The Archives of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness-Orientated Movements
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On 19 September 1998, Professor Sibusiso Bhengu, the South African Minister of Education, officially opened the National Arts and Heritage Cultural Centre (NAHECS) archives at the University of Fort Hare. This archive houses documentation from three former liberation movements: the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Azanian People’s Organization and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. Bhengu, from 1991 to 1994 the first black rector of Fort Hare, had signaled a new era for the university.

It was during Bhengu’s administration that the university received ANC archival documents, firstly from the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO), the ANC school in Tanzania during the exile period between 1978 and 1992, followed by other documents from ANC missions in different parts of the world. The arrival of

1 I would like to especially thank Prof. Sean Morrow, formerly Director of the Govan Mbeki Research and Development Centre, now Department of History, University of Fort Hare, and Prof. Tim Stapleton, Trent University, Canada, for their advice. I would also like to thank the staff of the National Arts and Cultural Centre (NAHECS) for making research material available, and for their comments. These include Prof. Themba Sirayi, the Director, and the archivists, Festus Khayundi, Noludwe Lupuwana, and Punky Kwatsha. Thanks also for comments from Bulelwa Metuse.

these sources, which are lodged in the University Library, was followed by the official opening of the ANC archives on 17 March 1996 by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki of behalf of Nelson Mandela. Even before they were officially opened, the university had begun to receive scholars who combed the documents in an effort to reconstruct the history of the exiled liberation movements. Fort Hare historians also utilized the archives.3

The presence of the ANC archives at Fort Hare seems to have inspired Mbulelo Mzamane, Bhengu's successor as Vice Chancellor, to state that Fort Hare should be a home for all South African liberation movements' archival material. Soon, sources from the three liberation movements were sent to the university and the former Centre for Cultural Studies (CCS), now NAHECS, took charge of the documents. While these papers were being sorted out, a building was being constructed on campus to house the papers.4

In what appeared to be a repeat of the scene at Freedom Square when the first consignment of ANC papers arrived, dignitaries, students and university officials watched, on 17 February 1997, as the Premier of the Eastern Cape, Arnold Stofile, who is also a Fort Hare alumnus, turned the sod at the site where the new building was to stand. By the end of 1997 the building was ready. With the archives of Fort Hare itself, unorganized as they are, the ANC archives, and the joint PAC, AZAPO and BCM archives under NAHECS, Fort Hare has become a major center for research into the history of South African liberation.5


4It should be noted that NAHECS has papers of some South African literary figures, including A.C. Jordan and G. Mzamane, both renowned Xhosa writers, as well as the papers of political movements described in the present paper. Also included is a collection of Xhosa literature published by Lovedale Press and some of the original manuscripts of these books.

Why should the liberation movements have chosen Fort Hare as a depository of their archival material? Before the establishment of Fort Hare in 1916, different types of missionary institutions had mushroomed in southern Africa. Included was Lovedale Missionary Institution, which was built on the east side of the Tyume River in the 1830s near the future Fort Hare. Around 1878 James Stewart, the Lovedale missionary and principal, suggested the idea of higher education for black students. However, Stewart’s dream of a higher institute of learning never materialized in his lifetime, as Fort Hare was only established in 1916, 11 years after Stewart’s death, under Alexander Kerr, the first principal of the institution. Among those who played an important role in assisting Kerr was D.D.T. Jabavu, the first black staff member in the institution, who taught courses in Latin and the Bantu languages. He was the son of John Tengu Jabavu, one of the founder members of the university, who was educated at Lovedale.6

From its establishment, Fort Hare experienced a number of phases, firstly as the South African Native College attached to the University of South Africa. In 1951 it acquired the status of the University College of Fort Hare by close association with Rhodes University. In 1960, as part of the rise of apartheid, it was brought under the Ministry of Bantu Education, following the passing of the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act which marked separate development in South African educational institutions on ethnic lines.7 In 1970, the university became independent and was granted the status of the University of Fort Hare, but was controlled by the apartheid government. The winds of change that swept across the country in 1990, beginning with the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of liberation movements, as well as the return of exiles, were felt in Ciskei when Lennox Sebe was overthrown by Brigadier Oupa Qgozo. At Fort Hare, the university council and six top administrators resigned.8 A new era had dawned for the university.

7Morrow/Gxabalashe, “Records.”
8Fort Hare Newsletter 1992, 4.
The appointment of Bhengu marked the re-emergence of the institution from apartheid and was soon followed by the appointment of Oliver Tambo as the first black Chancellor of the University in 1991. In the early 1940s O.R. Tambo had been expelled from the university following his participation in student politics. Tambo, however, was not the only renowned leader produced by this university, which was the cradle for black higher education in southern Africa and also attracted students from as far as Kenya. Included in these is Nelson Mandela, sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial of 1964 and in 1994, first president of a democratically-elected government in South Africa. From the liberation movements whose archives are with NAHECS came leaders like Robert Mmangaliso Sobukwe, founder of the PAC, who was imprisoned at Robben Island. He was a member of the ANC youth league at Fort Hare and President of the Student Representative Council in 1948. Another was Sabelo Qweta whose nom de guerre was Sabelo Phama. A Fort Hare student from 1971 until his expulsion in 1973 following a student strike, he later became the commander of the Azania Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) and the PAC Secretary of Defense. From the Black Consciousness Movement came the young and militant Barney Pityana, one of the leading proponents of the organization in the early 1970s, exiled later in the decade.

