbara Isaacman, in their book, Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution were overt in their support of Frelimo. Their book revealed a clear historical perspective. Their comprehensive coverage of the history of Mozambique, (which started

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from the pre-colonial period, colonial period, popular opposition and the struggle for liberation as well as the post independence period, is selective). No attempt is made to define the internal problems of Frelimo as a liberation movement in exile between 1962 and 1975. The 1965 split which led to the formation of COREMO later called Renamo is not explained. The author’s intentions to write a heroic history of the party is explicit.

A new school of thought in the writing of Mozambican history emerged and is exemplified in the work of historians such as Malyn Newitt. In her book, *A History of Mozambique*, Newitt traces the pre-colonial and colonial history as well as the struggle for liberation. 82 She provided a perspective from outside the party circles and examined the internal dynamics of Frelimo as a liberation movement in exile. She examines such constituent elements of internal conflict as “power struggles”, “ideological and ethnic tensions”, as well as differences caused by military failure. 83 Barry Munslow’s book, *Mozambique: the revolution and its origins*, is a detailed analysis of the conditions within Mozambique and it shows how these conditions prepared a fertile ground for the revolution. 84 It examines the state of the economy, the role of the state, the reforms and assimilation of the African middle-classes into Portuguese culture and conditions in the countryside. What Munslow demonstrates is the extent to which Mozambique was ready for socialism by examining internal conditions in Mozambique before independence. He did not cover internal relations within the party itself. In general, what was found to be missing in Mozambican historiography is opposition literature critical of FRELIMO, moving from the premise of a longstanding scholarly tradition. Perhaps, this attests to the limitations of the research which could not delve into sources written in Portuguese because of language barriers.

In the case of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) of Zimbabwe publications are one-sided in their portrayal of the exile politics of the organisation. A good example of this is a publication by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, *The struggle for* 

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83 Ibid, pp. 517- 538.
The foreword to this book was written by the leader of the ZANU (PF), Mr Robert Mugabe. In its analysis of the experiences of ZANU during the period of exile, the book portrays a heroic image. The focus is on the successes of ZANU, without examining internal dynamics. The books examined how Mr Mugabe led his party to power and outlined the process to the Lancaster House conference of 1979. This paved the way to the 1980 elections which secured Mr Mugabe the Presidency of Zimbabwe.

Terrence Ranger’s book, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*, is a Marxist analysis of the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe. It examined the relationship between the military wing of ZANU i.e. Zimbabwe National Liberation Army-ZANLA and the rural inhabitants, whom Ranger called the ‘peasant class’. Ranger undertook a comparative examination, contrasting the experiences of “African peasantries” in Mozambique, Kenya and Zimbabwe. Ranger theorises his evidence heavily to the extent that it becomes difficult to grasp the simple essence of the relationship between the party, the guerrilla army and the peasantry. Besides that he employed debatable theoretical concepts such as “peasant consciousness”, “class”, “class struggle”, without definition or explanation. This created an imposing network of ambivalence which evaded factual criticism. His work examines the structure and ideological orientation of ZANU and compares it with the Mau-Mau of Kenya and Frelimo of Mozambique. Ranger does not examine internal relations within the party but disclosed ideological support for ZANU and Frelimo for their Marxist inclinations and condemns the Mau-Mau guerrilla movement for its nationalist and non-Marxist Pan-Africanist outlook.

C.M.B. Utete’s book, *The Road to Zimbabwe: The Political-Economy of Settler Colonialism, National Liberation and Foreign Intervention*, offered a new balanced, critical and comprehensive perspective. Despite the unclear Marxist theoretical language, he traced the foundations of the colonial settlement in Zimbabwe, the

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international context of national liberation and the route to independence. He examined
the Zimbabwe nationalist politics and focused on the internal relations within ZANU.\textsuperscript{89} He examined the foundations of the split which occurred in 1976 within ZANU, the role of Frontline states such as Tanzania and Zambia played in mending the split and also forcing ZANU into premature negotiations with Mr Smith’s government in the former Rhodesia. He is explicit on how the power struggle for the leadership of ZANU between Mr Mugabe and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole affected the liberation movement and how that was resolved within the party through the unanimous election of Mr Mugabe as leader of the organisation.

