## Kwandiwe Kondlo

Introduction by Patrick Harries

## In the Twilight of the Revolution

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) 1959–1994

Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2009

## CONTENTS

The Long Revolution of the PAC				
A	An Introduction by Patrick Harries			
Α	Acknowledgements			
Introduction		3		
	The Structure and Contents of the Book	9		
1	Sources in the Study of the History of the PAC	15		
	Research methodology	15		
	Research ethics	16		
	The state of sources	17		
	Primary documentary sources	17		
	Oral sources .	26		
	Electronic/Visual sources	29		
	Summary	29		
2	Historiographic Overview	31		
3	The PAC: Formation, Banishment and Road to Exile	49		
	Factors which led to the formation of the PAC	49		
	International ideological influences	49		
	Local factors which led to the formation of the PAC	53		
	Internal conflicts within the ANC	55		
	Highlights of the day of the inauguration of the PAC	58		
	Principles and strategies enshrined in the organisation's			
	basic documents	60		
	Banishment and road to evile	63		

4	The Exile Experience: Impact on the Functioning of Liberation		
	Movements	70	
	Conceptual and theoretical issues	71	
	The exile environment: An overview	74	
	The Frontline States and the OAU in the Southern African		
	liberation struggle	77	
	The emergence of the "Frontline States Phenomenon"	77	
	Profiles of the Frontline States	80	
	Tanzania and Zambia	81	
	The BLS States – Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland	83	
	Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe	85	
	The South African offensive in Southern Africa	87	
	Superpowers and the conflict in Southern Africa	90	
	The "experience" of liberation movements	92	
5	The Reconstitution of the PAC as a Liberation Movement		
	in Diaspora (1960–1963)	99	
	The reconstitution of PAC leadership structures in exile	104	
	Development of strategy documents	106	
	The practice of self-reliance by PAC exiles in Lesotho	108	
	Developments in other parts of the world	110	
	The PAC and the ANC – the South African United Front	113	
6	The Generation of Strained Intra-PAC Relations in Exile		
	(1962–1990)	117	
6/	A The Leballo Era and its Immediate Aftermath (1962–1981)	120	
	The period of Potlake Kitchener Leballo (1962–1979)	120	
	P.K. Leballo: Background and profile	120	
	The composition and role of the exile leadership as represented		
	by the National Executive Committee	123	
	A foretaste of things to come – expulsions from the PAC	128	
	The Moshi "Unity" Conference – effects on the PAC	131	

	The internal "enemy syndrome", 1962–1979	132
	The management of funds and other resources	135
	The end of the Leballo period	139
	The murder of David Sibeko	142
	The period of Vusumzi Make (1979–1981)	144
	V. Make: Background and profile	144
	The composition and role of the exile leadership as represented	
,	by the National Executive Committee	145
	The internal "enemy syndrome"	150
	The management, use of funds and other resources	152
6E	The Revival of the PAC: From John Nyathi Pokela to Johnson	
	Mlambo (1981–1990)	156
	The period of John Nyathi Pokela (1981–1985)	156
	J.N. Pokela: Background and profile	156
	The composition and role of the exile leadership as represented	
	by the National Executive Committee	158
	The internal "enemy syndrome"	170
	Pokela re-organises the PAC .	175
	The period of Johnson Mlambo (1985–1990)	179
	J. Mlambo: Background and profile	179
	The composition and role of the exile leadership as represented	
	by the National Executive Committee	181
	Management, use of funds and other resources	189
	The internal "enemy syndrome"	194
	The impact of leadership diversity on the PAC	198
7	The PAC Camps: A Case Study of Ruvu Camp in Tanzania	202
	The formative years of Ruvu Camp (1978–1984)	209
	Ruvu Camp beyond 1984	212
	Health conditions inside Ruvu Camp	214
	Aspects of culture and leisure among camp residents	216
	"Tribal"/ "ethnic" tensions among residents of Ruvu Camp	221
	Forms of punishment in the camp	224
	. L	

8	The Evolution of the PAC's Military Strategy (1961–1993)	229
	The origins of the theory of "revolution" and military strategy	
	during the period of <i>Poqo</i> (1961–1967)	232
	The slow "death" of <i>Poqo</i> and the rise of APLA	239
	APLA's strategic thinking (1969–1978)	246
	APLA's command structure up to 1978	248
	The "New Road of Revolution"	250
	APLA command structure (1979–1990)	251
9	PAC Unbanned. Dealing with the Negotiated Transition	
	to Democracy (1990–1994)	257
	The PAC on the eve of the unbanning of liberation movements	
	in South Africa	259
	The PAC's response to the unbanning of liberation movements	262
	The PAC and the negotiated political settlement	264
	The PAC and the armed struggle during transitional negotiations	272
	Aspects of the PAC's vision of a non-racial democratic society	276
	The land question	276
	Development and economic growth	279
	Nationalisation	280
	Foreign investment	281
Co	onclusions	285
Αd	cronyms	296
Li	List of Illustrations	
Bi	Bibliography	
In	dex	325