There is no doubt that Fort Hare managed to host the archives because it is the oldest institution of higher learning for black people in southern Africa and claims many famous graduates. Coupled with this is the fact that Fort Hare, or at least an important section of its students, have identified with the history of resistance against apartheid and indirectly played an important role in the struggle for liberation in Africa. Bhengu echoed this in his speech during the official

10UFH NAHECS, Box 9. “The Biography of Comrade Sabelo (Victor Phama).” It was common in exile for those who left South Africa to use pseudonyms in an effort to thwart the South African security forces. See, for instance, Shubin, ANC: A View from Moscow (Bellville, 1999); S. Ellis and T. Sechaba, Comrades Against Apartheid: the ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile (London, 1992); Maaba/Morrow/Pulumani, “Education in Exile.”
opening of the NAHECS archives. He asserted that “[i]t is . . . appropriate that the liberation archives be housed at an academic institution that history forged into the alma mater of our liberation struggle” and further asserted that “I believe Fort Hare has been provided with historical ammo [sic] and it should continue the job of liberation.”¹² No wonder that in 1996, during the alumni homecoming ceremony, one of the veterans from Lesotho urged his fellow alumni to “send your children to Fort Hare.”¹³

III

Politics within the ANC in the late 1950s were not as stable as an onlooker might have thought. Within the ANC were those known as Africanists, advocates of Black Nationalism who saw the ANC as being dominated and controlled by communists and white liberals. The Africanists believed that the ANC was too moderate in its approach to the struggle against apartheid and criticized those who endorsed the ANC’s Freedom Charter, with its claim that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it.”¹⁴ These were led by Robert Mmangaliso Sobukwe and often met in Dube, Soweto to discuss politics. The group also included Zephaniah Mothopeng, a teacher expelled when Bantu Education was introduced, and whose life was characterized by repeated arrests, Peter Raboroko, also a teacher by profession, seen as the leading exponent of Africanism, and Potlako Leballo whose house in Dube was used for political discussions. It was Sobukwe’s speech in 1949, while he was the President of the Student Representative Council at Fort Hare, that many saw as planting the seeds of Pan-Africanism in South Africa.¹⁵ After much soul-searching and tension,

¹²Keynote Address by Prof. S.M.E. Bhengu, Minister of Education at the Inaugural of the Centre for Cultural Studies, Fort Hare University, 19 September 1998.
¹³As part of the Fort Hare community, I was an eyewitness to this gathering.
¹⁵Pogrund, Sobukwe and Apartheid, 67.
the Africanists broke from the ANC in 1959 to form the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

However, the life span of the PAC as a movement operating freely was short-lived. Following the shooting of civilians in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 in an anti-pass campaign organized by the PAC, political organizations such as the PAC and ANC were banned and politically active individuals including Sobukwe were arrested. The PAC and the ANC entered a new era as many left the country to establish these organizations in exile. Leballo and others were among those who left South Africa to set up the PAC headquarters, first in Lesotho and then in Tanzania.16

The bulk of the primary sources below pertain to PAC activities, mostly between 1975 and 1994. Most of these sources shed light on PAC history in exile, as the organization only operated above ground for a period of a year.

Most sources in this collection are in English, although in some instances, letters are written in two languages—for example, English and an African language. In a letter written in a mixture of Zulu and English, the Administrative Secretary of the PAC in Botswana, Joe Mkwanazi, is warned about possible attack by the South African security forces.17 Information about one mission is often to be found in the papers of another. For instance, Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, one of the founding members of the PAC, left South Africa in 1962 and went to Lesotho, where he served as Acting Treasurer-General. He was however, arrested in Lesotho by the government for his political activities and served a prison sentence from 1965 to 1967. He was eventually expelled from Lesotho in 1970, together with other PAC members after the South African government put pressure on the Lesotho government.18 Unfortunately, documents from the PAC Botswana mission have not yet been sent to Fort Hare.

The Tanzania mission was set up in 1964 following the expulsion of the PAC from Lesotho.19

16Lodge, "Pan-Africanist Congress."
17UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Mission, Box 9, Unidentified person to Joe Mkwanazi, 10 June 1986. Letters of this nature are also common in the ANC archives. See Maaba, "Students."
18UFH NAHECS, Box 5, File 1, and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa): Visits Australia. In many instances the way in which African countries, more especially the frontline states, handled the presence of South African exiles was ambiguous, pressured as they were by the South African regime: see for instance, Maaba, "Students;" S. Ellis and T. Sechaba, Comrades Against Apartheid: The ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile (London, 1992); R. Kasrils, 'Armed and Dangerous:' My Undercover Struggle Against Apartheid (Jordan Hill, 1993), Shubin, ANC.
The papers of this mission are, at the moment, one of the largest collections in the PAC archives with 125 boxes. Available in this collection is correspondence between PAC headquarters and other PAC offices in the world, as well as donor organizations like the UN. For instance, a letter to Vusi Ndlovu from the International Labour Office requires a report from the PAC office on the seminar “on discrimination in the metal industry” held on the 24-28 April 1987. Also included in the correspondence is a letter from Johnson Mlambo to Bobby Dalton in Australia, in which he raises suspicion about the involvement of the South African regime in the death of Samora Machel, president of Mozambique. Important also is a letter from Robert Sobukwe to Major-General Rademeyer, Commissioner of Police, prior to the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. In this letter, Sobukwe appeals to Rademeyer to instruct the police not use violent actions against the people, as they were to embark on a peaceful demonstration against the Pass Laws.