The historiography of the liberation struggle in Namibia (South West Africa) also posits similar trends. The literature written in support of the liberation struggle led by the South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO), especially during the late 1980’s is in abundance. A SWAPO publication, To be born a nation: the liberation struggle in Namibia, is a good example of this.\textsuperscript{90} Peter Katjavivi’s book, A history of resistance in Namibia, is a dress-rehearsal of the SWAPO publication.\textsuperscript{91} The two publications argue for and justify the cause for Namibia’s independence. They trace the development of SWAPO as a liberation movement and show how it finally adopted the armed struggle as a strategy for liberation. This line of thought is further developed by Sussana Smith in her book, Namibia: A violation of trust.\textsuperscript{92} She blames the South African regime for the war in Namibia and outlines how it breaches the provisions of United Nations resolution No.435. She portrays the liberation struggle waged by SWAPO as justified if not inevitable. None of these works interrogate the status of the organisation in exile and especially internal relations within the organisation.

Denis Herbstein and John Evenson’s book, The Devils are Among Us: The war for Namibia, gives a fresh turn to the screw.\textsuperscript{93} It examined the history of SWAPO in exile

\textsuperscript{89} C.M.B. Uete: The Road to Zimbabwe, pp. 116-120.
\textsuperscript{90} SWAPO: To be Born a Nation: The Liberation Struggle for Namibia, Zed Press, London, 1981.
and outlined all the problems (internal divisions) the organisation had to contend with in an exile environment. Obviously the authors were advantaged by the fact that in 1988-1989 when their book was written, the veil of secrecy with regard to access to internal documentation had been lifted. Hence they had access to internal documentation and key historical role-players. Drawing on a vast archive of unpublished material including testimonies of political, military and religious figures, the book examined the war that ravaged Namibia from 1966 to 1989.

The article by Randolph Vigne entitled, “The SWAPO of Namibia: a movement in exile”, explained the internal dynamics of the exiled organization extensively.94 It examines the internal problems which nearly crippled the organization in 1974. The rift was between the SWAPO leadership and the SWAPO Youth League. The intervention by the government of Zambia and other OAU officials to solve SWAPO’s internal problems is analysed. The author also examined what he called “SWAPO infiltration by the agents of the South African government” and demonstrates how that generated conflict within the organisation.95 He also explained how the organisation was able to rise above these problems and maintain a sense of stability.

A new school of thought in the history of SWAPO was consolidated when Colin Leys and John S. Saul published a book entitled, The Two Edged Sword – Namibia’s Liberation Struggle in 1995.96 Somadoda Fikeni’s thesis, “Exile and Return – The Politics of Namibia’s returnees”, is also a valuable contribution which further bolstered the new approach in the writing about SWAPO in exile.97 Both works came after the independence of Namibia when sources which were previously unavailable were accessible to scholars of Namibian history and politics. John S Saul and Colin Leys focused specifically on SWAPO’s politics of exile and showed how a predominantly Ovambo ethnic leadership headed by Sam Nujoma “carried over a certain sense of

personal ownership of the movement from pre-SWAPO days” and kept “SWAPO’s political and military levers of power firmly within their own grip”. On the one hand, this helped to establish within SWAPO a core of established and recognised leaders who survived the entire period of exile but on the other hand it was a source of internal conflict within the organisation. Somandoda Fikeni analysed in detail the conflicts which bedeviled SWAPO during the exile period. He pointed out “the Kongowa crisis of 1968 in Tanzania, the 1976 rebellion and the spy drama of the 1980s”. Both Fikeni, Saul and Leys, underline the important role SWAPO leadership played in ensuring that the organisation overcame the moments of crisis and was eventually united.