Speeches and addresses delivered in different places are available in this collection. These include a speech by John Nyathi Pokela, the chairperson of the PAC, on 21 March 1982 during the 22nd anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. In his speech Pokela defines the role of the PAC in the struggle: “The PAC, from its very inception, made it clear that its aim was not to reform the system, but its total and unconditional elimination.” During the 6th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, administrative secretary of the PAC Joe Mkwanzi, in a speech delivered in Mbeya, Tanzania, empathized the role of the youth in the struggle against apartheid. However, some of the speeches and addresses are undated, and in some instances it is not clear who the speaker was, or if the addressee is known, as the name of the speaker, as well as the audience, is not given. This might have resulted from the mistake of those who were typing the speeches, or from a desire for secrecy.

Documentation on policy documents and on different meetings of

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20UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 6, Bill Ratteree to Mr. Vusi Ndlovu, 6 July 1987.
21UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 6, Johnson Mlambo to Bobby Dalton, 28 November 1986.
22UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 9, Robert Sobukwe to Major General- General Rademeyer, 16 March 1960.
23UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 81, Speech by John Nyathi Pokela: 22nd anniversary of the Sharpeville shooting, 21 March 1982, 3.
24UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 81, Speech by the Administrative Secretary of the PAC, Joe Mkwanzi at Mbeya Region during the 6th anniversary of the June 16 massacre.
the PAC Central Committee also form part of this collection. Some of the things discussed in these meetings were the ways in which Nigeria could assist the PAC in infiltrating ammunition into South Africa and the uncertainty that the PAC faced in relations with Mugabe’s ZANU, though Mugabe had assured them of support. Also discussed in these meetings was the issue of cliques within the PAC.25

Documentation on various meetings between the PAC and other sympathetic forces also form part of this collection. Included in this is the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers’ conference in 1988, where the South African regime was further condemned and where the intensification of the armed struggle and consumer boycotts by township dwellers were advocated.26 Travel documents like passports, visas, travel permits, and other identification documents, as well as newspaper clippings, also form part of this collection.

Of interest in the Tanzanian Mission is documentation on the PAC settlement known as Mosogoro near Bagamoyo where the Tanzanian government had allocated 400 hectares of land to the PAC following the Soweto uprising in 1976. In this complex the PAC hoped, like the ANC, to bridge the gap between mental and manual labor by establishing a “dual-purpose Secondary/Vocational School in which they would be educating the head with training the hand in a single institution.”27 Included in the Mosogoro 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. PAC newsletters and publications form part of this collection. Some of these are Azania Combat, Azania News, The Africanist, Azania Struggle, Azania Student, and Izwe Lethu.

There are also 30 boxes of Zimbabwe materials in this collection. The correspondence from this mission is different from that of others, as most of the letters are private or personal letters from friends or relatives. Also included in this are postcards and even Christmas cards. It is through these letters that people’s states of mind are re-

25UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 1: Minutes of Central Committee Meetings: Minutes, 1975-1982, 6.
26UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 6, Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers’ Conference 1988.
27UFH NAHECS, Tanzanian Station, Box 37, Proposed Master Plan for Multipurpose Development of the PAC Kitonga Site, 41. There are also some artifacts in the PAC collection, but it is not clear whether these came from Mosogoro or from another PAC Mission. Ironically, the ANC also had a school in Tanzania called Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. For this see Maaba, “Students’” Morrow/ Maaba/Pulumani, “Revolutionary Schooling?”; Morrow, “Dakawa Development Centre.”
vealed—their feelings, experiences, and wishes. It is also through such correspondence that scholars can reconstruct the social history of the exiled community. One letter reads, “. . . life is very hard in exile mfowethu, it took me time when I arrive in America to get rid of frustrations that I suffered in Zimbabwe that’s why you know I blundered with that Chich [recte chick].”28 Also available in this collection are newspaper clippings on different events in and outside South Africa.

There is not much documentation on meetings or reports on activities of the PAC from this office. However, there are speeches, statements, and addresses of various PAC leaders, including Edwin Makoti, M. Pheko, Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, and Robert M. Sobukwe. Except for Sobukwe’s, the speeches were made in exile and cover themes like the role of Zimbabwe in the liberation of South Africa, and criticism of the South African government, as well as concerns on the escalation of violence in South Africa and commemoration of revolutionary days.29

There are also some obituaries of PAC leaders in this collection, including that of Sabelo Phama, who died on his way back to South Africa from Tanzania in 1994. The previous year he had threatened that APLA would launch massive attacks, describing that as “the year of the great storm.”30

There are also 50 boxes emanating from PAC activities in London and the United Kingdom. Of interest in this collection is correspondence on anti-apartheid activists and their activities in London. One letter directed to English rugby captain Will Carling from Carol Brickly, on behalf of the City of London Anti-Apartheid group, with regard to an intended rugby game between the England and South Africa reads:

We wish to inform you that we will hold demonstrations at the grounds where the Springboks are due to play. We do so with the support of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the South African Council of Sport and the SACOS rugby union.31

While this letter was written in 1992 after the PAC and other liberation movements were unbanned in 1990 and most of the exiled com-

28UFH NAHECS, Zimbabwe Station, Box 12, undated letter from New Orleans to an unidentified person.
29UFH NAHECS, see Boxes 1 and 2 of the Zimbabwe Mission.
30Phama’s threats were widely covered by the media at the time.
31UFH NAHECS, London Station, Box 8, Carol Brickly to Mr. Will Carling, 9 September 1992.
munity had, by 1992, returned home, the influence of the liberation movements on anti-apartheid groups still seemed to be strong. A few photographs of demonstrators, probably from the London anti-apartheid movement, hoisting placards aimed at the South African regime ranging from “Mangope has been bought by Apartheid” to “I have told the police even to shoot my own child,” also form part of these sources.

Some of the letters focus on PAC educational issues. Documentation, mostly correspondence on different issues between the PAC and organizations like the World Council of Churches, British Council of Churches, Catholic Institute for International Relations, and Commonwealth of Nations form part of this mission. Striking also in the correspondence are letters relating to cooperation between the PAC and BCM in the early days of the latter’s exile between 1979 and 1983. For example, a letter dated 23 October 1979 from BCM organization secretary, Molefe Pheto, to Michael Muendane, PAC chief representative in London, invites the PAC in its London office to cooperate with the BCM “with regard to our [BCM] exile situation and work,” and also in relation to commemoration days like “Biko Day.”

Included also in this mission are some office diaries. These spell out the activities and plans of the PAC in London and can be useful, as diaries often capture the events and atmosphere of a particular day and place. However, some of the diaries have gaps. This can make it hard for researchers to follow exactly the daily activities of the PAC in London.

Some newspapers are also available under this mission and include The Sowetan, The Star, and socialist orientated newspapers like the Voice of the International Black Revolution, Fight Racism: Fight Imperialism, African People’s Socialist Party, and some newspaper clippings. Topics of newspaper cuttings from British publications range from the South African political situation to activities of the anti-apartheid activists in London.

The archives of the PAC mission to the United Nations consists of 106 boxes. Available under this heading is correspondence between the PAC and the UN on a variety of aspects ranging from education

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32 UFH NAHECS, See Box 8 of the London Mission.
33 UFH NAHECS, London Station, Box 2, Molefe Pheto to Michael Muendane, 23 October 1979.
34 UFH NAHECS, London Station, Box 8, Molefe Pheto to M.N. Muendane, 1981.
35 UFH NAHECS, See, for instance, Boxes 18 and 26 of the London Mission.
to financial issues. One letter from Mary Robertson confirms to the PAC Permanent Observer Representative that "medical supplies" as required by the PAC at Bagamoyo had already been sent. There is also correspondence on computer discs mainly from S.E.M. Pheko, chief representative of the PAC in the UNO, to different organizations, representatives and the PAC itself. A letter by Pheko to Madeleine Albright, the USA permanent representative in the UNO, states clearly on behalf of the PAC that the organization "... has the honour as well as deep sorrow to convey the PAC official position ... regarding the tragic death of Miss Amy Biehl's death [sic]."37

Included under this mission are details about the background of some of the PAC leaders including some biographies. There is background information on Jeff Masemola, sentenced to life imprisonment on 7 July 1963, on Robben Island.38 Included in file of Clarence Makwetu, President of the PAC from 1993 to 1996, is information on his background and his speech at the special session of the Security Council of the UN on 15 July 1992. It was during this gathering that Makwetu raised concerns about the escalating violence in South Africa.39 Also in these files are listed political activities of the PAC leaders in the struggle against apartheid, as well as letters to organizations like the National Council of Churches, to universities, and to some committees against apartheid.

Of interest in Zeph Mothopeng's file is a letter written by his wife who was "out of employment because of severe arthritis," and also a speech she made on 10 October 1986 which was organized by the Special Committee against apartheid in which she raised her concerns about her husband's health in prison. There is also the file of John Nyathi Pokela, PAC chairman who died on 30 June 1985 after a short illness.40 In 1982 at the UN General Assembly Pokela asserted that "... Apartheid is a crime against humanity and must be totally eliminated."41 Also, apart from speeches, statements and addresses by

37UFH NAHECS, Dr. S.E.M. Pheko to H.E. Madeleine Korbel Albright. Disk 1. PAC supporters killed Amy Biehl in 1991 at Gugulethu Township and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa has since pardoned these.
38UFH NAHECS, United Nations Station, Box 25, Biography of the late Comrade Kgabi Jafta Masemola.
40UFH NAHECS, United Nations Station, Box 26, Biography of John Nyathi Pokela by Gora Ibrahim.
41UFH NAHECS, United Nations Station, Box 26, Address by John Nyathi Pokela
and about PAC leaders delivered in the UN, there are some which were delivered in symposiums other than the UN. Available also in this collection are photographs of PAC members in UN sessions and newspaper articles, especially on PAC leaders.