Historiography on the struggle for the liberation of Algeria from French rule (1954 to 1962) was also interesting. The trends displayed in the writing about the FLN (i.e. the Front for National Liberation) were similar to those in the literature about Southern African liberation movements. It may be correct to assume that the historiography of the Algerian liberation movement, set the standards for future writings on liberation movements in other parts of Africa. It displayed a clear divide between attitudes for or against the FLN-led liberation struggle.

Perspectives followed by writers on the Algerian liberation struggle changed with the progress and development of the struggle. The literature written during the early phase of the revolution tended to be critical and skeptical of the FLN. This is exemplified by the writings of people such as Aron Raymond who published La Tragédie algérienne and Henri Alleg’s The Question. In these publications, the authors interrogated the capacity of the FLN to wage a successful revolution and argue for the need for a compromise through peaceful negotiations. It was assumed that negotiations would result in an arrangement where the Algerian people would gradually be led to self-government. Whereas the publication by the FLN (in the form of a periodical) El Moudjahid overtly justifies the struggle waged by the FLN, it portrayed the image of a victorious party.

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98 C. Leys and J.S. Saul: The Two Edged Sword, p. 42.
99 S. Fikeni: Exile and Return, p. 3.
without any internal problems. Its overt propaganda content made it difficult to separate truthful accounts based on an insider perspective from political point-scoring. This went hand in glove with support literature written just before independence in 1962. An example of this is a book by MC Hutchinson Revolutionary Terrorism: the FLN in Algeria, 1954 to 1962. The book traced the military struggle of the FLN and the resilience it showed against the might of France. Tensions and internal dissent which occurred within the organisation during this period was left unexamined.

PANAF has also produced a book, Frantz Fanon. Even though the book is meant to be a biography of Frantz Fanon, it however threw light on the Algerian Revolution and justified and advanced the cause of the FLN of which Frantz Fanon was a leading member and theoretician. It outlined the ideas of Frantz Fanon and showed how they were appropriated by the FLN fighters during the struggle for liberation.

Balanced perspectives were offered in some of the publications which appeared after the war. Good examples were the books by Jeanson Francis ‘Le Revolution algerienne et perspectives’ and Alister Horne’s, A Savage War of Peace. Jeanson Francis examined competing perspectives during the struggle for the liberation of Algeria, whereas Alistair Horne examined the actual conduct of the revolution and focuses particularly on the development of the FLN as a liberation movement in diaspora. He clearly traces the ravages caused by the war in which an estimated million Algerian Muslims died and approximately the same number of Europeans fled their homes. He analyses the reactions of the FLN to the counter-insurgency strategies of the French, as well as the internal divisions which hampered the party and the role of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in fostering internal dissent within the FLN. He indicated how the organisation was able to deal with its internal crisis and devise a FLN

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107 Ibid, pp. 445-446.
route to victory. The use of documentary and oral evidence in constructing the narrative is remarkable.

In summary, it has been demonstrated in this chapter that the exile political historiography of the PAC is limited but displays interesting trends. It is constituted by two opposing approaches which assumed a `for or against` form. These have been explained and their weaknesses pointed out. The emergence of a `new` school which seeks to transcend the divide between the `old` and the opposing school is explained. The `new` school defined itself by way of projecting a synthesised and balanced perspective. Potential weaknesses of this new approach have been identified. The historiography of liberation movements outside South Africa has also been reviewed. It displays underlying binary conceptions and polarities which separate support from non-support literature and a virtually opposing school of thought. The literature also shows that all liberation movements in Southern Africa experienced similar problems such as internal splits and interference by the host country and the OAU. Some of the liberation movements succeeded in solving their internal problems. The key to success was decisive leadership and firm organisational foundations. This research examines one aspect of the broad history of the PAC in exile, i.e. the development of conflict within the PAC. Existing secondary literature mentions but does not adequately examine this issue. One is acutely aware that as with every piece of research work, this thesis will also have its own unique weaknesses which subsequent research will hopefully address.