The Johannesburg office of the PAC has a collection similar in size to the Tanzanian mission, with 126 boxes. Following the unbanning of the liberation movements in 1990, exiled members of the liberation movements, including the PAC, returned to South Africa. This was followed by the continuation of their activities, which had been carried on underground and in exile. Over three decades after its founding, the PAC opened its first South African headquarters based in Johannesburg.

Correspondence forms part of this collection. This includes correspondence with other structures within the country, including PAC branches, religious groups, and abroad to PAC members and other missions still in operation in exile. A letter from Johnson Mlambo, the Deputy President of the PAC at the time, makes an appeal to Gauteng Minister of Security Jessie Duarte to assist with the integration of PAC members “... into the various departments of South African Police Service.”42 There is also documentation on the PAC and its views on the negotiations with the regime and on the ongoing violence in South Africa.

Other documents under this mission include material on PAC campaigns, policies, meetings, and other planned activities with the liberation movements, and with other structures within the country, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and AZAPO and the government.43 There are also addresses by PAC and other officials. For instance, documentation on the PAC’s third national congress held at the University of Transkei, 3-6 April 1992 forms part of this collection. Among the planned activities by the PAC was assistance to the Boipatong community allegedly attacked by nearby Kwa Madala Hostel dwellers in which 43 people were killed and many injured. There are also 48 boxes on Azanian Peoples’ Liberation Army under this office. However, these are restricted pending a decision by the PAC.

Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to UNO General Assembly, 9 November 1982.
42UFH NAHECS: Johannesburg Office, Box 113, Deputy-President of the PAC J. Mlambo to the Gauteng Minister of Safety and Security, 8 August 1994.
43UFH NAHECS: Johannesburg Office, Box 93, Pan Africanist Congress Proposal for the urgent socio-economic restructuring of the recently violated Boipatong Squatter Community.
There is a collection of oral documentation in the form of reel-to-reel tapes on different issues pertaining to the PAC. However, some of the tapes do not have dates and this makes it difficult for a researcher to ascertain when the information on the tape was recorded. In some instances, this can be established by following the events spoken about on the tapes. These sources as well, are essential in the reconstruction of PAC history in exile. This paper will look at a few of these in an effort to show the nature of these sources.

Interview with Johnson Mlambo, Tape 12
This is an interview with Johnson Mlambo on what appears to be Radio PAC aimed at spreading PAC propaganda. This was conducted in Xhosa, and Mlambo spells out information about his lengthy jail sentence from 1963 to 1983 following his role in the struggle against apartheid. Mlambo also talks about the struggle against Ian Smith by the Zimbabwe liberation movements and the role of the armed struggle in the fight against apartheid. The date of the interview, 21 May 1985, is on the cover of the tape and the interview itself helps to confirm the date.

Address to the UNO by Nyathi Pokela, Tape T76A
In this address Pokela urges the UN and the international community to look into the issue of apartheid and how the policies have affected the masses of South Africa. Although there is no date for this source, it is possible that the speech was delivered during P.W. Botha’s period in power in South Africa, as Pokela criticizes his regime.

PAC Consultative Conference Arusha, Tanzania, June-July 1978.
Tape 60
Although the tape might have been recorded during the conference mentioned above, what dominates the discussion is the tension within the PAC with reference to funds. Other issues raised include the lack of discipline within one of the PAC camps in Tanzania and tribalism in the same camp, which led to a march to the Dar-es-Salaam offices by some cadres to present their grievances about the camp.

BCM(A), AZAPO, PAC, Consultative Conference held in Kadoma, Zimbabwe, August 1991: Reel T 76A
It was at this conference that the three organizations, BCM(A), AZAPO, and PAC resolved to form the Patriotic Front among themselves. and also to press that a constitutional assembly be formed for
the transfer of political power "from the white settler minority to the oppressed and exploited majority."

Apart from these sources, there is a collection of 40 transcribed interviews on the PAC donated to the archives by the scholar Gail Gerhart. Some of these interviews are direct transcripts from tapes and others are verbatim notes. These examine the formation of the PAC in 1958-59, its antecedents in the Youth League, and the events surrounding the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

In this collection there are videotapes documenting the history of the PAC, from speeches to rallies and funerals. I look at a sample of three video tapes in this collection.

Video TV 27
The opening speech of the video shows Makwetu addressing PAC supporters clad in PAC tee-shirts and waving PAC flags at Umtata Stadium in a rally commemorating the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. Among the dignitaries at the rally were Bantu Holomisa, the ruler of Transkei and a staunch supporter of the liberation movements, the PAC, and the ANC. At this gathering Makwetu said clearly that the PAC would involve itself in negotiations only with the then apartheid government if the land issue was part of the agenda.

Video NYV 44
This is an interview with Zeph Mothopeng, president of the PAC at the time, on the 3 August 1989 in what appears to be a private studio. It is in this interview that the apparently tired and ill-looking president asserted that negotiations with the South African regime were out of place until certain demands and issues were addressed. For instance, to him the whites only elections in South Africa were an indication and continuation of "white domination." Mothopeng also emphasized that only black people could liberate themselves from the oppression of the apartheid state.

Video NYV 40 A
In this tape, the UNO special session to commemorate the death of Robert Sobukwe is shown. The chairperson of the ceremony asked, for the dismantling of apartheid through peaceful means and also looked at Sobukwe's contribution to the fight against apartheid from his student days at Fort Hare University as a member of the ANC Youth League to the formation of the PAC in 1959 and later his imprisonment at Robben Island. The chairperson's speech is followed by addresses from representatives of organizations ranging from the Or-
ganization of African Unity to the Non Aligned Movement. They all paid tribute to Sobukwe for his efforts in the struggle against apartheid.

IV

The early 1960s saw the disappearance from the open political scene of both the ANC and PAC as the two organizations had been banned in 1960 and were forced to operate underground following the Sharpeville massacre. Many leaders were imprisoned while others like Tambo and Leballo went into exile. The ANC suffered a major blow when prominent members of the organization were arrested and charged with high treason. All were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island in 1964.44 A vacuum had been created in black South African politics.

Black university students in South Africa had been following political activities in the country and privately participating in political debates while most maintained allegiance to the PAC and ANC.45 These students were also affected by various forms of oppression and manipulation. For example, they were subjected to a tight disciplinary code and isolated on campuses that had been deliberately built in rural “tribal” areas far from the mainstream of political activity. They also disliked the idea that the universities and especially their senates and councils were dominated and controlled by white professors and lecturers. This was coupled with the fact that they were barred from studying in white universities, although this did not apply to the University of South Africa (UNISA) or to the Natal University Medical School.46

Black students began to mobilize and in 1967; many joined the University Christian Movement (UCM) and two years later the South African Students Organization (SASO).47 Prior to SASO, black university students were part of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Among the reasons for their breakaway from NUSAS was that some black students felt that white students wanted

44B. Hirson, Year of Fire, Year of Ash: The Roots of a Revolution? (London, 1979), 64.
46Horrel, Bantu Education to 1968 (Johannesburg, 1968), 34-46.
47Hirson, Year of Fire, 64.
to act as masterminds behind black protest and that they sidelined blacks in discussions. The black students took a decision:

Whereas we the Black students of South Africa having examined and assessed the role of Black students in the struggle for the emancipation of the black people in South Africa and the betterment of their social, political and economic lot, and having unconditionally declared our own lack of faith in the genuineness and capability of multi-racial organizations and individual rights in the country to effect rapid social changes . . . do commit ourselves into the realization of the worth of the Black Man, the assertion of his dignity and to promoting consciousness and self-reliance of the black community.48

This new philosophy, in which black people asserted their pride in their community was referred to as Black Consciousness.49 This philosophy was expressed through SASO and the Black People’s Convention, which was formed in 1972. Steve Biko, the President of SASO, was regarded as the main thinker behind Black Consciousness. The Black Consciousness Movement spread in the 1970s and soon after the Soweto uprising of 1976 many students who were influenced by this philosophy fled into exile, where they organized themselves into the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. This organization suffered major blows when it was banned in 1977 and Biko mysteriously died in the hands of the police in August of that year.50

These few documents cannot be easily classified as belonging to particular mission stations. Moreover, the documents are filed in such a way that readers with no understanding of the differences between the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania BCM(A), as the organization came to be known in exile, and Azanian People’s Organization (AZAPO) can be left confused. The argument of the archivists at NAHECS is that the “archives have to keep the principal of original order” and that since these sources were sent from the AZAPO National Office they can only be separated with the approval of the AZAPO office. So it is very common to find sources for both AZAPO and BCM(A) mixed within one box or file. This it seems will be a problem that will persist for some time. I have attempted to separate these categories for the convenience of readers so they may know what to expect from the two organizations, which only merged after 1994. However, for a researcher to study either the history of

48Ibid, 72.
50Ibid.
BCM(A) or AZAPO, one would have to go through all the boxes available under this heading.

Also in this collection, just as in the PAC papers, some of the letters are written in both English and South African indigenous languages. A letter from one individual named Dodo to another called Mandisi in which it is explained that finally accommodation has become available is written both in Xhosa and English: “Ndiyavuya kakhulu ukwazi into ngoba indawo yokuhlala ikhona. This is very important for the children.”\(^5\) Some of the documents in this collection are handwritten. In this paper, I will first look at the BCM (A) and then AZAPO.

Correspondence of BCM(A) with others like the ANC dates back as early as 1977, although there is not much from that early period. This was not long after the Soweto uprising and the banning of BCM later referred to as BCM(A) and other organizations which were perceived as a threat to the regime. Writing to Harry Nengwekhulu, Director of External Affairs for the Black People’s Convention in 1978, Thabo Mbeki, the political secretary in the ANC’s presidential office, makes a suggestion that the two organizations meet at the end of June.\(^6\)

Very little correspondence between AZAPO and BCM(A) exists, especially for the early years of BCM(A) in exile. In one interesting letter to BCM(A), George Wachope states clearly that BCM(A) and AZAPO are two distinct organizations and distances AZAPO from BCM(A). He asserts that “the practise of calling us your home-based front organization as a whole . . . as perceived by the system will render us vulnerable. This becomes very serious in the light of your having to resort to armed struggle.” He further states that “we would like to strongly urge you to desist from direct communication with the office and/or individuals such as phone calls and letters.” This does not mean that communication between the two organizations did not continue. It would seem that this took place but under certain specific circumstances and conditions. There is, for instance, a letter dated 28 March 1985 from Gaborone to South Africa in which BCM(A) proposes that AZAPO take action against the New Zealand All Blacks rugby team’s visit to South Africa. The context of this letter was supposed to be verbally communicated as “. . . the origin of this

\(^5\)UFH NAHECS: BCM(A)/ AZAPO Collection, Box 3, Dado to Mandisa, 8 November 83.

\(^6\)UFH NAHECS: BCM (A)/ AZAPO Collection, Box 1, Thabo Mbeki to Harry Nengwekhulu, 12 March 1979.
letter” had to be “. . . kept as secure as possible and the origin of the letter . . . be conveyed to Azapo members in verbal form.”

There is also correspondence between BCM(A) members and donor organizations, as well as between its own members in different countries, including Lesotho, Botswana and the United Kingdom. Much is discussed in these letters, including proposed conferences and projects by the movement, education related issues, and moves to establish new BCM(A) branches.

Speeches and addresses of BCM(A) members range from the days of O.R. Tiro, President of the SRC at the University of the North in 1972, to others given in exile and back in South Africa from 1990.

In the 1972 graduation speech, which led to his expulsion, Tiro challenged the segregated system of education in South Africa and the way in which the University of the North was being run. “Time and again I ask myself,” he said, “How do black lecturers contribute to the administration of this University? For if you look at all the committees they are predominantly white if not completely white.” It is said that Tiro was the first person to be assassinated in exile when a letter bomb exploded in his hands while in Botswana in 1973. Speaking at a conference organized by the Zambia Association for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Bafana Buthelezi accused the Bantustan leaders of being stooges of the South African regime. At this gathering he stated that the people had demonstrated through the Soweto uprising that they were prepared to fight for their liberation.

Some minutes of BCM(A) meetings are also in this collection. In a conference report of the Canada region, among other issues discussed was fundraising by the branch, in which it was agreed that employed members of the BCM(A) would contribute $5.00 monthly, while the unemployed would give what they could afford. It was also agreed that an effort had to be made to sell BCM(A) tee-shirts and buttons.

Another document in this collection is a 1980 draft constitution of

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53 UFH NAHECS: BCM (A)/ AZAPO Collection, Box 1, Makgolo Makgolo to people addressed as “comrades.” 28 April 1985. UFH NAHECS: BCM (A)/ AZAPO Collection, Box 2, Gerrit de Jager to Sello Pella, 23 January 1983.
54 UFH NAHECS: BCM(A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 13, Speech delivered by O.R. Tiro on graduation Day on behalf of the graduates, 1972. For more on Tiro see. Hirson, Year of Fire.
55 UFH NAHECS: BCM(A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 13, and Speech by Bafana Buthelezi at a conference organized by the Zambian Association for the Liberation of South Africa.
the BCM(A), which stipulates that "... the basic cause of the problem in Azania is Capitalism and Imperialism and therefore..." in South Africa, the situation demands "the adoption of the Revolutionary theory and practice of Marxism-Lenin as a guiding ideology." Newspaper clippings, though very few, form part of this collection, and this includes an interview with Tsietsi Mashinini, in which he explains his role before the Soweto uprising and his views on BCM(A).

Interesting in this section are sources on the BCM(A) role in the Dukwe Refugee Settlement, about 130 kilometers northwest of Francistown, Botswana. This settlement was initiated by the Botswana government to serve as a camp for refugees from "politically disturbed countries, particularly in Southern Africa," and included Angolans, South Africans, Namibians, and Zimbabweans. This community, like the ANC settlements at Mazimbu and Dakawa in Tanzania, aimed at self-reliance through agriculture and other means. It would be interesting to make a study of these communities and see whether they all drew from the same source on the concept of self-reliance. The Dukwe settlement had a sizeable number of students from the Soweto uprising and an effort was made to give "literacy and numeracy programmes" to students, although this is described as "a precarious program... undertaken by those among them who had already advanced in their education before they left the country." Also included in the Dukwe material is a list of at least 67 Dukwe residents, which might be of vital importance for a historian who wants to undertake an oral history of the settlement. This type of research would be vital, as there are very few documents on Dukwe.

There are also BCM(A) newsletters and publications in this collection which include Black Consciousness Movement of Azania: One Azania, One Nation, BCM(A) Internal Newsletter, BCM(A): Imbono namalinge ethu, and Solidarity: Official Organ of the Black Con-

57 UFH NAHECS: BCM(A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 19, and Black Consciousness Movement of Azania Draft Constitution—1980.
59 UFH NAHECS: BCM(A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 18, Document on the Dukwe settlement, The Dukwe settlement made headlines again when the secessionists from the Caprivi Strip in Namibia were accommodated there after being granted political asylum by the Botswana government in 1999. For details on SOMAFCO see Maaba, "Students."
sciousness Movement. Some of these belong to an earlier period before exile and include SASO Bulletin, 1977 and SASO Newsletter, 1975.

V

Little has been written about AZAPO (Azanian People’s Organization), which was formed in 1978, thus becoming the first new organization to be launched in South Africa following the banning of all organizations in 1977. From the onset AZAPO made it clear that it was unashamedly a follower of the Black Consciousness philosophy. This organization suffered a major blow when its leadership was arrested soon after its formation. In September 1979 a new AZAPO executive was formed following a conference in Roodepoort at which Curtis Nkondo, the one-time Chairman of the Teachers’ Action Committee, which had been the mastermind behind the resignation of teachers after the Soweto revolt, was elected its president.60

Later, the presence of AZAPO in South Africa led to tension with ANC supporters and this in some instances, disturbed the day-to-day running of the schools in the townships and sometimes caused bloodshed. as the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM), AZAPO’s secondary student wing, clashed with that of the ANC, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS).61 AZAPO was also seen by some as dominated by intellectuals whose rhetoric ideas and strategies could not be understood by the masses of South Africa. Its claim to have support from the working class seems to have been exaggerated.62 However, as has been said, little has yet been written about this organization. The sources below could help in the reconstruction of AZAPO’s history. Banned in 1987, the AZAPO was forced underground and into exile. It was unbanned in 1990 and its merger with BCM(A) followed. AZAPO did not take part in the South African general elections of 1994, but did participate in the 1999 elections after it had suffered a blow when earlier in the year, some expelled members formed the Socialist Party of Azania.63

The AZAPO archives contain different types of correspondence between AZAPO headquarters in Johannesburg and its branches within

60T. Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945 (New York, 1983), 344
61As a secondary school student in Kwa-Thema, a township in the East Rand, Johannesburg, I witnessed these clashes.
62Lodge, Black Politics, 346-47.
the country and its youth league, AZAPO Student Convention (AZASCO), as well as with other organizations such as the AZAPO Congress of Trade Unions, (AZACTU). There are letters to other countries, which seem to have sympathized with AZAPO in its struggle against apartheid. Of interest are letters to two figures on opposite poles, Colonel Muammar Gadhafi of Lybia and Bill Clinton, then president-elect of the USA. In a letter to Gadhafi, Deputy President of AZAPO Tiyani Mabasa felt inspired by the stand taken by Libya against the “unprovoked and vicious acts of banditry and aggression, by imperial America on the progressive people of Libya.” Ironically, the letter to Clinton congratulates him after his presidential elections and hoped his ascendance to the presidency would mark “the survival of democracy.”

There are other forms of documentation in this collection, which include reports on AZAPO activities and documentation on its branch meetings. Included is a report on the Tenth Annual Congress of AZAPO from 22-23 December 1990 which focused on the progress and activities of AZAPO and its relations with other liberation movements. Other sources include documentation on a meeting held by AZAPO, BCM(A) and PAC in Kadoma, Zimbabwe on 9-10 August 1991. Here the three organizations discussed issues relating to negotiations with the South African government. Other matters discussed related to sanctions against South Africa and the issue of violence within the country. There is also policy documentation in which criticism is leveled against the apartheid regime and in which AZAPO calls for an integrated education system. There are also press releases on various issues, including the ongoing violence in the country, negotiations with the regime and class boycotts by students. There are some joint AZAPO and BCM(A) press statements from after 1990. These include a press release on the Biko memorial and another on boycotts of sporting entertainment figures who performed in South Africa. Newspaper clippings also form part of this collection. There are lists of AZAPO members and telephone numbers and addresses and some biographical material on AZAPO cadres.

64UFH NAHECS: BCM (A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 1, Lybon Tiyani Mabasa to Colonel Muamma Gaddafi, nd, AZAPO to Bill Clinton and the American people, n.d.
66UFH NAHECS: BCM (A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 10, AZAPO BCMA PAC Resolutions of Kadoma Consultation August 1991.
67UFH NAHECS: BCM(A)/AZAPO Collection, Box 19, AZAPO Education Policy.
The AZAPO papers also have newsletters belonging to this organization and include *Azania Liberation Support Committee*, 1983, *Azania Socialist Review*, *Tokoloshe: Azapo Newsletter*, and *Umhlaba wethu: AZAPO Kwa-Zulu Regional Newsletter*.

VI

The University of Fort Hare is about 134 kilometers from East London Airport and is located in the small town of Alice. The NAHECS archives open at 8am and close at 4:30pm from Mondays to Thursdays and close at 3:30pm on Fridays. Finding aids are available in the archives to help guide researchers. Primary sources in the NAHECS archives, ranging from the PAC to BCM(A) and AZAPO, provide a fascinating challenge for researchers. Inquiries about the archives should be addressed to:

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